



AN
INSTITUTION
OF
General History,
OR THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.
BEING
A Complete Body thereof,

FROM
The beginning of the World till the Monarchy of
CONSTANTINE the Great. *et of*
WHEREIN

Are described the several Empires, and the Contemporaries with
them, all distinctly and by themselves, and yet linked together
by Synchronisms.

AS ALSO,
The Forms and Models of Governments, with the Power and
Nature of their respective Magistrates, Customs, Laws, and
Antiquities.

All in such unbroken ORDER and METHOD as yet
Never was Extant.

The Second Edition with large Additions.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL. D. sometimes Fellow
of *Magdalen College in Cambridge.*

Ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἰσχυρῷ μόνον ἐπιμαρτυρεῖται ἀνδραγαθία, καὶ ἀνδραγαθία παύεται. Polyb. in.
Nescire quid antequam natus sit acciderit, id est semper esse puerum. Cicero.
Unde facilius quam ex Aeneas Monumentis aut res bellica aut omnis Reipub. disciplina
cognoscitur? Idem.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Henry Herringman, Thomas Bassett, at the George in
Fleetstreet, William Crook, at the Green Dragon without
Temple-Bar, and William Cademan at the Pope's
Head in the New Exchange. 1680.

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VI
Cap. 2

TO THE
KINGS
Most Excellent and Most Sacred
MAJESTY.

SIR,

Although the quality of this work be truly such, that, considering the brightness of Royal Majesty, and the obscurity of its own extraction, it cannot expect a bare acceptance, much less plead any merit in this address; yet doth it find more reason for hope than despair; for as much as the whole World hath taken notice that your Majesty's Grace and Clemency is founded more upon the transcendent goodness of your own Disposition than the qualifications of your Subjects. Allowance hereby being made for what is mine, it were needless to insist upon the Nobility and usefulness of the Subject, the excellency whereof as humane transcends not your Orb, and the utmost improvement of which is within the sphere of your activity. It were a piece of pedantry to shew to your Majesty that History is the store-house whence Precedents may be fetched for all sorts of Actions, Publick and Private, Military and Civil; that it is a Mirror of prudence to shew both their beauty and deformity, a Touchstone to discover deceipts, an Incentive to virtue, and a Terror unto vice; that in it are contained the Prudence of times, imbecillity and strength of Nations, Reasons of State, Councils of Peace, and Stratagems of War; that in it Monarchy triumphs over the Confusions, Alterations, and Seditions of Popular Government. And should I go about to instance in the various helps it affoordeth to the management of Civil matters, I might justly incur more than the censure that light upon him, who was so impertinent as to read a Lecture of the Art of a General in the presence of Hannibal. For it may justly be said that

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that your Majesty hath improved History to the utmost ; that your actions have so far imitated antient Patterns as to exceed them. Others have wasted and destroyed Nations, you have recovered and restored three dying ones. Others have raged with fire and sword, have rooted out, overt urned, and made desolate ; your Majesty by Mercy and Grace hath replanted, settled, and enriched. Alexander conquered the effeminate Persians, and subdued other Nations whom their own unjustness for Military matters helped him to overcome. Cæsar tamed the naked Galls, and painted Britains, whose fool-hardiness and barbarism had armed against themselves ; or if there be any other Achievements of them, or others, which seem more glorious, yet the valour of their Soldiers, the experience of their times and vicissitude of humane affairs, challenge to themselves the greatest share of reputation. Your Majesty hath subdued those things which are beyond Mats his reach : You have tamed wild and extravagant passions of men, Conquered stubborn and perverse dispositions, laid low prejudice, and convinced such, whom all these Distempers had rendered affectedly ignorant and disobedient. Your Majesty's Conquests therefore so much more excel the commendations of others, as it is more glorious to cure than kill, to restore than to destroy, to follow the dictates of Compassion and Mercy, than of indignation and revenge, to Conquer the mind than the Body ; and indeed to overcome one's self than subdue others. That this is no flattery History will ascertain future times, and both the mouths and hearts of your People at present do testify, which, though in other matters they may disagree, yet all unite in this consent, that you are the True Father of your Country. In our acclamations during those solemnities of your Majesty's Royal Coronation, seeing there is no need of wishing you the Goodness of Trajan, we so much the more pray that the Happiness of Augustus may light upon you, and that those solemnities may in one part imitate the Sæcular ones amongst the Romans, that though some of us have heretofore seen the like, yet through the length of your happy Reign none of us may do it for the time to come. I for my part, though a well-wisher to History, unfeignedly desire, that not till after very many years so great an accession of glory may come to it, as will accrue from the passages of your Majesty's Government ; and that in the mean time your Majesty may be as happy in the Love and Loyalty of your People, as they are in your Princely clemency and care. To this, both a sense of merit and duty binds me, being

Your Majesties most Loyal Subject

WILLIAM HOWEL.

P R E F A C E.

THE French (who first Introduced this Custom into the World of writing Prefaces before the works of others) have used that liberty with so much excess in the commendation of their friends, that they have rendered it not only suspected to the Reader, but prejudicial to their repute whom they intended to honour by it. But as I cannot approve the indiscreet zeal of those persons that would rather abrogate a good Office when abus'd, than endeavour to reform it, I would neither wave an employment which gave me the occasion of hinting to the Reader some such things as may be of concernment to him in the perusal of this work, and which the modesty of the Author would not permit him to communicate, neither on the other side would I willingly recede from the strictness and severity of truth. So that whatsoever shall fall from me to his advantage shall not need any favourable construction to make it pass, nor shall I take that freedom to mix Fiction and History together : The use of this latter is so obvious to every eye, that it is needless to speak much of it, it shall suffice me in short to say, that by the knowledge of History we are taught wisdom, and led to virtue, there being nothing in the Actions or Fortunes, either of publick or private persons, to which somewhat in former Ages bore not a resemblance, and which by a due consideration of the circumstances we may not with profit apply to our present occasions. How much we are excited to virtue by it, they that know the power of Emulation in noble minds will easily conclude : which is manifest by the famous examples of Themistocles, whom the victories of Miltiades robbed of his repose, of Alexander, who was stirred up to the desire of glory by reading the actions of Achilles, as Cæsar by reflecting upon his, add to this, that such persons whom these Precedents of virtue will not encourage to it, are aw'd by History from running headlong into vice, when they cannot but look on the writers of the present Age to be set as spies upon their Actions, and must expect when they are dead to be exposed without fear or flattery to the Impartial censure of the living. For who is there that would so much value the pleasure of a glass of Wine, as not to abstain from drinking it, if he knew it had been all night steep'd in Antimony.

These, besides many others, are the benefits which accrue to us by the knowledge of History in general, but that I may inform the World how much it is acknowledging to the worthy Author of this Institution in particular, and wherein those excellencies of his consist, which distinguish him from the ordinary crowd of Historians, *Ut post se digno monstrari & dicere licet*, I must take leave to insist upon these ensuing heads, wherein I shall plainly make appear to the equal and candid Reader, that History is reduced by him in this work to such order, and exact Method, as never yet in any Language.

For

For, first you have here all the Empires in distinct Chapters by themselves, with the Contemporaries of them distinguished in the same manner from each other, and from the Empire to which they were contiguous. Whereas both in Systems and in larger Volumes of *General History* they are mingled together with a strange confusion, like the several ingredients of an Olio in the same Dish, where the variety of the Meats destroy the taste of one another, and he that would read any History by it self, finds it immediately embroyl'd and interwoven with the affairs of other Nations, so that he will not easily form a perfect Idea in his mind of that which is given him but in parcels.

In the next place this Author has furnished you with a general Description of *Greece*, its ancient Kingdoms and Commonwealths, from their first Originals, the successions of Kings, changes of Government, and forms of the several Republicks, with the power and nature of their respective Magistrates and Officers, not omitting the most considerable Customs, Laws, and Antiquities of each of them, deduced from the best Historians, whom you still find quoted in the Margin; this, as it hath never been intirely performed by any Author heretofore, so ought it to set a peculiar mark of Honour upon ours, who hath been careful to give us an exact account of that Countrey, which was the Mother of Arts and Sciences.

After this, if we will turn our eyes upon the *Macedonian Empire*, and the several parts and branches of it, as the Kingdoms of *Syrus*, of *Macedon*, and *Egypt*, we shall still have greater occasion to admire the learn'd diligence of the Author. The *Græcian* Monarchy after the decease of *Alexander* not being more dismembred and rent in pieces by his Successors, than by those Writers who have transmitted the memory of it to posterity, particularly, the *Asian* and *Egyptian* Kingdoms under the *Seleucide* and *Ptolomies* have never been compiled in one History, and I have often wonder'd in my perusal of this Infatuation, by what means the Author of it could arrive at so clear a knowledge of those perplex'd successions. It was certainly a work of great labour to compare Historians, and to weave these several Arguments and loose pieces into one entire Loom, which I the rather mind the Reader of, because it is not easily perceiv'd by every ordinary capacity; for the uniformity of the style, and the unbroken order of the whole is such, that they only who are conversant in Antiquities are able to judge what travel and study were required to it.

The *Roman History* next invites our observation; wherein the success of this Author hath sufficiently recompensed his worthy pains; I dare confidently affirm, No modern Pen hath yet carried it on with so great light from the Original of the City to the time of *Constantine*. For from the banishment of *Tarquin* to the new modelling of the Government by *Augustus*, you have all the Intermediate Changes, Alterations, and Seditions of it, while yet a State; as, the contests of the *Patritians* and *Commons*, with the several motives of them; The displacing and restoring of Annual Magistrates, the Description of their Offices, the Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; all collected with great diligence from the

the Fathers of *Roman History*, but never given us in one body by ancient Authors, or by any of later days. I confess I have read a *French Historian*, who from the Reign of *Augustus* almost to that of *Justinian* hath given me the greatest satisfaction of any man; Yet he often amuseth himself (as some of our bad Chroniclers at home have done) with passages of small concernment, and below the Dignity of an Historian to relate: and from the Foundation of the City to *Augustus*, pays his Readers with a bare translation of *Florus*. Sr. *Walter Rawleigh* (never to be mentioned without honour) concludes his History with the end of the *Macedonian War*; and the conversion of that Kingdom into a *Roman Province*: much about the same time we are forsaken by our best Guide *Livy*, whose Decads from the Captivity of *Perseus* to the time of *Octavius Caesar* (whose Contemporary he was) are wholly lost: for in the conclusion of his fourth fifth Book (the last which is left us) he introduces King *Prusias* speaking to the *Romans*, whom he came to visit, in these words; *Deos qui urbem Romanam incolerent Senatūque & Populum Romanum salutarum se venisse, & gratulatum quod Persea Gentiumque Reges vicissent, Macedonibusque & Illyris in Ditionem redactis, auxissent Imperium.* But as this Author hath supplied the Defects of *Livy*, and continued the *Roman History* five hundred years beyond Sr. *Walter Rawleigh*, so in the alteration of the Government from a Commonwealth to a Monarchy by *Augustus*, the reasons which induced the Emperour to make that change, the manner how, and the form of it, are delivered with so great care, and describ'd with so much life, That I could not but take a particular notice of it; and (with the civility of those that carve to others where themselves best like) invite the Reader to a more exact observation of that which hath given me so great contentment.

Neither hath he deserved less of Christian than prophane History: for from the Primitive times till *Constantine the Great* he hath deduced the Successions of Bishops in the principal Sees, with the practice of the Christians, and a faithful relation of their sufferings in all the persecutions.

For what concerns our own Island, I think he hath perform'd the part of a true *Englishman*, and a lover of his Country: for he hath vindicated the Antiquity of its first Discovery by the *Phœnicians*, and that not only by the probable reasons alleged by that great Person *Bochartus* for the Etymology of the word *Britannia*, but by other undeniable, and convincing Circumstances, which as it redounds to the honour of our Nation, so reflects a part of that glory to our Author.

One particular of no slight consequence I had almost omitted: That as the Reader may without any intervening matters impertinent to his present purpose read the History of any Empire, or Kingdom Contemporary to it, by it self, so he may likewise observe that the principal passages in all of them are link'd together by Synchronisms, not only placed in the Margin, but in the beginning or end of every notable Occurrence.

Thus I have briefly and with much sincerity couch'd together some of those Excellencies, which amongst many others I have observed

served in this Institution of History : of which if I may presume to give my private opinion, (though I am conscious to my self how little it ought to signifie to the World) I think the work taken altogether is for the order of it handsomly and judiciously contrived, for its stile perspicuous, and for the learning in the several parts of History, Antiquity, and Chronology, uncommon. Those who desire a greater politeness in the style may consider, that the florid way of writing, which hath undeservedly acquired so great a name to some of our own Age and Nation, is nothing proper to an Historian, and that our Author busied himself in matters more serious, and of greater use, he chose rather the plain but comely strength of the *Doricque* Pillar, than the Effeminate, though curious shape of the *Corinthian*. For my own part, I confess that plainness and unaffected simplicity is pleasing to me : and I think no Intelligent Person that goes upon business, will leap Hedges out of the open and direct Road, to Travel over Flowry Fields, or painted Meadows.

AN

AN INSTITUTION OF General History: OR THE History of the World.

The First Part.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

From the Beginning of the World to the Beginning of the
First EMPIRE.



Man created.

Fallen.

Expelled Paradise.

Cain killed Abel.

N (c) the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth. (c) Gen. 1. 1. By (b) Faith we understand that they were framed by his Word, so that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear. (b) Heb. 1. 3.

2. Mans Habitation being made and conveniently furnished the sixth day ; then (and not till then) was he made of the Dust of the Earth, and, God breathing into his Nostrils the Breath of Life, he became a living Soul. Being placed in the Garden of *Eden*, and a meet Help wanting to him, *Eve* was framed of one of his Ribs. Of all the Trees of the Garden, except that of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, they might safely eat ; and at such time as they should eat of it, they were surely to die. But the Serpent beguiled the Woman, who did eat thereof, and giving to her Husband, he did also eat. Hereby they rendered themselves guilty of Temporal and Eternal Death ; they were condemned to Labour and Sorrow ; and those not confined to their own Persons, but extended to their whole Posterity, involved with them in the same Guilt : the demonstrating whereof might seem the Scope of this present Work ; nothing having succeeded but *Vanity and vexation of Spirit ; nothing but Labour and Travail under the Sun*.

3. *Adam*, being expelled Paradise, to till the Ground, begat of *Eve* his Wife *Cain* and *Abel* ; though in what Years is not expressed. *Abel* was a Keeper of Sheep, and *Cain* a Tiller of the Ground. By Faith, *Abel* offered to God a more excellent Sacrifice than *Cain*, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, and contracted such Envy, that his Brother slew him in the Field. The voice of his Blood cried to God from the ground, and drew down this punishment upon *Cain*, (besides that of the Ground formerly laid upon his Father) to be a Fugitive and Vagabond in the Earth. Then departed he from the presence of the Lord, and went into the Land of *Nod*, where he built a City, and called it *Enoch*, after the name of his Son. His Family was propagated to *Lamech*, the fifth in descent from himself, by whom the Jews * have thought him to have been slain, by reason of *Lamech's* words to his two Wives : that he had slain a man to his wounding, and a young man to his hurt : if *Cain* shall be avenged seven-fold, then *Lamech* seventy and seven fold.

B

3rd's Birth. fold. After the death of *Abel*, *Adam* begat *Seth*, in the hundred and thirtieth year of his Age, as *Moses* (*a*) maketh exprets Mention; neglecting the Account of Time (*c*) Gen. 3. in the Family of *Cain*, because his wicked Race perished in the Flood: the Church of God being to be continued in the Posterity of *Seth*, of whom also (as to the Flesh) his Son himself was to proceed.

And posterity. 4. In the Race of (*b*) *Seth*, is laid down the Account of Years from the Creation (*2*) Gen. 1. to the Deluge. For *Seth*, being born when *Adam* was 130 years old, begat (**)* Here the *Enos*, at the age of 105; *Enos* being 90, begat *Cainan*; and *Cainan* when he was 70, begat *Mehalelec*. From the Birth of *Mehalelec*, to that of his Son *Jared*, passed in the 165; by *Jared's* to *Henoch's*, 162; and thence, to that of *Methuselah*, 65. *Methuselah*, when he begat *Lamech*, was aged 187 years; *Lamech*, when he begat *Noah*, was 182; and *Noah* at the Time of the Flood, had lived 600 years; all which amount to the summe of 1656; each year of the Father's age being supposed complete at the Birth of his Son. All these, by Divine Providence, for propagation of Mankind, obtained a very long time upon the Earth. Though *Enoch* had the shortest, yet he never died, being taken up by God, after he had walked with him 365 years. *Methuselah* his Son, of all others, arrived at rather than the greatest age, being 969 when he died. Yet, in a certain sense, *Adam* lived longer than he; for being Created in his perfect strength, and fit for Generation, *Adam* had the advantage of 60 Years, before which age, we read of none of them to have had any Children; Nature then requiring a longer time for maturity. If 60 Years be added to *Adam's* age by 21. Seeing the World required it, it cannot but be presumed, that each of these begat other Children, and some of them before these here mentioned. But such being but collateral to that Line, which was to be brought down to *Noah*, (who was to continue the Generation of Mankind, and to re-people the Earth) *Moses*, upon that account, had no occasion to make mention of them.

Man's wickedness caught Deluge. 5. In the 480 year of the life of *Noah*, God seeing all Flesh to have corrupted it self, and as well the Posterity of *Seth*, as that of *Cain*, to be given up to all wickedness; it repented him that he had made Man. He resolved not always to strive with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time, he fully determined by an universal Deluge to destroy Man, with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time, he fully determined by an universal Deluge to destroy Man, with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in.

Noah and his family preferred in the Ark. 6. In the 120th year of the life of *Noah*, God seeing all Flesh to have corrupted it self, and as well the Posterity of *Seth*, as that of *Cain*, to be given up to all wickedness; it repented him that he had made Man. He resolved not always to strive with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time, he fully determined by an universal Deluge to destroy Man, with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in. If no amendment appeared in that time, he fully determined by an universal Deluge to destroy Man, with him, yet gave him the space of 120 years to repent in.

The Ark reft. 7. On the 17th day of the 7th Month, the Ark rested upon the Mountains of *Ararat*, according to the *Hebrews*; if, in this place the Version of the 70, and *S. Hieron* in the *Vulgar*, be not rather to be credited (which have the 27th.) seeing it is not probable that the Ark should rest the same day, or two days before the Waters began to decrease. On the first day of the 10th Month were the tops of the Mountains seen; and forty days after, *Noah* sent forth a Raven which went to and fro, until the Waters were dried up from off the Earth. The Raven returning no more unto him, seven days after he sent forth a Dove, to see if the Waters were abated, which finding no rest for the Sole of her foot, returned unto him. He stay'd yet other seven days, and again sent forth the Dove, which in the Evening brought in her mouth an Olive-leaf, so that he knew the Waters to be abated. Then, seven other days passed, he sent her out the third time, and she returned not

to him any more, the waters being now so much fallen, that the ordinary Hills might be uncovered, wherein the might continue and feed; although the Plains and Vallies were still overwhelmed. On the first day of the first Month of the 601 year of *Noah's* Life, the Waters were dried from off the face of the Earth; yet so, as it still remained moist and dirty, having been so long a time soaked with such a quantity of moisture. Therefore he stay'd yet 55 days more, till the 27th. day of the second Month, before he went out of the Ark; so much time having been requisite for drying the Ground (especially in low places) and for the growth of Grass, and other things necessary for the sustentance of Living Creatures, which had continued in the Ark 365 days, or a full Solar Year, which exceedeth the *Lunar* eleven days.

Where Ararat is. 7. The Ark rested upon the Mountains of *Ararat*; by which place most understand *Armenia*, rejecting the pretended Verles of *Sibylla*, which place it upon a Mountain of *Phrygia*, near to the City *Celene*, and out of which the two Rivers *Marfyas* and *Meander* do issue. Some will have it to have rested about *Araxene*, a Plain of *Armenia*, through which the River *Araxes* runneth, by the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*. But the far greater number confining both of Heathens, Jews, and Christians, pitch upon the Mountains of the *Gordyean*, otherwise called *Carduchi*, *Cardeti*, *Cordeti*, *Cordeni*, *Gardi*, *Cordeti*, *Cordi*, &c. the Hill it self being variously named *Kardan*, *Cardon*, *Khrud*, *Kardynus*, *Kordynus*, &c. What Hill soever it was, it must have stood Eastward of the Countrey of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, and the Vine must have naturally grown there; upon which, and other accounts these *Gordyean* Mountains are rejected by a Learned (*) Writer of modern times, who affirms that *Ararat* named by *Moses*, is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountains which part *Italy* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*; and will have the same Ledge of Hills running from *Armenia* to *India*, to keep the Name all along, and even in *India* to be called *Ararat*. For that the best Vine naturally groweth on the South-side of the Mountains *Caucasi*; and, because of other excellencies of that Soil, he thinketh it most probable that *Noah* there fed himself, and planted his Vineyard. And he alloweth best of the Opinion of *Gordius Becanus*, who conceiv'd the Ark to have rested on the highest Mountains of that part of the World.

8. Of this Deluge a Tradition remained amongst the Heathen. (a) *Berosus* the *Caldean*, Priest of *Belus*, and Contemporary with *Alexander the Great*, wrote of the Ark's resting upon the *Gordyean* Mountains of *Armenia*, and how those that came to see the Reliques of it (which yet were to be seen in his time) plucked off some Pitch, which they used to carry about them, as an Antidote against Infection. *Herome* the *Aegyptian*, who wrote the Antiquities of *Pawnia*, related the same; besides *Mnaseus*, and many others: amongst whom *Nicolas of Damascus* is considerable, who in his 96th Book spake of the Hill *Baris*, in the Countrey of the *Mymians*; (a People in *Armenia*) upon which many saved themselves in a Deluge, and one being carried thither in an Ark, there rested; who might (saith he) be the same man concerning whom *Moses* the Law-giver of the Jews wrote. *Xiphias* by one (b) is related, being forewarned of a Deluge by *Saturn*, to have fled by Boat into *Armenia*, where, the Waters decreasing, he sent out Birds to discover dry Land; which, finding none, returned to him again. He is said by (c) a second to have escaped a great Deluge which hapned in his dayes (being also forewarned by *Saturn* thereof) by providing an Ark, wherein, with himself, Birds, Creeping things, and Beasts were preserved. (d) A third brings in an *Aegyptian* Priest, declaring to *Solon*, out of the Monuments of Antiquity, that before the particular *Oegyian* and *Decalionean* Deluges, there was an universal one, by which the Earth was much defaced. (e) Another yet telleth a Story like in all things to the History of *Moses*, but that *Ducaleon* is placed in the room of *Noah*. The particular Deluges which hapned afterwards in *Greece*, and other places, have by the Ancients been confounded with this; and (f) some think they did not in reality differ from it.

9. *Noah*, before the Flood, begat three Sons, *Sem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*; of which the last in order seemeth to have been the first in Nature, although the contrary Differ. a. c. 3. is defended; and yet so, as *Cham* is never accounted the Eldest. (g) *Noah* is, with great probability, thought to be *Saturn*, so much talked of by the Heathen; for many things concur to persuade us to it. He was the common Father of all Mankind after the Flood, which thing is by *Orpheus* attributed to *Saturn*. Not only a just person, as *Saturn* (h) was, but a Preacher of Righteousness. From the time of the Flood to the Division of the Earth, he had a Natural Dominion over all Mankind, which space fitly answereth to the Golden Age under *Saturn*. In

that Age there was but one Language, which *Mythologists* (a) so far extended as to make men and Beasts to have spoken in the same Dialect. *Noah* is called an Husbandman, (or, in the Hebrew phrase, a man of the Earth;) and *Saturn's* wife, *Rhea*, is the same with the Earth: he (b) being also said to have taught *Jannus* (c) *Service* in the Use of the Vine, and Sickle, in imitation of *Noah*, who planted a Vineyard. From *Noah's* once being overtaken with Wine, the liberty of the *Saturnalia* might proceed; and from his Curbing of *Cham* with Servitude, the Custom (e) observ'd amongst the *Romans* during that Solemnity, of exercising servile Offices. The occasion of the Curse was *Cham's* seeing his Father's Nakedness, and making a jest thereof; and the Poets (d) feign'd a Law made by *Saturn*, that none should feed the gods naked and go unpunished. *Saturn* and *Rhea* are said (e) to have been begotten of the *Ocean* and *Thetis*, and thence the Ancient *Romans* would have (f) the Badge of *Saturn* to be a Ship; which things much accord with the History of *Nay* *Aurum* *Noah*, *Saturn* devoted all his Children but these three, *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, of *Orig. Genes* who divided the World amongst them, as did *Sem*, *Cham* and *Japhet*. Of these, *Cham*, the youngest agreeth with *Jupiter*, being named *Jupiter Hammon*. *Japhet* with *Neptune*, for that he had his portion in Islands and Peninsulas. And *Sem*, being for his Goodness hated by Idolaters, might by them be condemned to Hell, and termed *Pluto*.

10. Two years after the Flood, *Sem* being an hundred years old, begat *Arphaxad*, who is rationally (g) thought his eldest Son; although *Elam* and *Affur* (e) *Jacobus* be named before him; the Scripture in Genealogies not always observing the Order of Birth. *Arphaxad* at the Age of 35 years, begat a Son call'd *Selah*, according to the Hebrew; but the Greek Translation of the 72. maketh him at the Age of 135. to have begat *Cainan*, which is followed by *Luke* in the Genealogie of Christ. Much is said on both sides for these several Readings; but most likely it is that this *Cainan* was neither thought of by *Moses*, the 72. Interpreters, nor S. *Luke*; but that by a mistake of the Transcribers, he crept into the Copies of *Luke*, and the 70. *Beza* had a Copy of *Luke* very ancient, and now in the Publick Library of the University of Cambridge, wherein he is not found; and, what is more, he was not acknowledged by the Primitive Church, as appeareth by (h) *Irenaeus*: That the Version of the 72. most anciently had him not, is probably inferred from *Josephus* (i) *Jacobus* who, though he wrote in Greek, and usually followeth that Translation, nameth him not; neither doth *Epiphanius* against Heresies; nor *Hierome* in his Hebrew Translation; though he there discourseth of the differences betwixt the Hebrew and Greek Copies. Neither is he read in all Copies of the 1. *Chron.* 1. In *Moses* he is no where to be found, either in the Hebrew Text, or the Chaldean, or Samaritan Versions. *Selah* (or *Schelah*) at the Age of thirty years begat *Heber*, from whom many think the Hebrews, and the Hebrew Tongue to be so named. *Heber* being 34 years old, begat *Phaleg*, so called, because in his days the Earth was divided.

11. The Division of the Earth was occasioned by the confusion of Languages; and this, by building of the Tower of *Babel*. (i) *Josephus* telleth us that God had several times admonished men to separate themselves, and inhabit the Earth: which they impiously taking in an ill sense, as though he did it upon design to destroy them; at the instigation of *Nimrod*, the Son of *Cham*, and Nephew of *Cham*, (who now ambitiously affected Dominion over them) agreed to build a stately City, and a Tower which should reach to Heaven, to defend them from danger, in case another Deluge should overwhelm the Earth. They came from the East into the Land of *Shinar*, and there began their Work. Some put no other distinction betwixt the City and Tower but will have it only a City adorned with Towers. Others place them at a great distance from each other; but it (k) seemeth evident, that some one notable Tower was begun, and that in the City which was situate upon the River *Euphrates*. To put an end to this Design, God confounded their Language, that they understood not one another's Speech, and hereupon the City was called *Babel*, signifying Confusion; and the Land of *Shinar*, afterwards known by the Name of *Babylonia*, sometimes called *Babel* it self, and the City *Babylon*, in several Languages. Of this great Passage a Tradition also remained amongst the Heathen, as appeareth by (l) *Abydenus*, *Heliectus*, and *Sibylla*, who made mention of it; the Land of *Sennar*, and of *Babylon*, which they acknowledge was so called from *Babel*, in the Hebrew Tongue signifying Confusion. Hence also the Fable arose concerning the Giants fighting against the gods, and their making a way to Heaven by heaping Mountains one upon another; which Attempt was blatted by *Jupiter's* Thunderbolts.

12. What

The Division of the Earth.

Sem's Inheritance.

His five Sons.

1. Elam.

2. Affur.

3. Arphaxad.

4. Lud.

5. Aram.

The four Sons of Aram.

1. Huz.

2. Hull.

3. Gether.

4. Mar.

Jesse the second Son of Elber had thirteen Sons.

12. What the Sons of men (in opposition to the People of God so called) laboured to prevent in the Building of *Babel*, was thereby brought upon them; the Lord scattering them abroad upon the face of the Earth, and yet doing them more good than they intended to do themselves. Some will have the three Sons of *Noah* to have divided the Earth by Lot, which, as yet could not be sufficiently known; and as such a City (namely *Rhinoecolia*) as was not built till many Ages after, by (a) *Affur*, King of *Aegypt* and *Ethiopia*: Nay, one (b) proceedeth so far, as to brand him with Heresie whoever doth not believe it. *Cham*, though the youngest, was advanced by the Heathen above the rest, and named *Jupiter*: *Japhet*, as the Elders, had the Prerogative of Birth-right; but *Sem*, for his Piety was preferred by his Father, through God's dispensation, and obtained the choicest Inheritance, which extended to this, and a better World. He hath five (c) Sons mentioned in Scripture, *Elam*, *Affur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*. Of *Elam* defended the *Elamites*, or *Elymeans*, Neighbours to the *Medes*, and whom *Luke* placeth betwixt *Media* and *Mejopotamia*; from whom also the Neighbouring Regions were named: For *Susan*, the Metropolis of the *Susians*, is by *Daniel* placed in the Province of *Elam*; and besides that, (d) *Gabriana*, *Carbana*, *Maffabica*, and *Sufana*, as far as to the River *Euleus*; near the Mouth of which also upon the *Persian Gulf*, *Pliny* and others place the *Elymeans*.

13. From *Affur* descended the *Affures*, called afterwards *Affyrians*, and from him was named *Affria*, properly so called, (which was the Country lying about *Ninus*, or *Ninive*) named also anciently (e) *Auria*, and (f) *Alyria*, and in latter times (g) *Adiabene*. In it *Strabo* placeth the *Babylonians*, *Elymeans*, *Paracians*, *Gordians*, *Mejopotamians*, *Arabians* and *Syrians* (from *Aegypt* to *Pontus*, where the *Leuco-Syrians* dwell) called also *Affyrians*. *Syria* and *Affyria* were of old time promiscuously used; but at length Custom obtained that *Enphrates*, or *Tigris* parted them. From *Arphaxad*, *Josephus* would have the *Chaldeans* issued, which, as he and others say, were anciently called *Arphaxadeans*; but in Scripture they are constantly read *Chasdim*, from *Chesed*, or *Chafed*, Son to *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, and therefore owe their Original rather to him; and from *Arphaxad* seemeth to have received its Appellation part of *Affyria*, called *Arphaxitis*, and named *Arrapachitis* by *Ptolemy*. From *Lud* came the *Lydians*, anciently also known by the name of *Meones*, as we have it from *Herodotus*, and others; the *Carians* and *Myrians* also, who inhabited the South part of *Asia*, beyond the River *Mander*, being reckoned of the same Original by him: Of *Aram* descended the *Arameans* and the *Arims*, called *Syrians*, after the growth of the *Affyrian* Empire. Four Sons of *Aram* are mentioned by *Moses*, which (h) elsewhere are reckoned amongst the Sons of *Sem*, viz. *Huz*, *Hull*, *Gether*, and *Mar*, or *Melech*.

14. *Huz*, or *Uz*, by general consent of the Ancients, built *Damascus*. There being two besides of the same Name, this hath made a confusion amongst Writers. One (b) was the son of *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, whose Seat is called *Amlitis* (c) in the Greek, and his Posterity *Amlis*, a People of Arabia the desert, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. (d) Another of the Posterity of *Ejan*, or *Edom*; who fixeth in Arabia the Stony, on the Borders of *Canaan*, from whom *Idumaea* is (e) called the Land of *Uz*. *Hull* (by *Josephus* named *Otrus*) as they say, inhabited part of *Armenia*. *Gether* was the Father of the *Bagrians*, according to *Josephus*; according to *Hierome*, of the *Carians*, and *Acarmanians*; and *Mercerus* strangely joyneth all these Nations, so far distant in place, together in Original. *Mar* (called also (m) *Melech*) is thought by *Josephus* to be the Founder of the *Mejaneans*, a People near the Camp of *Palmus*, about the Mouths of *Tigris*. *Hierome* maketh him elsewhere from *Lud*. (n) Others will have him to have given Origin to the People inhabiting the North-part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Mejopotamia*, near the Mountain *Mafus*; or to the Inhabitants of this Mountain, called *Mafeni*, and *Mafiani*. *Eber* the Son of *Selah*, besides *Phaleg*, had another Son, named *Joſan*, whose thirteen Sons *Moſes* relateth, as the Founders of so many Nations; *Almodad*, *Shelah*, *Hazeramelech*, *Jerah*, *Hadoram*, *Uzal*, *Diklah*, *Obal*, *Abimael*, *Sheba*, *Ophir*, *Uzziel*, and *Jobab*. Their dwelling was from *Meſha*, as thou goest, faith *Moſes*, upon *Seſban*, a Mount of the East. They inhabit, faith *Josephus*, from *Cophene*, a River of *India*, that Countrie of *Syria* which lieth upon it; as now the Text is; which cannot but be false Geography. And for *Syria*, *Ar* is rather to be read; which, as *Pliny* faith, according to the Judgment of others, included three other Provinces of the *Gedroſ*, *Arachote*, and *Paropamisade*, being terminated with the River *Cophetes*.

15. But

15. But neither in this place is there any thing to be met withal like *Mefsa*, or *Sephar*, or any people thereof of the same name with *Joſhan*, or his Sons; neither could that *Ophir*, to which *Solomon* ſent for Gold by Sea, and which they alſo will have denominatd from one of the thirteen, be near *Aria*, which lieth at the foot of the Mountain *Parapaniſus*, at a vaſt diſtance from the Ocean. Great *Bochartus* therefore placeth them in the Mediterranean parts of *Arabia* the *Happy*, the Inhabitants whereof, if they may be heard, challenge *Joſhan* for the Founder of both the *Arabian* Nation and Language, calling him otherwiſe *Cabitan*. From *Almodad* then, defended the *Anodeans*, by the Greeks called *Alumaeote*, whom *Pliny* placeth in the middle of *Arabia*, near the Head of the River *Lar*, which emptieth it ſelf into the *Perſian* Sea. From *Saleph* the *Salapeni*, who lived more remote upon the Borders of *Arabia Deſart*, not far from the Spring of the River *Be-tinn*. From *Hatſaramaveb* (which word is variously written, and by the *Arabians* called *Hadramanb* or *Chadramanb*) were named the Regions *Adramiſta*, *Chatramiſta*, *Chatramiſti*, and the Inhabitants *Adramotiſte*, *Chatramotiſte*, *Chatramote*, *A-tramite*, and *Adramite*, whoſe Metropolis was anciently called *Sabota*, *Sabbata*, *Sanbata*, at this day *Sebam*. From *Jerach* came the *Alilei*, a People inhabiting near the Red Sea: *Jerachai* in Hebrew, and *Alilei* in *Arabick*, being the Sons of *Jerachab*, *Hilal*, or the Moon.

16. From *Hadram* iſſued the *Drimanti*, placed by *Pliny* upon the *Perſian* Gulf, near the *Mace*. From *Uzal*, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Alieman* (in the Eaſtern part of *Arabia*) ſeem to be defended, *Sanaa* the Metropolis, being by the Jews ſtill called *Uzal*. *Dicla*, in the *Chaldean* and *Syrian* Tongues ſignifying a *Palm*; from him muſt that part of *Arabia* have been called, wherein that Tree moſt grows, inhabited by the *Minai*, *Obal* (in the *Arabian* Tongue *Aubal* and *Abal*) ſeemeth to have paſſed over the Gulf into *Arabia Troglodytica*, and to have given Name to the Mart-Town and Bay of *Abalites* or *Awalites*. *Abimael* was the Father of the *Malite*, whom *Thophrasius* maketh to have inhabited one of the four Regions fruitful in Spices. Of *Seba* came the *Sabeans*, properly fo called; named alſo *Sabate*, who dwelt by the Red Sea, betwixt the *Minians* and *Catabanes*, which Nations alſo, together with the *Chatramotes*, are by Writers often included amongſt the *Sabeans*. Beſides this *Seba*, there were three others of that Name, and Founders of Nations. As (a) one the Son of *Chus*, another his Nephew by *Ragnab*, and the (b) third the Son of *Joſaphan*, and Nephew of *Abraham*. *Seba* the Son of *Joſaphan* joynd to the *Arabian* Sea; the reſt to the *Perſian*; ſo that the *Sabeans*, (of whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* know no diſtinction) are ſaid by *Pliny*, to live from Sea to Sea. The Son of *Joſaphan* lived on Robbery; but the reſt by Commerce with other Nations. *Ophir* (in *Arabick*, *Auphar*, ſignifying moſt rich) gave Name to that part of *Arabia* near the *Sabeans*, which was inhabited by the *Ceſſanite*, *Cafandres*, or *Gafandres*, ſo called from the Treasures; Gold, for its plenty, being here in little requeſt. Another *Ophir* there was alſo in *India*; in the Iſland *Taprobane*, as moſt probable; the *Phenicians* being accuſtomed to give old Names to new-found places. From *Chaula* the Son of *Joſhan* (for there was another of this Name, Son to *Chus*) defended the *Chaulomites*, called otherwiſe *Carbi*, and *Cerban*, the moſt warlike of the *Arabians*, whoſe Seat is yet called *Chaulan*. Of *Jobab*, the laſt of the thirteen, came the *Jobabite*, placed by *Pliny* next to the *Sachabites*. This was the Habitation of the Sons of *Joſhan* from *Mefsa*, called otherwiſe *Mufa* and *Mura*, a famous Port upon the Red Sea, as one goeth to *Saphar* a Mountain Eaſtward, where was a City of the ſame Name; both Port and City being well known to the *Egyptians* and *Aſiophians*, who uſed to trade into theſe parts. This was the Inheritance of the Sons of *Seu*, the choiſeſt of all, though contained only within *Aſia*.

17. To *Japhet* fell a very conſiderable part of *Aſia*, and *Europe*, the leaſt of the Diviſions of the Earth, but better improved than the reſt, and far more populous; of later times the Seat of Learning, &c. of two Empires, which extended their power to the Inwards both of *Aſia* and *Africa*; and in an eſpecial manner bleſſed with more than worldly proſperity, ſince *Japhet* dwelt in the Tents of *Sem*. The Greeks acknowledged him for their Founder, by the name of *Japetus*, than whom they thought nothing more ancient. *Mofes* reckoneth ſeven of his Sons, and as many Nephews. The Sons are (c) *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Javan*, *Tubal*, *Mefech* and *Titis*. *Joſephus* maketh *Gomer* the Father of the *Gatians*, which if ſo, the ſame Original muſt be extended to the *Gauls*, of whom the other were but a Colony; and to ſome the Names of *Cimmerii* and *Cimbri*, whereby the Inhabitants of the Weſtern parts have been known, as alſo thoſe of *Kumero*, *Kumeri* and by *Cymbro*, which

which our ancient *Britains* (of the ſame ſtock with the *Gauls*) called themſelves, ſeem to own no other Original. But another thinketh the Land of *Gomer* to be that part of *Phrygia* called *Catecaucene*, lying upon the Rivers *Cayſter* and *Meander*, and the City *Philadelphus*; the Plains of which conſiſt of a burnt kind of Earth like *Aſhes*, and the Hilly parts are all Stony, the whole Country being brittle, and eaſie to be inflamed. This he gathereth from the ſignification of *Gomer* and *Phrygia*, both which import *Burning*; *Mofes* (according to his Judgment) not always calling the Founders of Nations by their true and proper Names, but by the Names of the Countries which they planted. Ever when the word is of the Plural Number, as of the Sons of *Javan*, *Cittim*, and *Rodanim*; and all the Sons of *Mifraim* and *Canaan* (except *Sidon* and *Ethi*) muſt needs be Names of Peoples, not of particular Men. *Hatſaramaveb* he proveth to be the Name of a Place only; for that it ſignifieth the Region of Death; as *Dikla*, a place of Palm-trees; *Ophir*, a rich; *Jobab*, ſo called from the *Deſari*, and ſeveral others.

Gomer's three Sons.
1. *Aſkenaz*.

2. *Riphat*.

3. *Togarmah*.

2. *Magog*.

The ſame with Promethus.

3. *Madai*.

4. *Javan*.

His four Sons.
1. *Elifi*.

2. *Tarſiſſus*.

3. *Kittim*.

18. *Gomer* hath three Sons mentioned by *Mofes*; *Aſkenaz*, *Riphat*, and *Togarmah*. From *Aſkenaz* thoſe defended, according to *Joſephus*, by the Greeks called *Regines*; which who they were, is not to be undertood. Moſt probably, by *Aſkenaz* is ſignified *Bithynia*, in which is the Bay *Aſcanius*, beſides a Lake and River of the ſame name; or *Troas* and *Phrygia* the left, in which were *Aſcania*, both Country and City, and Iſland *Aſcanie*. From *Riphat*, *Joſephus* deriveth the *Paphlagonians*, a People of *Aſia* the left, near *Pontus*, and Neighbours to the *Phrygians*. *Togarmah* is variously expounded by Writers. It appeareth out of *Ezekiel* (a) that *Gomer* and *Togarmah* were not far diſtant; both North of *Judea*; and that from *Togarmah* came *Horſes* and *Mules* to be fold at *Tyre*. *Hereto* well agreeeth the Opinion of *Joſephus*, who placeth *Togarmah* in *Phrygia*, to which *Cappadocia* was near adjacent, North to *Judea*, and excelled in the Breed of *Horſes* and *Mules*.

19. From *Magog*, *Japhet*'s ſecond Son, defended the *Scythians*, according to *Joſephus* and others; *Gog* and *Magog*, being that part of *Scythia* about *Caucasus*, which the *Colchi* and *Armenians* (whole Language was half *Chaldean*) called *Gog-haſan* (i.e. the Fort of *Gog*) and thence the Greeks, *Caucasus*: to whom alſo *Gogere* was known, which *Stephanus* deſcribeth to be between the *Colchi* and Eaſtern *Iberi*. *Magog* ſeemeth to be the ſame with *Promethus*. For as *Promethus* was the Son of *Japetus*, ſo *Magog* of *Japhet*. *Promethus* was feigned to be fixed to *Caucasus*, and *Caucasus* was the Seat of the *Scythians* of old time, till they expelled the *Cimmerii*, and ſucceeded them: *Promethus* brought down Fire from Heaven, which might take Original from *Magog* his finding out of Metals in *Colchis* and *Iberia*. And the Fable of his Heart or Liver being eaten by an Eagle, may be found in (b) the word *Magog*, which ſignifieth to be diſſolved, or to decay. *Hierapolis*, a City in *Syria*, ſeemeth to have been called alſo *Magog* from him; ſeeing *Deucalion* the *Scythian*, and Son of *Promethus*, is by *Lucian* ſaid to have conſecrated the Temple there to the *Syrian* Goddeſs. From *Madai* it's generally granted, that the *Medes* are iſſued; the *Medes* and *Perſians* being conſtantly in the Book of *Daniel* and *Eſther*, named *Madai* and *Parſes*. From *Javan* defended the *Iones*, (or all that inhabited Greece, from *Thrace* to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, the *Macedonians* being included) *Homer* calling them *Iaones*, and *Alexander* being ſignified by (c) *Daniel* under the Name of the King of *Javan*.

20. The Sons of *Javan* were *Elifi*, *Tarſiſſus*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*; from whom four Provinces took their Names. From *Elifi*, *Helic*, according to *Joſephus*; but rather *Elis* (the moſt ancient and ample Region of *Peloponneſus*, part whereof is by *Homer* called *Aſium*) to be taken for the whole Peninſula. From *Tarſiſſus*, *Joſephus* and others derive *Tarſus*, the great City in *Cilicia*; ſome *Carthage*; another *Tunis*; but *Eusebius* and *Bochartus* undertand the *Iberians* or *Spaniards*, amongſt whom was a place called *Tarſiſſus*. Beſides this, there was another (*) *Tarſis* in the *Indian* Sea, whither Ships went from *Eſſon-gabers*; and indeed, whatever the word originally ſignifieth (whether *Cilicia* or any other place) it is ſecondarily applied to the Mediterranean Sea, which reacheth unto *Phoenicia*, and ſometimes ſeemeth to denote the Ocean it ſelf. *Joſephus* will have *Cittim* to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the Iſland *Cyprus*, where was a City called *Cittim*, the native place of *Zeno* the Stoick; and hence, he ſaith, the *Hebrews* called all Iſlands and maritime places by the name of *Cethim*. Others will have the *Chians*, ſome certain Nations of *India*; others *Cilicia*, ſome, *Macedonia* to be undertood by this word. The *Romans* are by *Daniel* ſignified under this name, and in *Italy* were of old the Cities *Cetia*, *Ecbetia*, and the River *Cetus*; and *Cittim* imports the ſame thing with the word *Latini*.

nm, betokening to lie hid. The Opinion therefore of *Jofephus* is very probable, that thefe Iflands and Coasts of the *Mediterranean* might be known to the *Hebreus*, under the Name of *Cethim*. *Dodanum* (omitted in *Jofephus*) by fome is interpreted *Dardanians*, by others *Dodonians*. But moft anciently it was called *Rhodanum*, which the Greek renderth *Rhodium*, though the Name of *Rhodes* is later than *Mofes* his time. *Bochartus* therefore placeth this People in *Gaul*, about the River *Rhodanus* (now *Rhene*) which he proveth not to have been fo named from *Rhoda*, a Town there Founded by the *Rhodian*s. *Rhodanum*, he faith, fignifieth *Yellow*, or *Saffron-coloured*, which agreeth well with the colour of the Hair of the ancient *Gauls*, either Natural, or Affected; wherein alfo the *Britains* thewed themfelves defended of the fame Stock; as *Jornandes* judgeth.

5. Tabal.

6. *Mesoch.*

7. Div.

Cham's portion.

22. Curſed *Cham* was not excluded from Earthly Bleſſings. To his Lot fell *Ægypt*, and all *Africk*, a great part of *Syria*, and *Arabia*, beſides *Babylonia*, *Sulana*, *Aſſyria*, and other Countries, which his Grand-ſon *Nimrod* poſſeſſed himſelf of. *David* very often calleth *Ægypt* the Land of *Cham* or *Ham*: the Ancient Inhabitants themſelves, *Chamia*, or *Chenia*. In *Arabia* and *Aſſyria* the Name of *Ammon*, (the Affiration being taken away) was univerſally known, as appeareth by *Ammon*, a River in *Arabia*, the Promontory *Ammonium*, and the People called *Ammonitii*. In *Africk*, the City *Ammonis* upon the River *Cynophus*. The Chappel of *Ammonis* in the Iſland *Meroe*. In *Marmarica*, the City *Ammonia*, vulgarly *Paraetonium*: Nay, all the *Ammonian* Countrey, where was the famous Oracle of *Ammon*. And, all *Africk* was called *Ammonis*, or *Ammonia*. *Ham* ſignifieth *Hot*: in which reſpect it agreeth well with the Greek word *Zeus*, the Name of *Jupiter*. *Ham* was *Noah's* youngest Son: ſo was *Jupiter* the youngest of *Saturn*. From *Cham's* living in *Africk*, the hottest part of the World, *Jupiter* may be called the Lord of Heaven. And *Saturn's* being made an Eunuch by his Son *Jupiter* (or *Cælus* by his Son *Saturn*, as *Macrobius* hath it) ſeemeth to relate to that Fault, for which *Cham* received from his Father a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing. Of theſe things *Bochartus* giveth abundant ſatisfaction, to name no more.

His four Sons.

1. *Cbus.*

His fix Sons.

Their Seat.
Mizraim.

Чл. 11. в. 29,
30.

Chap.27-V.13

¹ Plutarch in *Is.*
de.

(a) Vide Bo
re chartum lib.
cap. 2.
a, Raleium l. 7.
in c. 8. sec. 10.

er

Maṣor (the Singular Number of the word *Mizraim*) as it's thought, from the straightness of it, being extended out in length from the Sea towards *Syene*. From *Mizraim*, *Moſes* deriveth seven People or Nations: *Ludim*, *Ananim*, *Lehabim*, *Pathruſim*, *Caſuthim* (out of whom came *Philiftim*) and *Caphthorim*.

*Misraim's 8
Sons.*

I. *Ludim.*

3. Analysis.

3. *Lehabim.*

A. Naphtabium

5. Patronym.

6. Callubim

7. *Caphorin.*

3. Post.

4. *Canaan.* His Posterity and Seat.

1. Siden.

2. Herb.

24. *Josephus* will have the eight Sons of *Misraim* to have possessed all the Country lying between *Gaza* and *Aegypt*, though *Philitin* only gave Name to it; from whom the *Greeks* called it *Palestina*. *Lybie*, hefaith, led a Colony into *Libya*, which he named after himself; but as for the rest, he confesseth both their Names and Affairs to be obscure, their Cities being overthrown, as he saith, in the *Ethiopian War* made by *Moses*; concerning which he bringeth a meer Fable, taken out of *Arta-nus*, and the Inventions of the *Hellenists*. As for *Ludin*, *Bocharis* by ten Arguments proveth the *Ethiopians* to be meant thereby, whom he will have also a Colony of the *Egyptians*. By *Ananim* the *Nemades* of *Africk*, who inhabited about *Ammon*, and in *Nafamoni*, and for *Ananims*, might easily be called *Amorians* and *Ammonians*; they being also a Colony of the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, as appeareth out of *Hierodotus*. Of the same Original he maketh the *Nafanones*, *A-mantes*, *Flammantes* (who * made their Houses of Salt) and the *Garamants*. *Lehabim* or the *Lehabaeans* are thought to be the same with the *Libyans* bordering upon *Aegypt*, from whom this Denomination might pass to those that inhabited the greatest part of *Africk*. *Naphthum* he placeth in *Marmarica* upon the *Mediterranean Sea*; *Patrubim* in *Thebais*, a Province of *Aegypt*, called *Pathros*, and by many distinguished from *Aegypt*, though Peopled from it.

25. *Calubine* he maketh to signifie the *Colchi*, though fo far diftant from *Aegypt*, out of which they defended; and from *Palefine*, the Inhabitants whereof defended from them; both their Language and Life in all particulars fo absolutely agreed with the *Aegyptians*, of whom, by the Heathen alfo, they have been thought a Colony, left there by *Sefoftris* in his Expedition, though they be of more Antiquity than he. The *Capitulum* ſcem to have been Neighbours to him; from whom alfo, together with them, the *Philifines* defended, as appeareth from *ſ* Scripture. They are therefore to be placed in that part of *Cappadocia*, which lieth next to *Colchos* about *Trapezond*. It is probable that, upon the Report of the Richneſs of theſe Places, the *Aegyptians* ſent out a Colony (for this drew thither *Phirceus*, *Jaſon*, *Sefoftris*, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and of later times the *Sarcacens* out of *Arabia*): which, finding the Climate too cold, or the Countrey not to anfwer expectation, or perhaps moleſted by the *Seythians* and others; part therefore reſolved to return home, and in their way ſeated themſelves in *Palefine*, after they had expell'd thence the * *Amir*. The Captain of this Expedition ſeemeth to have been *Typhon*, reported by the *Greek Poets*, to have made War againſt the Gods, and to have pierced as far as *Caucuſus*; but, after many Battels, being ſtricken of *Jupiter* with a Thunderbolt, to have fled into *Palefine*; where he died at the Lake of *Serbonis*, and fill lieth buried.

26. The third Son of Cham was Phut, who divided *Africk* with his Brother Mifram. To Mifram fell *Egypt*, and most part' of *Africk*, as far as the Lake of *Trionis*, which divideth *Africk* into two equal parts. To Phut, all from the Lake, as far as the *Atlantic Ocean*; as may be gathered from (a) *Hierodotus*. As far as the Lake, he faith, all the *Africans*: used the Customs of *Egypt*; but those beyond them towards the West, a far different kind of Life. Some Names retained a Memorial of Phut, as the City *Pute*; a River of *Mauritania Tingitana*, called Phut; and the Haven *Phibia*, mentioned by *Plolomy*, *Phry*, and others. *Canaan* is the fourth Son reckoned in order by *Moses*. He begat *Sidon*, his First-born, and *Heth*, the *Jebusite*, the *Amorrhite*, the *Girgassite*, the *Hevrite*, the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, the *Areadite*, the *Zemarite*, and the *Hamathite*. By *Canaan* was inhabited the Land, which thereupon bore his Name, and was afterwards conquered by the *Hebrews*. His Family was propagated as far as the Sea, the *Phenicians* being descended of him, as *Eusebius* an Heathen Writer, in his Book of the *Jews*, bare witness, saying, That *Saturn* begat *Belus* and *Canaan*; and the later begat the Father of the *Phenicians*: besides, one *Cna* is said by *Sanchoniathon* (a most ancient *Plemian* Writer) to have been the first Man that was called *Phenician*; whence, by *Stephanus*, *Phenice* is called *Cna*, and the *Phenicians*, *Cnai*. But, what is more, the Scripture calleth *Phenicia* the Land of *Canaan*.

27. *Sidon*, the First-born of *Canaan*, was the Father of the *Sidonians*, or the Builder of the City *Sidon*, which was more ancient than *Tyre*, and the Metropolis to it; the *Sidonians* having led a Colony thither, and founded *Tyre*, according to *Trogus* (b) before the destruction of *Troy*; 240 years before the building of *Solomon's Temple*, as *Josephus* counteth. The Children of *Heib* dwell in the Land of

Antiq. l. i. c. 6.

Jer. 47. 4.
Amos 9. 4.

* Dene: x ad?

(a) Lib. 4. 6.
186, 187.

Euseb. Praepar.
Evangel. l. 9.

(b) Lib. 18,
Antiq. 1.8.c.2.

3. The Jkhr.
4. Amnaitis.
5. Gergafit.
6. Hilit.
7. Arkite.
8. Sinit.
9. Aradit.
10. Zemarit.
11. Hemathit.
- Canaan*, about *Hebron* and *Barfaba* towards the South; and from them the *Anakims* descended. The *Jehusites* held *Hierusalem*, and the Castle of *Sion* until *David's* time. The *Ammonites* pasted the Mountains of *Judea*, and passing over *Jordan*, made War upon the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*; seized upon *Basan*, *Hebron*, and all the Country lying between the River *Jabbok*, and *Araun*: in memory whereof, one of their Poets wrote a Poem, which *Moses* (*) hath inserted into his Writings. The *Gergasites* seem to have continued about *Gerefa*, or *Gadara*, over against *Galilee*, beyond *Jordan*, (b) till Christ's time. The *Hivites* dwelt in Mount *Hermom*, towards the East of the Land of *Canaan*, from whom defended the *Gibonites*, living high to *Jerusalem*, and the *Sichemites* dwelling near to *Samarita*, more towards the West. The *Arkites* inhabited *Arce*, or *Arce*, a City in *Libanus*, mentioned by *Josephus* and *Ptolemy*. The *Sinites* had a City called *Sin*, not far from *Arce*, according to *Hierome*; but *Bochartus* placeth them at *Pelysina*; Sin signifying *Mud* or *Clay*, as *Pelos* in *Greek*. The *Aradites*, or *Aradites*, seized upon the Island *Aradus*, on the Coast of *Phoenicia*, at the Mouth of the River *Eleutherus*, and part of the Neighbouring Continent, where was *Astaradus*, *Marathus*, and *Leodicea*. The *Zemarites*, or *Semerites*, dwelt (as it's thought) about *Finefa*, a notable City of *Celestria*, upon the River *Orontes*, and built *Semarijins* in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And the *Hemathites* were feated about the City of *Syria*, called *Epiphania*, and not at *Antiochia*, which is at too great a distance. This was the Inheritance of the Sons of *Canaan*, whose Border was from *Sidon*, as *thou comest* to *Gerar* unto *Gaza*, as *thou goest* unto *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*, and *Admah* and *Zeboim*, even unto *Latha*; which some interpret *Casarea Philippi*, others *Callioch*; but *Bochartus* thinketh it to be *Latha*, a City of the *Arabians*, in the mid-way between the *Dead*, and *Red Seas*.

Thus was the Earth most anciently divided, and possessed after the Flood. How it hath since, in the several parts of it, changed its Inhabitants, shall be discovered, upon occasion, as the Work will bear.

CHAP. II.

Of the Babylonian Empire, from the first Founding thereof; to its utter Subversion by Cyrus.

- The Beginning
of Nimrod's
kingdom.
1. After the Division of the Earth, *Nimrod*, as we said, the Son of *Chus*, and Nephew of *Cham*, fixed his Seat at *Babel*, and therein first began a Kingdom; having joyned to it (a) *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Calmeh*, in the Land of *Shinar*. By *Erech*, the Ancients understood *Edessa*; and by *Accad*, *Nisibis*: But neither the Names nor Situation of these Cities do agree; they being in that part of *Mesopotamia* which lieth towards *Armenia*, and very far from *Babylon*. Therefore *Erech* is rather to be taken for *Arceca*, a City of *Susiana* upon *Tigris*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, which also seemeth to be the same with *Arderica* or *Arderica* (b) in *Herodotus*; *Ar* in the *Persian* Tongue signifying *Great*. And well *Arceca* might so be called, which was so long, that falling up the River, one should meet with it three several days, one after another; as the Historian relate. *Bochartus* thinketh *Arcebad* (called also *Arcebad*) to have given Name to the River *Argh*, which ran through *Sittacena*, a Province near to *Babylonia*, and since called *Apolloniatis*. By *Calmeh* (which is also *Calm* and *Canno*) it is to be understood that City, by the *Parthians* re-built, and called *Ctesiphon*. It stood upon *Tigris*, three Miles from *Seleucia*, being the Metropolis of *Chalontis*, a Province denominated from it, and mentioned by *Strabo*, and others. *Babylon* was exalted by the Building of *Seleucia*, as *Pliny* (c) telleth us; and the *Parthians* built (or re-built) *Ctesiphon* in *Chalontis*, three Miles off, to drein *Seleucia*.
2. The Duration of this *Babylonian* or *Assyrian* Empire; till *Sardanapalus*, is variously affixed; the cause of which seemeth to be, for that some derived the Original thereof from the Birth of *Chus*, as *Capellus* * thinketh; and so *Herodotus* * Ad A. M. might assign 1520 years to the continuance of it. Others from the Beginning of the *Babylonian* Kingdom, as *Diodorus*, who reckoneth 1400 years to the Death of *Sardanapalus*. Some from the Building of *Ninive*, as *Ctesias*, who hath 1360.

The Beginning
and Duration
of the Assyrian
Empire.

- And lastly, others from the Death of *Belus*, as *Trogus* and *Eusebius*; who give to it 1200 years. That *Nimrod* should begin his Kingdom within an hundred years after the Flood, is not very probable; as neither, that the Building of the Tower of *Babel* happened within that time: which would have been too short a space for the propagation of Mankind to so great Multitudes. An hundred years after the Deluge, *Phaleg* was born; in whose days it was that the Earth was divided. Some make the Division to have been at the same time of his Birth, and thence his Name imposed, as from a thing already done, or in doing. Others assign it to the latter end of his days, and will have his Name prophetically given by his Father: But there are not wanting, who take a middle way betwixt these two, and think the Division made when he was come to ripeness of Age, or in the middle of his Years; the Number of which amounted to 239. When *Alexander* the Great had conquered *Babylon*, which fell out about the 3675th year of the World; *Calisthenes* the Philosopher, who followed him in his Wars, at the desire of *Aristotle* his Kinaman, enquired into the Antiquities of the *Chaldeans*, and could find no Observations of any longer date than 1903 years; which being cast back from the forefeyd years, fall in their beginning, into 1772 from the Creation, the 116th from the Deluge, and the 16th of *Phaleg's* Life.
3. *Nimrod*, the Founder of this Empire, was by his Subjects named *Bel*, or *Belus*, which signifieth *Lord*, or *Sovereign*. That he was the Ancient *Belus*, is thence proved; that (*) most of the old Writers accounted *Belus* the Builder of *Babylon*, although some attributed it to *Semiramis*; herein relying upon the Credit of *Clephus*, which now is deservedly suspected by Learned men, and in no case worthy to stand in Competition with that of *Berosus*, the famous *Babylonian Priest* (who, as *Pliny* saith, had a Statue erected to his Memory at *Athens*, with a Gilded Tongue) nor with that of *Abydenus*, who also collected his Histories out of the *Chaldean Archives*. After *Moses* hath spoken of the four Cities, which were the Beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom; we read that out of that Land (of *Shinar*) *Assur* went forth and built *Niniveh*, and the City *Rehoboth*, and *Calah*, and *Relen*, between *Niniveh* and *Calah*. Some, according to this Translation, will have this *Assur* to have been the Son of *Sem*, who having built *Niniveh*, and founded the *Assyrian* Kingdom, *Nimrod* dispossessed him, or his; or some manner of way obtained, and joyntly it to be *Babylonian*, as *Julius Africanus* hath delivered. But others contend, that this *Assur* is the Name of the Countrey, and not of a man; and that it is to be read, And out of that Land went (Nimrod) into *Assur*, (i.e. *Assyria*) and builded *Ninive*, &c. Otherwise they think it would be out of the way for *Moses* to mention the Son of *Sem* in this place, where he is in hand with the Genealogy of *Cham*; neither could it be peculiar to him to go out of this Land, and build *Niniveh*; seeing all Mankind almost, at the Division of the Earth, went out of it. The last Reading only maketh the Sense entire; for how else could the four Cities properly be said to be the Beginning of *Nimrod's* Kingdom, except he added more unto it? Lastly, this seemeth very urgent, that, in Scripture *Assyria* is called the Land of *Nimrod*.
4. He was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; or, therein none was to be compared with him; things being said to be such before God, as were so indeed, or in an eminent manner; He judging not according to outward appearance, but as they are in their own Natures. By the means of Hunting it is probable that he made way unto his Monarchy: For under pretence of what was very necessary at this time (when men were few, scattered, and lying abroad, without defence against wild Beasts, which ever especially abounded about *Arabia* and *Babylon*) he might gather a Band of men, and by such Exercises (which the Heathens (a) by their Practice, as well as Opinion shewed to be convenient for breeding of Warriors) train them up, till he converted their force from Beasts, to Men. What was performed by him, seemeth to have been attributed to his Successors. *Ninus* is (b) said to have gathered an Army of *Arabians*, and therewith to have subdued the *Babylonians*; which seemeth to have related to his Conquest of that Countrey. For being a *Chaldean*, and consequently an *Arabian*, he might by the Affluence of his own Countrey-men and Kindred effect it; whom he (c) rewarded with that Region beyond *Tigris*, which thence, was, by the *Hebrews*, called *Chus*; by the *Chaldeans*, *Chub*; by the *Greeks*; and *Chusethan*, (i.e. the Province of *Chus*) by the *Persians*. From this usurping the Right of *Noah*, some think the Fable to have sprung, of *Salmr* being cast out of his Kingdom by *Jupiter*; the Word *Nimrod* signifying a Rebel, and answerable to his Carriage. He is also judged to be the true *Bacchus*; this word being little changed from *Bar-Chus*, that is, the Son of

Nimrod named
Belus.

Whether he
built Niniveh.

Made way to
his Kingdom
by Hunting.

The true
Bacchus.

A. M. 759.

Lapsus Vostri
Chron. differe.
5. c. 56.

Porphyrius
apud Simplicium
in Aristotelem
de Caelo. l. 2.

* Semiramis
tam considerat
vult, ut plerique
crediderunt, Belus
causæ regis e-
funderetur. Cur-
tius. l. 5. c. 1.
Berosus apud
Abydenum, lib.
1.
Abyden. apud
Eusebium. Prep.
Evangel. lib. 9.
Dorotheus.
Sidenius poeta
apud Julium
Firmicum.

Mich. 5. 6.

(c) Xenophon
de venatione
in Cyropedia.

(d) Diodorus.
l. 2. p. 64. d.

(e) Bochartus
l. 4. c. 12.

Chus. Bacchus was the Son of Jupiter, and he was the Grand-son of Jupiter Hammon. The most ancient Name of Bacchus was Zagreus, which signifieth a strong Hunter, answerable to the Epithete given to Nimrod. He undertook an Expedition into the East, wherein seemed to be contained the Facts of Nimrod, and his Successors. Bacchus was feigned to be born at Nysa in Arabia, and Nimrod was also an Arabian. And not unlikely might Nimrod be called to be over the Vines, who first reigned at Babylon, where was that most excellent kind of Wine, dignified by the Ancients with the Name of Nectar. To the Reign of Belus, or Nimrod, 65 years are given by Julius Africanus.

Ninus. 5. Ninus, his Son, succeeded him, and Canonized him for a God; which gave, as 'tis said, the first occasion to Idolatry. He made a Confederacy with Aricæ, King of Arabia (which Country withstood most Conquests;) and then invading Armenia, forced Barzanes the King thereof, to submit to his Vassallage. Next he entered Media, where he took, and crucified Phamus, the King; and then, being pricked on by desire of Glory, and encouraged by his Success, he subdued all the People of Asia in seventeen years, except the Indians and Bactrians; the latter whereof, under Conduct of their King Zoroastres (or rather Osgartres; for Zoroaster, the great Magician, lived many Ages after) stoutly opposed him, and yet at length were brought under, as we have it from Diodorus, who reporteth also that Ninus built Ninive, which he so named after himself. Whether he, his Father, or any other built it, a City it was of great Bignesse, Strength, and Ornament, being in Compass sixty Miles; of a Quadrangular form, encompassed and fortified with a Wall a hundred foot high, and of such a Breadth as three Chariots might have been driven together a-breast upon it; adorned also with Towers 200 Foot in height. The place of it is not agreed of, and (b) some think there were two Cities of this Name; one upon Euphrates in Comagena, and another in Assyria, beyond Tigris. As for Ninus, many things done both by his Father, and Successors, seem to have been attributed to him. He reigned 52 years; and the manner of his Death is diversely related: (c) One saith, he was shot with a Dart as he lay before a Town. (d) Another writeth that Semiramis his Wife (whom he had chosen for her admirable Beauty, and now doated on) obtained leave to wear his Royal Robe, and reign over Asia five days; and then, when she had got the power into her hands, commanded one of the Guard to kill him: But a (e) third only relateth him to have been secured in Prison.

His Death. 6. He left a Son by Semiramis, named Ninus, who being but young, the put on Mans Apparel, and counterfeiting his Person, as well as Sex, is reported to have done very great things; part of which might rather be challenged by the two foregoing Kings, and by some that followed her. The Resemblance of her Son in all the Lineaments and Proportion of her Body took away Suspicion; for the further prevention whereof, she commanded the same kind of Garment to be worn by the People. At length, when she thought she had got Fame sufficient, she made her self known; which detracted not from her Glory, but added to the Lustre of it. She re-edified and enlarged Babylon, inclosing it with a Wall made up of Brick, Sand, and a certain Clay, or Slime, clammy like Pitch, which there abounded; and *restrained, by new works, the violence of Euphrates, which, formerly was wont to overflow into the Town. Not content with the Empire, as her Husband left it, she enlarged it with the Conquest of Ethiopia, and made War upon India, though without Success; in which Undertaking, the only had Alexander the Great her Emulator, as Justin affirmeth. But, after he had reigned 42 years, either for that she would have had to do unlawfully with her Son (being reported exceeding vicious of her Body,) or, because he was impatient of her so long retaining the Power, he flew her; although some say, the voluntarily resigned the Kingdom. After her Death, she was feigned to be turned into a Dove, and worshipped for a Goddess under that shape: the occasion of which seemeth to have been the Bearing of that Bird pourtrayed in her Ensign.

Ninus. 7. Ninus, or Ninus, (as Justin calleth him) succeeding, imitated neither Grandfather, Father, nor Mother; but giving up himself wholly to an effeminate course of Life, would be seen of none except Concubines and Eunuchs. Yet to him is ascribed that politick ordering of the Militia, which was imitated constantly by his Successors. A yearly Choice was made of Officers and Soldiers out of each Province, to lie in Garrison in the City, and to be ready at all Essays, there to continue for one year; at the end of which, they were succeeded by new Levies. Hereby, the Subject was contained in Obedience; and yet, by suffering the Soldiers no longer to continue together, all Conspiracies and Plots were prevented, which

which might else have risen amongst such multitudes; the space of a year not being sufficient for such thorough and intimate acquaintance, as might produce any considerable Stirs. Those that followed Ninus, for thirty Generations, trode, for the most part, in his paths; nothing either memorable, or certain, remaining of them, except Tentamus the 20th. from Ninus, to whom Priamus King of Troy, when he was besieged by the Greeks, sent for Aid. This Tentamus is said to have sent him a Supply of 10000 Ethiopians, and as many of the Inhabitants of Susiana, with 200 Chariots, under the Command of Memnon, who bearing himself very valiantly against the Besiegers, was at length, by the wiles of the Thessalians, circumvented and slain. From the Beginning of the Assyrian Empire, to the Destruction of Troy, Eusebius reckoneth 943 years, Capellus from the Building of Niniveh, 995.

Sardanapalus. 8. The 23th in order, was Tonos-Conceleros, by the Greeks and Romans called A. M. 3166, Sardanapalus, ennobled only above the rest, for his excess in Effeminatenesse, and his ruine caused thereby. He spent all his time among Women; with whom he would sit and spin, imitating them in all things possible, so as scarce ever in his whole time was he seen of the other Sex. This extraordinary corruption in Manners gave occasion to two of his greatest Officers to compass his Destruction. For, Belesis (or Belochus) the Governor of Babylon, a great Magician and Astrologer, out of the Doctrine of the Stars, foretold to Arbaces Governor of Media, (otherwise called (a) Arbachus, (b) Orbachus, and (c) Pharnaces,) that one day he should lose the whole Principality of Sardanapalus, and excited him to Attempts difficult to such an Attchivement. Arbaces herewith puffed up, promised him the possession of Babylon, if his Prediction should take, and laboured to ingratiate himself with the Captains of the several Provinces. Then having a great desire to see what manner of Life the King lived, he hired an Eunuch to bring him into the Palace; where, beholding with his Eyes his dissolute Carriage, he despised him, and much more encouraged himself in the hope given him by Belesis. They now resolved, the one to draw the Medes and Persians, and the other the Babylonians, to revolt; and Arbaces communicated his Design and Purpose to the Governour of Arabia, his great Friend.

9. These things being as diligently put in practice, as readily undertaken, the next year an Army of 400000 men coming up to Niniveh, where the King then lay; under pretence of relieving the former years Guard, resolved to employ their Force in the Ruine of the Assyrian Kingdom. Sardanapalus, having timely notice of the Revolt, drew out such Forces as were in the City, and falling upon the Rebels in the Plain, put them to the Rout. They flying to the Mountains, and recollecting their Courage, came down again, and engaged; but with the same success: after which they retreated to the same place. Hereupon, Arbaces calling the Officers together, to advise what was to be done, all of them were for disbanding the Army, and departing home, except Belesis, who, urging them with what the Stars portended, prevailed with them to stay; but to no other purpose than that the King might gain the third Victory, which shortly happened. Now they fully resolved to be gone; when Belesis, his Credit being deeply engaged, spent the whole night in viewing the Stars; out of the Mystery of which, he was bold to affirm, that Help would come of its own accord, and great Changes follow, if they would have Patience but five days longer. They being yet prevailed with for this once; before the five days were expired, News came, that great Forces were coming from Bactria to the aid of the King. To them Arbaces sent, and easily perswaded them to joyn with the Conspirators.

10. Sardanapalus knowing nothing of this, and puffed up with his Success, returned to his former Course of Life; which Arbaces understanding from certain Fugitives, and how his Army lay in a secure and careless posture, drew down upon it in the Night, and made a great Slaughter, and drove those that escaped, into Niniveh. Hereupon the King committed the Conduct of the Army to Salmeneus, his Wives Brother, and took upon himself the Defence of the City; but the Rebels twice in the Field overthrew his Forces, and killed the General with most of his Souldiers. Then was the City closely besieged, and many Nations revolted to the Conspirators; which the King considering, and sensible of his Condition, sent out his three Sons and two Daughters, with a great Treasure, to Cotta, the Governour of Paphlagonia; and, dispatching Courriers into several Provinces, took what care he possibly could for the making of New Levies.

11. Neither was he behind-hand in providing all things within, that were necessary for Resistance. There being no fear of Storming the Town, by reason of the wonderful strength and height of the Walls. He considered the main danger

Tentamus.

Sardanapalus.

Belesis and Arbaces conspire against him.

He achieveth three victories over them.

Is worsted twice.

Athens.

(a) Bithynia, (b) Ptolemy, (c) Syria, (d) Lib. 1.

(e) Left Euphrates, (f) Tigris, (g) c. 20.

(h) Diodorus, (i) Justin, (j) c. 1.

Justin, ex Tro, (f) c. 1.

Herodotus, (f) c. 1.

Diodorus, l. 2, p. 77.

to lie in the Affections of the Inhabitants; to whom, that they might have no cause to attempt any new thing, he supplied all Necessaries in a plentiful measure. Two years and above he held out, and doubted not but to be able to do it, till Relief should come; and the rather, for that they had an Oracle that *Nimueh* should never be taken, till the River first proved an Enemy to it; which he never could suspect. But in the third year fell such Rains, that *Euphrates* (or *Lycus*, upon which, some conceive that *Strabo* placeth the City, and not *Euphrates*, nor *Tigris*, as others) swelling with abundance of Waters, made a Breach in the Wall twenty Furlongs in length. At this, the King utterly discouraged, as judging the Oracle to be fulfilled, left he should fall alive into the hands of his Enemies, he built a Pile of Wood in his Palace, upon which heaped his Treasures, and rich Attire; and, making a little Room in the midst, wherein he bestowed himself, his Concubines and Eunuchs, set fire to the Heap, and so perished with this Company and the Palace. Such was the end of him, who placed all his Felicity in his Sensual Appetite, which he would have also recorded in his (a) *Epitaph*, and advised the Reader to imitate. He is reported to have built (but rather he restored) two Cities of *Cilicia* in one day, viz. *Tarbus* and *Anchiala*; in the latter of which was his (b) Monument to be seen, being a Statue of Stone, with the Finger and Thumb of the right hand joined together, as about to give a *Fillip*. Upon the Monument was written in *Affryan* Characters, *Sardanapalus the Son of Anacyndaraca built Anchiala and Tarbus in one day. As for thee, Friend, Eat, a drink, and play; for all things else are not worth this*, viz. that *Fillip*. In him this Line of the *Affryans* failed, the Empire being divided into two Principalities, after it had continued about 1400 years, reckoned from the Building of *Babylon*. This Fall of *Sardanapalus* happened about the year of the World 3186, 43 years before the first *Olympiad*.

urf. Tufc. l. 5. Quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in Babilis, non in Hominis Sepulchro incidit? Hec habet si dicat, que necurus quidam diutius habuit, quam fustitatur.

12. The (c) Besiegers understanding what was become of *Sardanapalus*, presently entered in at the Breach, and took the City. Then, investing *Arbaces* with a Royal Robe, they created him King; who rewarded them according to their Deserts, and allotted the Provinces to their several Governors. *Belefs*, according to Agreement, having received the Principality of *Babylon*, and understanding from an Eunuch, how great Treasure *Sardanapalus* had burnt with himself, begged the *Albes of Arbaces*, under pretence of having made a Vow, in the Heat of the War, to carry them to *Babylon*, and therewith to raise a lasting Monument of the Destruction of the *Affryan* Empire. He being ignorant of his covetous Design, granted his Request; but, when the Matter was discovered, referred his Judgment to a Council of Officers, who condemned him to Death: Yet, being desirous to begin his Reign mildly, he not only remitted this Punishment, but permitted him to enjoy all the Gold and Silver already transported; and, what remained, which amounted to many Talents, he conveyed it to *Ecbatane*, the chief City of the *Medes*. (d) *Diodorus* and (e) *Strabo* tell us how he levelled *Ninus* (or *Nimue*) with the Ground. Some (f) think it was only the Castle; seeing the City had afterwards Kings, if not comparable to the rest, yet great and powerful, which they think might descend from *Belefs*.

13. *Herodotus* (g) writeth, how the *Medes*, having freed themselves from the *Affryan* Yoke, lived for many Ages without a King, in a way of Popular Government. But (h) *Ctesias* of *Cnidus*, an Author of something a later Date (who served *Cyrus* the younger, in his Expedition against his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and being taken Prisoner in the Battle, was for his excellent Skill in Physick, which he professed, received into Favour by the King, and lived in good Esteem in his Court 16 years, pretending to transcribe his History out of the Records of *Persia*.) reported that *Arbaces*, after the Overthrow of the *Affryans*, reigned 18 years: and as he left the Dominion of *Asia* to the *Medes*, so also the Sovereignty of them to his Son *Mandanees*. That *Mandanees*, having reigned 50 years, left the Kingdom to *Sesarmus*, who reigned 30. Him followed *Artias*, and reigned 50; then *Arbanius* 22; *Arseus* 40; in whose time the *Cadusians* revolted, through the Procurement of *Parfudas*, the President of his Council, whom he had offended. *Artymes* 22. *Arbanius*, 14; (in whose Reign the *Partians* revolted, and gave up themselves to the *Sacæ*.) And last of all, *Affyages* his Son, who being overthrown by *Cyrus*, the Empire was thereby devolved upon the *Persians*.

14. That

14. That *Ctesias* out of Design, wrote things contrary to *Herodotus*, is probable enough, and that he is Fabulous, cannot be denied; yet have we a Succession of Kings elsewhere (a) recorded, though such an one, as scarce in one Name agreeeth with that of his. *Sesarmus* is said to have succeeded *Arbaces*, and continued 30 years; then *Medidus*, 40; *Cardaceus*, 13; and then *Deioes*, whom *Herodotus* will have to have first obtained Sovereignty over the *Medes*. For having, as he (b) writeth, an Ambition that way, he made himself Popular by pretence to the Love of Justice, which then ran at a low Ebb amongst them, for want of Authority. He first took upon him to decide the Controversies of his own Villages which, performing with much Equity and Confidence, thence became known to other Parts; and at length became so Famous, that few would bring their Causes before any other Judge than him alone. Being aware of this, he withdrew himself, giving out, that no longer could he undergo such a Burden, and thereby neglect his Private Affairs. Hereupon, Robberies, Violence and Oppression returned throughout the Countrey; inasmuch, that the People, gathering together from all Quarters, after a serious Debate, concluded there was necessity of having a King, under whose Protection every man living might the better mind his Domestic Matters. *Deioes* was chosen by universal Consent, who, having got the Power into his Hands, caused them to build a City for his Residence, which he called *Ecbatane*; and having ruled with abundant Severity, 53 years, left the Kingdom to his Son *Piraoetes*. He, after he had Reigned 22, left, for Successor, his Son *Cyaxares*, who having long struggled with Various Fortune, (as afterwards will be seen) gave place to his Son *Affyages*, Father to *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus*.

15. *Belefs* obtained *Babylon*, as was said; but how long he held it, or who succeeded him immediately, is not known. About 71 years after, *Nabonassar*, or *Nabonassar*, obtained the Kingdom there; from the Beginning of whose Reign, that famous *Era*, or *Epoche*, known by the Name of *Era Nabonassari*, is derived. It is counted from the first Day of that *Affyrian* Month *Thoth* (Feb. 26.) which fell out 746 Julian years, and 310 days before the Death of *Alexander*, as *Capellanus*, and others reckon; 424 years before the Death of *Alexander* the Great; according to *Ptolemy* (c) the Prince of *Mathematicians*, in the 8th. *Olympiad*. This Author hath preserved the Names of such as Succeeded *Nabonassar*, in his Catalogue of Kings. He Reigned 14 years; after him, *Nadirus*, 2; then *Chesterus*, or *Purus*, 53; *Jugens*, or *Iulenus*, 5, and then *Mardocempadus*, 26. In this Time happened the (d) three most Ancient Eclipses of the Moon, observed by the *Babylonians*: The first of them in the first of his Reign, and the 28th. of the Month *Thoth*, and the 27th year of *Nabonassar*. The second, in his Second year, on the 18th. of *Thoth*. And 176 days, 20 hours and an half after this, the third Eclipse fell out, on the 13th day of the Month *Phamenoth*. *Scaliger* and others, think this *Mardocempadus* to be the same with him, who, in the (e) Scripture is called *Merodach-Baladan*, the Son of *Baladan*. But *Capellanus* conjectureth there were two *Merodachs*: Sons of *Baladan*, and Nephews of *Nabonassar*, whereof the one was called *Merodach-Kempad*, and the other, *Merodach-Baladan*.

16. *Mardocempadus*, having Reigned 12 years, was succeeded by *Arkiamis*, who ruled 5. Then followed an *Inter-regnum* for two years; after which, *Belbus* obtained the Kingdom for 3; then *Apronadus*, 6; *Rogibeld*, 1; *Mesfemuradak*, 4; after whom, another *Inter-regnum* ensued for eight years; he being also written *Mesfemuradac*. Now the Royal Race seemeth to (f) one, to have failed, and (g) *Sarchaddon* the King of *Affria*, to have again subjected the *Babylonians* to his Kingdom; and his Reason is, for that he who followed at the end of this *Inter-regnum*, is by *Ptolemy* called *Asaradinus*, which he thinketh to differ only from *Sarchaddon* in the Sound of several Languages. If so, this is he, who brought out of the East-Countrey, Strangers to inhabit *Samaria*; whence, *Salsumasser* had, 40 or more years before, transported the *Ephraimites*. He is also, by the Posterity of this new Colony, called the Great and Noble *Asnapper*. But how this *Affryan* Kingdom had sprung up again, during these two Principalities of the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, is to be considered.

17. It is not probable that the vast Empire of *Sardanapalus* was all (nor perhaps the greatest part) subject to *Media* and *Babylon*; but that, although *Arbaces* left not the *Medes* to their Liberty, yet several People he did, for want of Power to keep them under: Hence, in some time, the People beyond *Euphrates*, weary of that Anarchy and Confusion under which they laboured, might be willing to admit of a Prince again, though not of the Old Stock of *Bellus*; whose Successors, having far excelled in Power and Dominion, the *Greeks* accounted *Sardanapalus*

The River swelling with Rain, breaks the Wall.

Sardanapalus burneth himself in his Palace.

Deioes, how he got the Kingdom.

Piraoetes, *Cyaxares*.

Affyages, *Belefs* his Successor, *Nabonassar*.

Ptolemy's Catalogue of Kings.

What kind of Government was in *Media*.

Kings of *Media* according to *Ctesias*.

(a) *Athenæus* lib. 1.

(b) *Strabo* l. 14 Edit.

(c) *Caustich*, p. 672. *Et hoc habet que tibi, quæque tibi, satumata libidinis, hinc, ut illa, tibi, multa, et præclara reliqua. Epitaph.*

(d) *Cicero*.

(e) *Diodorus* l. 2. p. 81. A.

(f) *L. 2. p. 816.* (g) *L. 16. p. 737.* (h) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (i) *L. 1. c. 94.* (j) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(k) *L. 2. p. 816.* (l) *L. 16. p. 737.* (m) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (n) *L. 1. c. 94.* (o) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(p) *L. 2. p. 816.* (q) *L. 16. p. 737.* (r) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (s) *L. 1. c. 94.* (t) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(u) *L. 2. p. 816.* (v) *L. 16. p. 737.* (w) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (x) *L. 1. c. 94.* (y) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(z) *L. 2. p. 816.* (aa) *L. 16. p. 737.* (ab) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (ac) *L. 1. c. 94.* (ad) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(ae) *L. 2. p. 816.* (af) *L. 16. p. 737.* (ag) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (ah) *L. 1. c. 94.* (ai) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(aj) *L. 2. p. 816.* (ak) *L. 16. p. 737.* (al) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (am) *L. 1. c. 94.* (an) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(ao) *L. 2. p. 816.* (ap) *L. 16. p. 737.* (aq) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (ar) *L. 1. c. 94.* (as) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(at) *L. 2. p. 816.* (au) *L. 16. p. 737.* (av) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (aw) *L. 1. c. 94.* (ax) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(ay) *L. 2. p. 816.* (az) *L. 16. p. 737.* (ba) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (bb) *L. 1. c. 94.* (bc) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(bd) *L. 2. p. 816.* (be) *L. 16. p. 737.* (bf) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (bg) *L. 1. c. 94.* (bh) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

(bi) *L. 2. p. 816.* (bj) *L. 16. p. 737.* (bk) *Josephus* p. 170. *Simon in Chronico ad A. M. 3187.* (bl) *L. 1. c. 94.* (bm) *Vitæ Diodori ad sign.*

Pbi.

Tig'lar-Pilefar.

Salmanassar.

Sennacherib
A. M. 3287.Esarhaddon
the same with
Assaradnus.

Sauldus.

the last King of the *Assyrians*. Who this new Prince should be, remaineth very obscure. One (a) thinketh him that same *Phul* who made an Incurſion into the Land of *Iſrael*, in the Time of *Menachem*, fixing the Beginning of his Reign in the 4th Olympiad, 17 years before that of *Nabonaſſar*. Another (b) will have *Tiglab-Pileſar* (or *Thilgath-Pileſer*, or *Thelgath-Phalſar*) to be the man (in *Helian*, called *Thilgannus*) whom alſo he accounteth the ſame with *Ninus Junior*, mentioned by *Eſebius*, (c) having aſſumed the Name of the firſt Founder of the *Assyrian* Empire. This *Tiglab-Pileſar*, at the Invitation of *Judah*, went up againſt *Rezen* (d) King of *Damaſcus*, and killing him, tranſported his Subjects into *Kira*, a place, (as *Joſephus* will have it) of Upper *Media*. He died when he had Reigned 19 years, and was ſucceeded by *Salmanaſſar*; to whom (e) *Hofea* King of *Iſrael* reſuſed to pay Tribute, entering into Conſederacy with So King of *Egypt* againſt him: But *Salmanaſſar* Beſieged him in *Samaria*, and at the End of three years, taking the City, carried the *Iſraelites* into Captivity unto *Chelach*, *Chebar*, and *Nehar-galan*, A. M. 3273. Cities of *Media*; where he, as well as his Predeceſſor, might have Power, if (*Deioceſ*, as yet, not having obtained the Kingdom) that Countrey was ſtill ſubject to a Popular Government, or rather in a Conſtuted Anarchy.

18. After the Subverſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, he over-ran all *Phenicia* and *Syria*. He ſent an Army againſt the *Tyrians*, at ſuch time as *Elulaus* their King, made War upon the *Citteans*, which had Rebelled; but a Peace was preſently made, and he drew back his Forces. Not long after, *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Paletyrus*, and other Towns revolted from the *Tyrians*, to him; ſo that they alone ſtanding out, he returned; and having a Supply of 60 Ships from the *Phenicians*, ingaged with them in a Sea-Fight; but they having but 12, yet overthrew his Fleet, and thereby obtained great Credit. At his Return, he ſet Guards upon the River, and Water-Courſes, and there kept them five years together; which conſtrained them to make a Shift with Wells and Pits, as *Menander* (f) related out of the *Tyrian* Annals, Tranſlated into the Greek Tongue, wherein the Name of *Salmanuſſar* was Recorded. *Salmanuſſar* dying, *Sennacherib* his Son ſucceeded him; (g) called alſo *Sargon* in (h) Scripture, as ſome think. He infeſted all *Aſia* and *Egypt* with War; into the latter of which as he defended, in his Retreat he ſore (i) diſtreſſed *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, who making his Application unto his God, (j) obtained Deliverance, to the Confuſion of the *Assyrian* and his Army. *Herodotus* (k) telleth a Story, How when he came to *Peluſium*, *Seteb*, the Prieſt of *Vulcan*, then King of *Egypt*, by his Prayer to his god, procured all the Habiliments of War to be eaten with Mice; ſo that being rendered unable to fight, he was forced to draw back his Army. But the Prophecies againſt *Egypt* aſcertain us, that this Expedition proved very diſaſtrous to it, and that many Captives were thence led away; yet the Prieſts, from whom *Herodotus* had his Information, hid this, and all other things that tended to the Diſhonour of their Country.

19. Returning from *Egypt* into *Paleſtine*, he Beſieged (l) *Lachiſh*, and thence (m) removed to *Lidnab*, where he wrote a Blaſphemous Letter to *Hezekiah*. For, hearing that *Tirihab* King of *Ethiopia* (or *Arabia*) (by *Joſephus* called *Tharſiſus*; by *Strabo*, *Tarkon*) was coming againſt him in behalf of the *Egyptians*, he removed for Fear; and God ſent his Angel into his Camp, who flew in one Night 85000 men; which thing, as a Plague, was alſo recorded by (n) *Beroſus*. Then returned (o) (as God had promiſed *Hezekiah*) with great Conſternation into his own Land; where, raging againſt the *Jews* that dwelt at *Nimveh* (if Credit be to be given to the Book of *Tobit*) he was, after 44 days, ſlain in the Temple of his Idol *Niſroch*, by his two Sons *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, (who fled for it into the Land of *Ararat*, or *Armenia*) and *Eſarhaddon* his Son Reigned in his ſtead.

20. This *Eſarhaddon* is thought (and that probably) to be the ſame with *Aſſaradnus*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, in his Catalogue of Kings, and who ſubdued *Babylon*. It is alſo thought that (p) this iſſue, who, when he brought a new Colony into *Samaria* from *Babylon*, *Cathab*, *Ana*, *Hamath*, and *Sepharvaim*, at the ſame time making an Inrode into *Judea* (as 'tis very probable) took (q) *Menſeſſeth*, the King thereof in the Thorns, and carried him in Captivity into *Babylon*; for it appeareth from both theſe Paſſages mentioned in Scripture, that at this time that City was ſubject to the King of *Assyria*. After *Eſarhaddon* (or *Aſſaradnus*) had Reigned thirteen years, *Sauldus* ſucceeded him, according to *Ptolemy*; and not *Merochad*, whom the general Opinion will have (being King of *Babylon*) to have killed him, and again overthrown the Empire of the *Assyrians*. For this Succeſſion is founded upon a feigned (r) Author imprinted on the World, which ſaith *Antiochus*. *vid. Joh. Goropium Bibliſt. Hiſt. Tom. 2. p. 356. Gelp. harricm. lib. p. 386. 407. 417. 431. Sth. Calvis. ſigae. Ceter. cap. 26. 29. & Chron. p. 171. A. Non ſit germanum opus. Pam. in Tert. Apol. 2. 27.*

others

(a) Jacobus
Capellus ad
A. M. 3236.
(b) Uſenius ad
A. M. 3237.
(c) Hiſt. Antiq. l. 12
c. 21.
(d) In Chron. c.
Celtore Rhod.
dio.
(e) 2 King. 15.
(f) 17.
(g) 2 King. 19.
(h) 2 King. 19.
(i) 2 King. 19.
(j) 2 King. 19.
(k) 2 King. 19.
(l) 2 King. 19.
(m) 2 King. 19.
(n) 2 King. 19.
(o) 2 King. 19.
(p) 2 King. 19.
(q) 2 King. 19.
(r) 2 King. 19.

others of the ſame Credit, and therefore deſerveth to be rejected. The time of this *Sauldus* falling in with that of *Deioceſ* (who according to *Herodotus*, built *Ecbatane* the Metropolis of *Media*) if any Credit be to be given to the Book of *Judith*, we may judge him to be that *Nabuchodonosor* mentioned there to have overthrown *Arphaxad*, King of the *Meder*, and Builder of that City in the great Plains of *Ragan*. After he had taken him in the Mountains, he flew him, plundered *Ecbatane*, and then returned Victoriously unto *Nimveh*, where he Feaſted his Army for 120 days. The Year after, entering into Conſultation how to ſubdue the ſeveral Nations about him; he ordained *Pholopheres* his General, whoſtraightly Beſieged *Bethſara*, a Town of *Judea*; by the Wiſdom and Courage of *Judith*, the Widow of one *Manaſſes* of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, was circumvented, and had his Head cut off in his Tent.

Cynuladanus.

21. *Sauldus* (or *Sauldus*) having Reigned twenty years, *Cynuladanus* ſucceeded him, thought alſo to be the ſame with *Saracus*, mentioned by *Alexander Polyhiſtor*. Againſt him came (a) *Phraortes*, the Son of *Deioceſ*, in revenge of his Father's Death; after he had firſt of all others ſubdued the *Persians*, and the reſt of *Aſia*. But his good Fortune here forſook him; and he perished with the greateſt part of his Army, in the 22th. year of his Reign. His Son *Cyaxares* Succeeding, is ſaid to have been more puſſant than his Anceſtors, and the firſt that diſtinguiſhed the People of *Aſia* into ſeveral Provinces, and Souldiers into their ſeveral Ranks of Pikemen, Horſemen, and thoſe that uſed Darts. He fought with the *Lydians*; at which time to great an Eclipse of the Sun happened, that the Day ſeemed to be turned into Night. Having brought to his Obedience all *Aſia*, beyond the River *Halys*, he gathered his Forces together, and went againſt *Nimveh*, with Intentions to deſtroy the City. He overthrew the *Assyrians* in Battle, and Beſieged the Place; but it happened at this time that a great Army of the *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of Europe, under the Conduct of *Madjes*, the Son of *Protothys* (called otherwiſe *Judathyrus*) their King, ſtill followed them, and from the Lake *Meotis*, leaving the Mountain *Caucasus* on their right hand, pierced into *Media*.

The Scythians
obtain Aſia 28
years.

22. *Cyaxares* hereby was conſtrained to raiſe his Siege, went, and gave them Battle; but was overthrown, and loſt the Dominion of *Aſia*; which, the *Scythians* having obtained, marched ſtraight for *Egypt*. *Phameticus* the King met them on their way, when they had new entred *Paleſtine*, and by good Words, back'd with Money, prevailed with them to go no further. They enjoyed the Dominion of *Aſia* 28 years; after the expiration of which Term, managing their Affairs with as great Neglect, as formerly they had uſed Diligence in polling and rifting the Countrey; the greateſt part of them being entertained by *Cyaxares*, were made drunken, and ſlain, and the King recovered his Dominion. During theſe things, (b) *Nabopolassar* a *Babylonian*, and General to the *Assyrian* King, contracted Affinity with *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*, and Governor of *Media*: *Nebuchadneſar*, the Son of *Nabopolassar*, marrying *Amytis* Daughter to *Aſtyages*. The Effect of this Alliance was, that they jointly let upon *Barachus*, or *Cynuladanus* in *Nimveh*, and taking the City, flew him therein, after he had Reigned 22 years. At this time the Prophecies againſt *Nimveh* ſeem to be fulfilled in its Deſtruction. For in the latter end of the Greek Book of *Tobit* it is written, that *Nebuchodonosor* and *Aſſuerus* took *Nimveh*, *Tobias* being yet alive, who is ſaid to have lived 127 years (or, as the *Latine* hath it, 99.) 95 having already paſſed from the taking of *Samaria*; at which time he was carried Captive with his Father into *Assyria* by *Salmanassar*.

Loſe it

Nabopolassar.

23. *Cynuladanus* being dead, *Nabopolassar* (or *Nabulassar*) obtained his Kingdom in the 123d year of *Nabonaſſar*, according to (c) *Ptolemy*, whoſe Canon of Kings alſo (as to the Term of Years collected from the particular Reign of each) directly answereth to this Account. (d) Againſt him came up *Pharoh Necho*, and took *Carchemiſh*, a City ſituate upon *Emphrates*, killing *Joſiah* the King of *Judah*, who attempted to ſtop his paſſage. He holding this Town, the (e) Governour of *Celſyria* and *Phenicia*, revolted from the *Babylonian*; who, being now unable to undergo the Trouble of War, made his Son *Nebuchadneſar* King with him, in his 17th. year, and ſent him with an Army to ſubdue *Egypt* and *Syria*; with him joynd (f) *Aſhbares*, King of the *Meder*, whom ſome think to be *Cyaxares*; and others, more probably, *Aſtyages* his Son. In this Expedition he made *Jeſhoia* King of *Judah*, his Tributary, and drew him from the Obedience of *Egypt*; which *Necho* taking in Diſdain, came up againſt him, and engaging once more at *Carchemiſh*, was overthrown, and ſlain, as may be gathered out of Scripture.

D

ture. Whilt *Nebuchadneſar* was profecuting his Victories, overrunning all from the River of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates*; in the mean time his Father, being ſick at *Babylon*, died; after he had Reigned twenty one years, as it is now in the Catalogue, for which ſome Learned men think, 29 is to be read. He underſtanding hereof, diſpoſed of the Affairs of *Egypt* and other Countreys, and giving Order for the Conveyance of the *Judean*, *Syrian*, *Phenician*, and *Egyptian* Priſoners, he himſelf made haſt through the Deſart, and took Poſſeſſion of the Government reſerved for him by the *Chaldeans*.

His great
Exploits and
Buildings.

24. He diſtributed the Captives into Colonies about *Babylon*, adorned the Temple of *Belus* (which *Semiramis* had built) with the Spoiles; repaired and increaſed the Buildings of the City, and fortified the Chanel of the River, that the Enemy ſhould not make Uſe of it againſt the Town. He added a new City to the old, and compaſſed both with three Walls of Brick. He raiſed divers remarkable Edifices, built a new Palace, and about it a Garden or Wilderneſs, ſo much celebrated by the *Grecians*. His Wife being a *Mede*, and according to the Nature of her Country, delighting in mountainous woody Proſpects, brought him to imitate with Art, what was wanting in the Plains of *Babylon*. This Garden was made four-square, taking up in Compaſs ſixteen Acres, in height equalling the Walls, fet with tall and beautiful Trees. It was borne up by ſtone-Pillars; upon which a Pavement of four-ſquared Stones being laid, Earth was heaped up of great Quantity, and Engines were made for the Conveyance of Moiſture out of *Euphrates* to water it. The Trees that grew upon it were (many of them) eight Cubits in Compaſs at the Boles; and fifty Foot high, bearing Fruit as plentifully as in their Native Soil. *Jehoiaſhim* the King of *Judah*, rebelling againſt *Nebuchadneſar*, he came up againſt him, waſted the Country, and taking him, caſt him out unburied, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold. Four Months after, he alſo carried away Captive *Jechonias*, or *Jehoiachin* his Son, and made *Mattaniah* his Uncle King in his ſtead. This *Mattaniah*, whom he named *Zedekiah*, rebelled againſt him, notwithstanding his ſolemn Oath of Fealty taken at his Inſtitution; and therefore in the eleventh year of his Reign he was alſo taken by the *Babylonian*, had his Eyes put out, and was ſo carried to *Babylon*: the Temple and City were burnt with Fire, and the People led into Captivity, as will appear in its proper Place.

his Pride.

25. *Nebuchadneſar* returning home, was exceeding Proud, and puffed up at his Succeſs. He erected a great Image of Gold; in the Dedication whereof, all his chief Officers were commanded to fall down and worſhip; which was obeyed by all except three Jews, *Shadrach*, *Mefach*, and *Abednego*, the Companions of *Daniel*. For their Punishment they were caſt into a fiery Furnace, heated ſeven times hotter than uſual, and ſo miraculoſly preſerved from the Fury of the Flame, that not an Hair of their Heads was ſing'd; though it killed thoſe that caſt them in. At this, the King aſtoniſhed, by publick Edict acknowledged Gods Power, and forbade the blaſpheming of him. Yet repented he not of his Pride, and notwithstanding a ſufficient Warning given him by God in a Dream, exalted himſelf in the conceit of the Greatneſs and Splendour of *Babel*, which he had built for the Houſe of the Kingdom, by the Might of his Power, and for the Honour of his Maſteſty. But the ſame Hour, as he was answered by a Voice from Heaven, the Kingdom departed from him, he was driven from men, made to eat Graſs as Oxen, and his body was wet with the Dew of Heaven, till his Hairs were grown as Eagles Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws; and ſeven times paſſed over him, till he knew that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and groweth to it whomſoever he will. And this time prefixed being expired (ſeven years as moſt ſuppoſe, though ſome reckon but three and an half, counting for times, *Winter* and *Summer*) his Reaſon returned to him, with the Glory of his Kingdom, his Honour and Brightneſs, his Counſellers and his Lords ſought unto him; he was eſtabliſhed in his Kingdom, and excellent Maſteſty was added to him. Therefore he ſhamed not by a publick Writing to own the thing, praized, honoured and extolled the King of Heaven, all whoſe work he confeſſeth to be Truth, his wayes Judgment, and that thoſe that walk in Pride be is able to aſaſe.

What is found
recorded of
him by the
Heathen.

26. Of theſe ſtrange Paſſages the Heathen were not utterly ignorant. *Alydenus* wrote, that being exceeding proud, and going up upon his Palace, he was taken with a divine Fury. This he had out of the *Annals* of the *Chaldeans*, who fancied him to have been ſeized on with a prophetic Spirit, and ſo to have vaniſhed. *Megathenes* in his fourth Book of *India*, endeavourd to ſhew how this King in valiant Exploits exceeded *Hercules* by far; that he ſubdued the chief City of

Jerem. 46.

Berofus apud
Jofeph. at pri.
his & Antiq.
lib. 10. cap. 11.
A. M. 3410.
Olymp. 46. an. 2.
Romæ 155.

vide Diſcor.
lib. 2. p. 70. B.
Cortius lib. 5.

2 Kings 23. 36.
Chron. 26.
Jerem. 22.

Daniel 1.

Punished.

Apud Eſch.
frag. Evang.
lib. 9.
Apud Jofeph.
lib. 10. p. 11.

of *Africk*, and a good part of *Spain*. *Diocles*, in his ſecond Book of *Perſia*, made mention of him, and *Philoſtratus* both in his Hiſtories of *Phenicia* and *India*; writing, that he fought againſt *Tyre* thirteen years, which, 'tis probable, at length he took by Compoſition, and there placed *Baal* King in the room of *Ithobalus*. What he did againſt this City, God taking as Service done to himſelf, promiſed him the Land of *Egypt* for his Wages, which we muſt accordingly believe to have been paid. At length, having foretold that *Babylon* ſhould be loſt to *Cyrus*, as *Alydenus* wrote; he died after he had reigned forty three Years, being in *Ptolemy*'s Catalogue of Kings, called *Nabocolaſſar*, which may be corruptly written for *Nabocodolaſſar*.

Enlilmerodach.

27. *Enlilmerodach* his Son ſucceeded him, who lifted up the Head of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, in the 37th year of his Captivity, ſpoke kindly unto him, ſet his Throne above the Throne of the Kings that were with him in *Babylon*, and changing his Priſon-Garments, allowed him a continual Diet all the days of his Life. But for his Wickedneſs and Debaucheries, he continued not long, being circumvented by *Nerigliſſor* his Siſter's Huſband, and ſlain when he had reigned but two years. *Nerigliſſor* after his Death, reigned four. After him came his Son *Laboroſardochus*, who being of an untowardly Diſpoſition, was made away by his Relations, after nine Months, and they preferred to his Place one *Nabonidus* a *Babylonian*, by *Ptolemy* called *Nabonadus*, by others, *Nabannidochus* and *Labyntus*. [Who reigned ſeventeen years, for which ſome think twenty ſeven is to be read.] This Succeſſion we have from *Berofus* the *Chaldean*, atteſted by *Ptolemy*, who yet leaveth out *Laboroſardochus*, either for his final Continuation, or becauſe he reigned together with his Father. But learned men do not agree in the manner of reconciling this Hiſtory, with what *Daniel* hath written of *Belſhazzar*. Some will have *Labyntus* or *Nabonodus*, to be *Belſhazzar*, *Nabonodus* being the laſt of the Kings; which *Belſhazzar* alſo ſeemeth to be; at his Death, *Babylon* being taken by *Cyrus*, as the Interpretation of the Writing on the Wall hinteth: *Peres*, *Thy Kingdom is divided*, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. As for *Darius* the *Mede*, he ſeemeth to them to be noother than *Cyaxares*, the Son of *Alyages* King of *Media*, and the Uncle of *Cyrus*, who of his own Accord delivered *Babylon* to him; and they think this ſufficient to prove that *Laboroſardochus* could not be *Belſhazzar*, becauſe he hath but nine Months allotted him by *Berofus*, whereas we read in *Daniel* of the third year of *Belſhazzar*.

Whether the
game with Bel-
ſhazzar.

28. Others think they have ground enough to deny *Nabonidus* to be *Belſhazzar*; who is called the Son of *Nebuchadneſar*; in regard no ſuch Relation is mentioned by *Berofus*, that can intitle him to ſo much as his Grand-child, which *Laboroſardochus* was by his Daughter, being called his Son by a common *Hebraiſm*: For the *Latin* Verſion of *Jofephus*, which maketh *Nabonodus* of the Blood; it is in no caſe agreeable to the Original, which plainly relateth him to have been of the Conſpiracy. For the fifth year of *Belſhazzar*, it well enough agreeth with *Laboroſardochus*, becauſe he reigned four years with his Father; and after his Fathers Death, nine Months by himſelf. Now the Hiſtory of *Daniel* only relateth *Belſhazzar* to have been ſlain, not that *Babylon* was then beſieged by *Cyrus*: it being improbable, ſay they, that a time of ſo great Danger, the King and his Nobles ſhould ſpend in Feaſting and Jollity; but rather likely, that behaving himſelf too indolently in that drunken Fit, he was knocked in the Head by his Companions, as *Berofus* hinteth, and the Scripture rather ſeemeth to approve than contradiſt. As for the Interpretation of the Writing on the Wall, it might note what was already determined, and within a little time was to be accompliſhed, concerning *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, who being at that time known to the World, could not be hid from *Daniel*, who had met with his name long before in the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and had his Mind, without Doubt, fixed upon the 70 years of Captivity foretold by *Jeremiah*, to which a Period ſhould ſhortly be put by that Perſon. That *Darius* *Medus* was of *Median* Deſcent, appeareth, but that he was King of the *Medes*, can no way be evinced; eſpecially ſeeing that no ancient *Greek* Hiſtorian maketh mention of *Cyaxares* the Son of *Alyages*, (whom we read to have had but one Daughter) except *Xenophon*; and he either one Purpoſe ſeemeth to thwart *Hecatochus*, or to have written his *Cyropædia*, rather (2) to ſhew, what a Prince ought to be, than what *Cyrus* was indeed, and ſo to have taken ſome of that Liberty of Invention which others (3) have done of late upon the ſame and other Subjects. But though *Jofeph Scaliger* may ſeem to ſhew more Reaſon for this latter Aſſertion, yet *Pererius* truly affirmeth the thing to be obſcure, perplexed, and difficult.

Ezek. 25.

A. M. 3440.
Olymp. 55. an.
4. Romæ cen.
dit. 189.

Apud Jofeph.
lib. 1.
cap. 11.

in the 10th
chapter of
Ezekiel.

2 Kings 25. 1.
Daniel 1. 1.

(2) Cicero ad
quintum fratrem.
lib. 1.

(3) At the
Grand Cyrus
of the
Story of
Gougen.

Pererius
de la
Guerre, a
Reſume of
10
Volumes.

Cyrus.

The Sum of
what strin-
tas hath writ-
ten concerning
his Birth and
Fortune.

29. If *Laborofardochus* be taken for *Belshazar*, then *Nabonodus* must be the fame with *Darius Medus*; whom further, some would have to be the Brother of *Aflyages*, not his Son, and yet called *Cyaxares*. In him the Empire of the *Babylonians* ceased, and was derived upon the *Perfians* by *Cyrus*, whose first Beginnings are to be viewed, with the Progress of his Actions, which made way to that Pitch of Greatness whereat he arrived. Herein Historians do not relate the same things. That *Aflyages* was his Grand-father is acknowledged by all, except *Ctesias*, who will have them nothing akin, and calleth him *Aflyages*: His Father's name is granted to be *Cambyfes*, his Country *Perfia*, but his Condition is diversly reported of. *Herodotus* writeth how *Aflyages* dreaming two Dreams concerning his Daughter *Mandane*, (which by the Wizards were interpreted to portend the Loss of his Kingdom, through the Greatness of her Issue) gave her in Marriage to one *Cambyfes* a *Perfian*, of obscure Fortune; and not satisfied in this Security, sent for her when she was with Child, and as soon as the Boy was born, gave him to one *Harpagus* to be made away. *Harpagus* fearing he might afterwards be called to an Account by the Mother, for Violence offered to the Babe, delivered him to the Kings Shepherd, to be expoted in the Woods to the Mercy of the wild Beasts. This being done, and the Shepherd's Wife lately brought to Bed of a still-born Child, the prevailed with her Husband to fetch him home; nursed and brought him up as her own Son amongst the Shepherds. At seven years of Age being chosen King of the Boyes in their Play, he executed the Office with Severity, towards such as were disobedient, and for this was complained of by their Parents to the King. Being sent for and accused of the Crime, he would acknowledge none, alledging he had done like a King; and standing in his Justification without the least Change of Countenance, *Aflyages* was struck with Admiration, and presently called to mind his Dream. Upon Examination of the Shepherd, he got out the whole matter; owned him for his Grand-son, because he thought the Dream fulfilled in his boyish Reign amongst the Shepherds; only he thought it good to fend him out of the way into *Perfia*.

30. To punish *Harpagus* for his Disobedience, he invited him to Supper, and caused to be served up to the Table his only Son; of which, after he had eaten heartily, and approved the meat, he let him see his Entertainment, by the Head, hands and Feet, reserved in another Platter, *Harpagus* for the present kept down his Passion, seeming to acquiesce in the Kings Pleasure, until *Cyrus* came to mans Estate. Then, hearing of his Activity and Forwardness, he resolved by Presents to make him his Friend, meditating a convenient way of Revenge by the means of this Youth, from whom he expected something answerable to his Grand-fathers Dream. Knowing *Aflyages* his tyrannical Carriage towards the *Medes*, he insinuated himself into the chief of them by Degrees, and secretly perswaded them, that it was convenient he should be removed from the Government, especially seeing they might with some Plausibility place *Cyrus* in his Seat. Having thus made War, he wrote Letters to the young man into *Perfia*, (which, to prevent Discovery, he fowed up in the Belly of an Hare) wherein recalling to his Memory what he had suffered from his Grand-father upon his Account, he solicited him to draw the *Perfians* to revolt; then to come down with an Army into *Media*, where he might be sure of him or any other the Kings Generals, and so easily become Master of all.

31. *Cyrus* considering of a way how to accomplish this Business, which now he made no less than a Design, called the *Perfians* together: first gave out, that he was chosen their General by *Aflyages*, and then easily perswaded them, by laying open, how much Liberty was to be preferred before that Slavery they now underwent, to clothe with him and break out into open Rebellion. The old man hearing this, sent a Messenger for him; but he returned Answer, he would come sooner than he should have cause to desire his Company; whereupon he armed his Subjects of *Media*, and forgetting how he had formerly injured *Harpagus*, committed the Army to his Conduct. *Harpagus* revolting, he lost thereby the first Battel, yet was not daunted, but threatened *Cyrus*, nailed to Crosses the *Magicians* who had perswaded him to dismiss him, and arming all both old and young that were in the City, led them out to a second Engagement, wherein his Success was worse than before, he being taken Prisoner. When *Harpagus*, boasting of his Revenge, insulted over him, he taxed him of Imprudence and Injustice: of the one, for that having Power to make himself King he should transfer the Dignity to another; and of the other, because for to revenge a private Injury, he had enslaved the whole Nation of the *Medes*, out of which he might rather have

Cyrus over-
throweth *Afly-
ages* his
Grand-father.

have chosen one to the Kingdom, refusing it himself, than Him, who would now so order the matter, that the *Perfians*, Slaves before, should be Lords and Masters of all. Thus *Aflyages* lost his Kingdom, after he had held it thirty five years, enjoying all things else at his Grand-son's hands, till his natural Death: And the *Medes* became subject to the *Perfians*, after they had enjoyed the Dominion of *Asia* before the River *Halys*, the space of 128 years, (except that Space wherein the *Scythians* kept them under) and in the second year of the 55th Olympiad, of the World 3446.

32. *Cyrus* having obtained the Sovereignty of *Perfia* and *Media*, was within a while provoked by *Cresus* King of *Lydia*, who at this time was grown eminent, having improved the Inheritance which descended upon him from his 159.

Lydia whence
to called.

Ancetors. The *Lydian* Nation was of great Antiquity, so named from *Lud* the Son of *Lager* Bochar-
Sem, or rather descended of him who by *Moses* is so called; both he and they *Ly-
dia* having obtained this name from that Country, which from the crookedness and
Winding of the River *Meander* took the Appellation of *Lud*, in the *Plenician*
Language signifying crooked or winding: The *Greeks* say, that the *Lydians* were *Herodotus lib.
first called Meones*, and *Lydia Meonia*, from *Meon*, an ancient King of *Phrygia* 1. c. 7. Scabro
and *Lydia*, who was thought to have been the Father of *Cybeles*, Mother of the 113. p.
Gods, and that long after him reigned *Lydw* the Son of *Alys*, and Brother of *Tyr-
rhenus*, from whom they fancy the Country to have been named. Better is the
Opinion of *Stephanns*, who deriveth *Meonia* from the River *Meon* or *Meander*. *Diodorus lib. 1. 3.
For*, though the *Greeks* might call them *Lydians*, yet that their right name was
Ludians, appeareth from the *Latin* words, *Ludus*, *Ludo*, *Lydia*, &c. thence deriv-
ed; seeing it is granted, that the first Players came from *Lydia* into *Hetruria*, fo Terrell. de Spe-
to Rome, as the *Lydians* (a) boasted themselves to have been Inventors of those 113. p.
Games, which afterwards were common with them to the *Greeks*. Hence it ap-
peareth that though the Country might be called both *Lydia* and *Meonia*, from (a) *Herodotus
the self-same thing*; yet most ancient was the name of *Lud*. After the Posterity
of *Lydw*, reigned the *Heraclide* or those that were descended from *Hercules*, by
his Son *Alcaeus*. The first was *Argon*, saith *Herodotus*; the Son of *Nimr*, Grand-
son of *Belus*, and great Grand-son of *Alcaeus*; the last was *Candaules* the Son of
Myrsus, by the *Greeks* called *Myrsinus*. *Candaules*, or *Candylus*, signified a certain
kind of *Lydian* meat made of Flower, Cheese, Honey, Bread and Fleish; the *Ly-
dians* being accounted the first (b) of all Nations, that busied themselves in Cook-
ery, inasmuch that they became a Proverb for it.

33. The Antiquity of the *Lydians* appeareth further out of the ancient Fables,
Atius, *Tantalus*, *Pelops*, *Niobe* and *Arachne*, being of this Country: Their Fruitful-
ness, from the Colonies they sent out into *Peloponnesus* and *Caria*, into *Etruria* also
as they say. Their Valour and Power is shewn to have been of great Antiquity
from their holding the Dominion of the Sea 92 years, which they took from the *Cretes*.
Cretians about the time of *Jephe*, and 1200 years before Christ, losing it again
and recovering it afterwards. But *Candaules* with his Family being extinct, and
the Kingdom devolved upon the *Mermmade* (of whom *Cresus* descended) the
Power of the Nation grew greater all at Land. These *Heraclide*, held it the
space of 505 years, through twenty two Successors unto this *Candaules*, who fo
far being enamoured of his Wife, as he esteemed her the most beautiful of all Wo-
men, constrained his Servant *Gyges* to see her naked. She observing *Gyges* whilst
therein he only satisfied his Masters Will, offered him the Choice of killing her
Husband, and marrying her with the Kingdom, or of suffering Death himself;
one of their two Lives being the least he could require in way of Justice. He in so
great a Strait, preferring his own Safety before his Master's Life, flew him in his
Bed-chamber, the place where the Fault was committed, and so enjoyed the Queen
with the Kingdom; wherein he was confirmed by the Oracles of *Delphos*, to the
Sentence of which, he and his Adversaries had agreed to stand.

34. *Gyges* reigned thirty eight years; in which Space, he made War upon *Mi-
letus* and *Smyrna*, and took the City *Colophon*; *Arads* his Son and Successor
subdued *Priene*, fought against *Miletus*; and in his time the *Cimmerians* being
expelled their Seats by the *Scythian* *Noamades*, passed into *Asia*, and took *Sardis*,
gave the Castle. He reigned forty nine years, his Son *Sadyattes* twelve, who
all gave Place to *Alyattes* his Son and Successor. *Alyattes* waged a War with * *Cyax-
ares* King of *Media*, and expelled the *Cimmerians* out of *Asia*, took *Smyrna*, and
set upon *Clazomenae*. In the fifth year of the War betwixt the *Median* and him,
whilst they fought upon equal Terms, the Sun was eclipsed, which *Thales*, one

The Royal
Families of *Ly-
dia*.

of the seven wife men, had foretold to his *Milefians*. Both the Armies seeing the Day beginning to be turned into Night, left off fighting, and then by the Mediation of *Synnests* the *Cilician*, and *Lalynitus* the *Babylonian* a Peace was concluded; *Ariene* the Daughter of *Halyattes* being married to *Aflyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*. From the Tables of *Ptolemy* (or of *Hipparchus*) it appeareth that this Eclipse happened in the fourth year of the forty fourth *Olympiad*, the 147th of *Nabonassar*, the fourth day of the *Egyptian* Month *Pachon*, (which answereth to the twentieth of *September*, three hours and twenty five Minutes before noon; nine Digits being eclipsed, and the Duration almost two hours. *Halyattes* pursued also the War left him by his Father, against *Miletus*, the Inhabitants whereof received from him two great Blows, for that none of the *Ionians* helped them except the *Chians*, in way of requital for the Aid they had afforded them against the *Erythraeans*. At length, having Notice that he intended to send a Messenger into the *Ciey*, at the Command of *Thraſibulus* their Prince, they brought all the Provision they had into the Market-places, which appearing to be much, and as such related to *Alyattes*, he thinking himself mistaken in his former Belief of their distressed Condition, made Peace with them; and died after he had reigned fifty seven years.

35. *Crefus* his Son succeeded him, at the Age of thirty five years. He made War upon *Epheſus*, which when he besieged, the Towns-men for their Security gave up the City to *Diana*, by a Rope fastned from the Wall to her Temple; but for all this he brought them under, and subdued all the rest of the *Greek* Cities in the Continent. He brought into his Subjection all the People of *Asia*, within the River *Halk*, as the *Phrygians*, *Myſians*, *Bythinians*, *Euphragians*, the *Mariandyni*, *Chalibics*, *Thracians*, *Teyni*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Reolians*, *Lycians* and *Cilicians*. Being grown great, and flowing with Wealth, and flourishing with Glory, the choicest Wits of *Greece* flocked to *Sardis*, and amongst the rest *Solon* the *Athenian*, who being now in his Travels, had been with *Amefis* of *Egypt*, and now came to visit *Crefus*. He kindly entertained him, and shewing him his Treasures, out of a vain Conceit of his own Felicity, demanded of him, whom he thought the happiest man. He answered, he esteemed for such one *Tellus* an *Athenian*, who having lived in good Credit, and leaving divers Children and Nephews of honest and virtuous Carriage, died in the War at *Eleufine*, after he had first helped to put to flight the Enemy; for which he was honoured by his Citizens with a publick and stately Funeral. *Crefus* expecting, if not the first, yet the second place, asked him, Whom he accounted next to *Tellus*, he replied *Cleobis* and *Biton*, two Brothers of *Argos*, who had sufficient to live on, and being very strong, had gotten the better in Trial of Masteries. On a time at the Feast of *Junio*, their Mother being to be drawn in a Chariot to the Temple, and the Heifers not at hand, they yoked themselves, and drew her thither. She being much affected with the Piety of her Sons, prayed the Goddess, that whatsoever was best for Man, might be bestowed on them, who sleeping that night in the Temple, were found dead in the Morning, and honoured by the *Argives* with two Statues, erected to their Memory at *Delphos*.

36. The King was troubled that his Felicity should be so little valued, as not comparable to that of private men. But *Solon* plainly told him, that all things were uncertain in this Life, and no man ought to be accounted happy till his End; for which Philosophy, as strange to the Courtiers, he was dismissed with small Reputation for Learning. *Crefus*, growing exceeding proud and irreligious; to humble him, had a Dream, That the choicest of his two Sons, (whereof one was dumb) should be slain with the iron Head of some Weapon. Hereupon he removed all things of that Nature out of the way, looked to him diligently, and married him out of hand. But at this time it hapned, that a certain wild Boar haunted about the Mountain *Olympus* in *Myſia*, which, doing great harm to the Inhabitants, they were in no wise able to master, and therefore sent to *Crefus*, desiring him to send his Son, accompanied with a sufficient Train, to hunt and kill the wild Beast. He plainly denied, because of his Dream, to let him stir from home; but the young man, having a great desire to the Exercise, thereby to approve himself for Activity to his new married Wife, obtained Leave to be sent, saying, that no such thing would be used in the game as that of which he had dreamed. He committed him then to the Care of one *Adraſtus*, the Son of *Gordius* (and he of *Midas*) King of *Phrygia*, who having at unawares killed his Brother, had been banished by his Father. When they came into the Field, and had dislodged the Boar, *Adraſtus* throwing a Dart at him, chanced to hit

the

the young man, and so fulfilled the Dream; for which, offering himself to be killed, upon *Crefus* his Refusal, as done without any Intention, he yet flew himself. *Crefus* took the Accident very heavily, and kept himself in Mourning two years.

37. This Mourning was broken off by the Prosperity of *Cyrus*, who having now overthrown the Kingdom of the *Medes*, advanced highly the Affairs of *Perſia*. Herein he found himself exceedingly concerned, so as to withstand, if possible, his Success, and make an Addition thereby to his own Fortune. For Encourage-^{Crefus Halyattes}ment in this Design, he sent to enquire of the Oracles far and near; which answer perceiving^{gratius, magnum pervenit} with one Consent, that he should overturn a great Principality, he was much encouraged, not doubting but that of the *Perſians* was meant thereby; and much more, after the Oracle at *Delphos* had (in Answer to his Requiry, whether his Empire should long continue) bid him look to himself, when a Mule should have Possession of the Sovereignty of *Media*; taking this in a literal Sense, notwithstanding the constant Ambiguity of such Answers. Now (the Oracle giving way to it) he sent to make a League with the *Lacedemonians*, who being obliged to him, easily complied; though no Supplies do we read of sent to him. For he, being in great Hate, prevented the sending of any; and, with all the Force he could make, invaded *Cappadocia*, to revenge, as he pretended, upon *Cyrus*, the Injury offered to *Aflyages* his Brother-in-Law; but indeed to lay that fertile Country to his own Dominions. Having passed the River *Hayſ*, he came into a place of *Cappadocia* called *Pteria*, the most safe of all the Country, near to the City *Sinope*, which was situated upon the *Euxine* Sea. Taking up his Quarters here, he made Incursions, took the City of the *Pterians*, with all the rest round about, and banished the *Syrians* (so were the *Cappadocians* called by the *Greeks*, till subjected to the *Perſian* Empire) though they had nothing ill deserved at his hands.

Crefus invaded Cappadocia.

Retreated to Sardis.

Overthrown in Battle.

And besieged.

Sardis taken.

38. *Cyrus* coming against him sent to the *Ionians*, to draw them to his Party; but they standing off, he proceeded, and pitch his Camp against *Crefus*. After some Skirmishes the Armies engaged, and a very hot Dispute continued, till night parted them, many falling on both sides. *Crefus*, though neither Party owned any Defeat, was blamed by his Souldiers for engaging with so numerous an Army; so that, *Cyrus* not stirring out against him the next day, he thought it best to retreat to *Sardis*, and sent out of Hand for Aid to *Amefis* King of *Egypt*, and *Lalynitus* of *Babylon*, whom he had by a League obliged to him: to the *Lacedemonians* also, to dispatch their Auxiliary within five Months, with which, resting that Winter, he would re-invoke the *Perſians* the following Spring. Accordingly he dismissed all his Mercenaries, standing then in no need of them, as he thought; which *Cyrus* hearing, resolved with all Speed to follow him to *Sardis*, hoping he might utterly defeat him before he could recollect his Forces: and accordingly marching into *Lydia*, he prevented any Message of his Coming. *Crefus*, though exceedingly perplexed at so unexpected a thing, gathered his Subjects together, as time would give Leave, and provided for his Defence; which the other perceiving, and fearing the Power of his Horse (wherein the *Lydians* excelled all other People of *Asia*) took off the Burthens from all the Camels that followed the Camp, and setting Riders upon them, placed them in the Front; the smell of which (when the Armies joyned) the Horses not enduring, turned aside. Yet were not the Riders thereby deterred from Fighting, but dismounting, performed on Foot what could be expected, till over-powered, rather with number than Valour, they were put to Flight, and besieged in the City.

39. *Crefus* thinking he might possibly be able to hold out some considerable time, sent again to his Confederates to hasten their Succours. But *Cyrus*, on the fourteenth day of the Siege offering a great Reward to him that should first mount the Wall, one *Hyreades*, a *Mardian*, having taken notice of a place, which because of its Height and Precipitancy was held impregnable, and therefore neglected by the Besieged (where yet he had seen a Souldier come down to fetch his Helmet, he had let fall) made means to climb up, and after him more and more followed; till the City was thereby surprized. All Places being full of Slaughters, a Souldier not knowing *Crefus*, was about to kill him; which he neglected, as willing to dye with his Kingdom. But his dumb Son, affrighted at ^{Fide Herod.}the Danger he saw him in, is said to have broken Silence (or Dumbness) with this ^{ib. l. c. 85.} ^{Ant. Gellium.} Expression; *Man, do not kill Crefus*, and thenceforth to have enjoyed the Use of ^{ib. l. c. 9.} his Tongue. Thus *Crefus* overturned a great Principality, as the Oracle had fore-^{Pal. Mex. l. 9.}told, after he had reigned fourteen years, and been besieged for many Days. ^{ib. c. 4. Ext. Ex.} *Cyrus*.

Cressus con-
demned.His Life spe-
red.Paſtyas revol-
cith.

Taken.

The Ionians
subdued.

Cyrus adjudged him to Death, and had burnt him alive, but that he, almost too late, remembered the words of the wife Law-giver of Athens, and cried out *Solon, Solon, Solon!* Cyrus commanded the Interpreters to demand of him whom he invocated (thinking it to be some God he mentioned :) to which he answered, when compelled to speak, that he named one whom, rather than any thing, he would have to speak with all Princes; and being urged to explain himself, told the whole Story concerning the Discourse betwixt him and *Solon*. Herewith the Conqueror was so affected, that, considering the Uncertainty of his own prosperous Condition, though the Pile was already kindled, yet commanded he the fire to be quenched, and receiving him into his most inward Councils, held him ever most dear, and in great Esteem for his Wisdom; wherein, after such manifold Experience, he excelled. This happened in the fourth year of the 58 Olympiads, the fifteenth year of the Reign of Cyrus. A. M. 3460.

40. When the *Ionians* and *Æolians* heard that *Cressus*, with so little ado, was utterly subdued, they sent to *Cyrus*, offering to put themselves into his hands, on the same Terms as the *Lydians* were received; but he returned them no satisfactory Answer, because of their Refusal formerly to joyn with him. All of them then (except the *Milesians*, those having yielded themselves) made their Application to the *Lacedæmonians*, who refused to grant any Aid; but sent some to make Discovery how matters went in *Asia*. The Messengers finding *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, according to Order acquainted him with the Pleasure of that Republick, not to suffer him to molest any of the *Greek* Cities. He enquiring what the *Lacedæmonians* were, presently slighted them, and answered, That if the Gods preserved him, they should have Cause to bewail their own Calamities, and not busy themselves with what concerned the *Ionians*. He committed *Sardis* to the Custody of *Tabalus*, a *Persian*; to *Paſtyas* a *Lydian*, the Treasurer of *Cressus* and others: and so set out for *Ecbatane*, making little Account of the *Ionians* (against whom he intended to send some Lieutenant) in Comparison of *Babylon*, the *Babylonians*, *Sace* and *Ægyptians*, upon all which he had cast an hungry Eye with purpose to invade them. After his Departure *Paſtyas* revolted, and drawing into Rebellion the Maritime Coasts, besieged *Talycus*; whereat *Cyrus* being angry, as esteeming it a Plot of the *Lydians*, *Cressus* fearing worse things might come upon them, after an Excuse of the Generality, advised him to take from them the Use of Arms, and ensure them to effeminate Courses, whereby they would easily be kept under. *Cyrus* according to his Advice, dispatched away with an Army, one *Mazares* a *Mede*, who finding *Sardis* deserted by *Paſtyas*, put in Execution what *Cressus* had advised. By this Course was brought to pass, that the *Lydians*, to whom for Valour no Nation in *Asia* could be compared, grew infamous for Effeminateness and Luxury; so that gluttonous (a) and voluptuous Persons (b) such as made it their Profession to afford Incitements to Debauchery, received Epithets from their name.

41. *Paſtyas* having fled to *Cuma*, *Mazares* sent to demand him of the Citizens; but, they dismissing him, he fled to *Mytilene*, and thence to the *Chians*, who fold him to *Mazares*. He then reduced such as had revolted, and haraſſing the Country of *Priene*, with that lying upon *Meander* and *Magnesia*, fell sick and died. *Harpagus* the *Mede* succeeded him, and out of hand undertook an Expedition against the *Ionians*. The *Phœceans* being first besieged, obtained Truce for a day, and then shipping themselves, left their ancient Seat, and passed over to the Island *Chios*, and thence (for that the *Chians* refused to sell them the Islands *Ocnusa*, left they should thither carry the Traffique) to *Cyrnus*, where twenty years before, they had built a City called *Alalia*. Here playing the Pirates, they were after five years defeated in a Sea-fight by the *Tyrrhenians* and *Carthaginians*, and then those that remained passed over to *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they built a City named *Hyela*, in the Territories of *Oenotria*. The *Tenians* also, after their Example departed into *Thrace*; where they built up a City called *Abdera*, the Foundations of it being formerly laid by one *Temesius* a *Clazomenian*, whom the *Thracians* thence expelled. The rest of the *Ionians* stood it out against *Harpagus*, who yet utterly subdued, and forced them to undergo the Yoke the second time, having refused to follow the Counsel of *Bias* the *Prienean*, (one of the seven wise men of *Greece*), who advised them to shun Servitude by going to *Sardinia*, and there Planting themselves in one great and common City; as they had formerly rejected the Advice of *Thales* the *Milesian* (another of that number) to set up one common Court at *Ten* in the middle of *Ion*ia. After the Conquest of the *Ionians*, *Harpagus* subdued the *Carians*, *Camianns*, and *Lycians*,

A. M. 3460:
Olymp. 58.
an. 4-671 15.Herodotus l. 1.
c. 141. &c.(a) *Andraget*
scattis indolence(b) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(c) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(d) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(e) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(f) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(g) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(h) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(i) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(j) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(k) *Andraget*
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dedition.(m) *Andraget*
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dedition.(r) *Andraget*
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dedition.(s) *Andraget*
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dedition.(t) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(u) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(v) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(w) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(x) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(y) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.(z) *Andraget*
voluptatibus
dedition.And the Aff-
rians or Baby-
lonians.The Sum of
Xenophon's Cy-
ropædia.

Lycians, and brought all the lower *Asia* under the Dominion and Sovereignty of *Cyrus*, who in the mean while not idle, did as much by the upper Provinces; leaving nothing in his way, but clearing all before him.

42. Having conquered the rest of the Continent, he went against the *Affrians*, who, being aware of him, had furnished themselves in *Babylon* for a long Siege. Coming to the River *Gyndes* (which rising in the *Manitenean* Mountains, runneth through the Country of the *Dardaneans*, and emptieth it self in *Tigris*) he could find no Ford to pass it, and a certain white Horse, faced to the Sun, boldly taking the Water, was overwhelmed in the Floods. Hereat being exceeding angry, he threatened to reduce it to such a Condition, as it should not be kneed deep, and accordingly setting all his Army on work, devided it into 360 Rivulets, in which Employment he spent all that Summer. The Spring following, he marched for *Babylon*, the King whereof (*Labinus*) opposed him; but, being defeated, retreated into the City, to which he then laid close Siege. In vain for a long time did he attempt the Taking of it. At length he divided his Army, and leaving the two stronger parts of it, the one at that side of the Town where the River entered, the other there where it came out; with the third he retired into the adjoining Fens, and digging great Ditches derived the River into them. Hereby he brought it to such an Ebb, that his Souldiers easily passing it, became Masters of the City, and he of the *Babylonian* or *Affrian* Empire. This is the Sum of what *Herodotus* hath written concerning the prosperous Fortune of *Cyrus*.

43. *Xenophon*, contrary to the former Story, will have *Cambyses* his Father no obscure man; but King of *Media*: not a word from him of his Grand-father's Dream, or Expofing of the Infant. When he was twelve years old, he was sent for by *Aſtyages* into *Media*, where having tarried till almost a man, and being admired for Understanding and Abilities far above his Age; he returned to his Father, and entered into the College of Youth, where he was trained up in all strict Discipline according to the Customs of *Persia*. *Aſtyages* dying, *Cyaxares* his Son succeeded him, at what time the King of *Aſſyria* having subdued all the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Hyrcanians*, and had now fallen upon the *Bactrians*, promised himself the absolute Empire of the East; if he could but bring under the *Medes* and *Persians*. He sent therefore to all his Neighbours; to *Cressus* King of *Lydia* the King of *Cappadocia*, to both the *Phrygians*, *Cassians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cilicians*, and *Indians*, accusing these two Nations of ambitious Designs to enslave them all, and procured them to joyn with him in an offensive and defensive League against them. *Cyaxares* hearing this, desired of *Cambyses* his Brother-in-law to send down *Cyrus* to him, with an Army; *Cyrus* being accordingly chosen General by the People, first subdued the *Armenians*, who because of this Combination of the Princes, had denied to pay their accustomed Tribute to *Cyaxares*, and then persuaded his Uncle to invade the *Affrians*, to keep the War from his own doors.

44. Making then an Inroad into *Aſſyria*, the King thereof, *Cressus* of *Lydia*, and divers other Confederates came against them, but in the first Engagement were worsted, and beaten back into their Camp, and amongst others the *Affrian* himself (*Neriglossor*, if any) was slain. The Night following, all brake out of the Fortifications and fled; whereupon *Cyrus* prevailing with his Uncle to suffer him to pursue them, with as many of the *Medes* as would follow him of their own Accord, in his way entered into Confederacy with the *Hyrcanians*, through the Conduct of whom he overtook, and again defeated them: they also flew the Kings of *Cappadocia* and *Arabia*. After this he invaded the Territories of the *Babylonians*, went up to the City it self, and challenged the King to a single Combat, who refusing it, he, after some few Skirmishes thereabout returned to *Cyaxares*, upon the Borders of *Media*, to deliberate about carrying on the War: He found him greatly discontented at his Success (out of Apprehension that he had robbed him of all the Glory) and much averse to the War; but at length he appeared him, and so wrought under hand upon the Officers of the Army, that they unanimously voted the War to be carried on. Some time being necessary then for Preparation, he chose out a convenient place for the Army's Quarters; and not long after, understood by certain Fugitives and Prisoners that the King of *Aſſyria* was gone towards *Lydia* with much Treasure.

45. *Cyrus*, supposing his Design to be for raising men, prepared for the main Chance, by horſing his *Persians*, inventing new and more convenient Chariots, and, to get Intelligence of the Enemy's Purposes, sent one *Arasies* into *Lydia*,

E

who,

who, under Colour of a Revolt, should inffamate himfelf into their Counfels. This Device taking, he difpofed of his Affairs according as he faw behooveful, modelled his Army, and marched againft the Confederates, whom without any great Difficulty he overthrew, all but the *Aegyptians*. They put him to fore Trouble, and endangered his Life; but having fall'n in upon their Rear, and thereby diverted the Front, he fo overpowered them behind and before, as, glad they were to deliver up their Arms, and, upon Promise of better Entertainment, willing to change Mafters and ferve him. *Crefus* now, who commanded in Chief, fled amain to *Sardis*, whither *Cyrus* purfued him, and getting the Cattle into his hands, by the Help of a *Perfian*, who had been Slave to an Officer in it, got Poffeffion both of the City and its King. He, coming to *Cyrus*, acquitted the Oracle of *Delphos* from all Blame, and took the Fault upon himfelf, in that he, overweening of his own Condition, had fooled himfelf continually in a fond Opinion of Happinefs. After this the *Carians* falling into two Factions, both fent unto him: and he difpatched to them *Adafus* with fome Forces, who overpowered both the one and the other, compounded their Differences.

46. Then fent he *Hysfaffes* into *Phrygia*, who fubdued the Country, and took the King Prisoner; at what time the *Greeks* of *Affa* fubmitted themfelves, procuring by Gifts, that they fhould not be constrained to receive any Garifon, but only pay Tribute, and ferve in the Wars. Afterward, in his March to *Babylon*, he brought under the greater *Phrygia*, fubdued the *Cappadocians* and *Arabians*. He fate down before that City with a vaft Army, the Walls whereof after he had viewed, he concluded there was no ftorming of it, and refolved, the beft way was to pine them out. Understanding then, that they were provided within for a whole year, he divided his Army into twelve parts, affigning to each a Moneth to lye in Leaguer, at which the befieged fcoffed, as utterly out of Danger. But *Cyrus* taking Notice how the River ran through the City, caufed deep Ditches to be made, which by draining, rendered it fordable, and fo taking Advantage of a folemn Feaft, entred by night, and furprized them all in their Cups. The King was flain by *Gobryas* and *Gadatas*, who both, being formerly injured by him, had revolted to *Cyrus*. The Inhabitants, commanded upon pain of Death to deliver up their Arms, instantly obeyed. And thus the *Babylonian Empire* being quite overthrown, *Cyrus* affumed to himfelf Royal Majefty, fettling his Court with great Wiloom, wherein *Xenophon*, in his moft exquifite History, maketh him to have excelled, in all things, to Admiration.

47. But *Ctefias* will have *Aflyages* (whom he calleth *Aflyges*) nothing akin to *Cyrus*; tells us how he fled to *Ecbatane*, where he was hid by his Daughter *Amys*, and her Husband *Spitamane*; and how *Cyrus* coming upon them, put them both to the Rack, to make them confefs where he was, with their Children *Spitane* and *Magabemes*. *Aflyges*, rather than they fhould be tortured, difcovered himfelf, and was firft bound with Fetters, but afterwards honoured as a Father by *Cyrus*, who at length married *Amys*, having killed *Spitamane*, becaufe he had denied he knew where he was. After the Marriage, the *Bactrians* gave up themfelves to *Cyrus* and *Amys*, though formerly they made great and effectual Refiftance. He relateth alfo how *Cyrus* made War upon the *Sace*, whole King *Amorges* he took Prisoner; but *Sperethe* the Queen gathered an Army of 300000 Men, and 200000 Women, and therewith overthrowing *Cyrus*, took him with other Prifoners, and thereby redeemed her Husband. With the help then of *Amorges*, he made War upon *Crefus*, and befieged *Sardis*, which City he took by a Stratagem taught him by *Oebares*; making Images of the *Perfians*, and placing them upon the Walls, at which the Defendants were affrighted. But before this, *Crefus*, deluded by a *Speitrum*, gave out his Son, an Hottage to *Cyrus*, and delaying to perform what he had promifed, procured his Death, which the Mother beholding from the Wall, tumbled her felf down headlong, and yet was not killed; but the City being taken, fled to *Apollo's* Temple, and died there.

48. *Crefus* being bound in the Temple, by an Art he had of Deceiving the fight, three times was loofed, though the Place was fecured, and committed to the Care of *Oebares*; for which they that were bound with him loft their Heads. Then was he brought into the Palace and more ftrofly fetter'd, but was loofed again by Thunder and Lightning. Hereat *Cyrus* his Anger abated, and giving him his Liberty, he ufed him ever after with great Refpect, and beftowed on him a great City called *Barene*, near to *Ecbatane*. After this, *Cyrus* fent *Petifacas* his Eunuch to fetch *Aflyges* from the *Barcanians*, both he and his wife having a great Defire to fee him: But *Petifacas* through the Infligation of *Oebares* left him in a

defart Place, where he was famifed to death. The Treachery was revealed by Dreams, and *Petifacas* was given up into the hands of *Amys*, who plucked out his Eyes, his Skin over his Ears, and then crucified him: *Oebares* fearing the like Punifhment, though *Cyrus* promifed him Indemnity, killed himfelf. As for the Body of *Aflyges* it was fumptuously buried, having been guarded by Lions in the Wildernefs, till *Petifacas* fetched it away. Thefe improbable things are related by *Ctefias*.

49. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* left recorded, that, in the 17th year of *Nabonidus*, *Cyrus* having fubdued all *Affa*, with a great Army, turned againft *Babylon*. That *Nabonidus* meeting and engaging with him in Battel, was overthrown, and betook himfelf into a Town of the *Borffians*. *Cyrus* befieged *Babylon*, and confidering it was not to be taken in haft, returned to *Borffus*, where *Nabonidus* not expecting a Storm, yielded himfelf; and *Cyrus* uſing him kindly ſent him from *Babylon* into *Caramania*, where he allotted him an Habitation. *Abydenus* further added, that *Cyrus* beftowed upon *Nabonidus*, now above eighty years old, the Government of *Caramania*. This is the Sum of what the moſt ancient Hiſtorians delivered concerning *Cyrus* his Attainment of the Empire of the Eaſt; which happened about the year of the World 3465, the firſt of the 60th Olympiad, 538 years before the *Aera* of Chriſt.

What *Berosus* and *Abydenus* wrote of him.

Of Sacred History,

CHAP. III.

Contemporary with the Babylonian Empire.

SECT. I.

From the time of Phaleg, and the Division of the Earth; to the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt.

Phaleg.
Ren.
Sarug.
Nahor.
Terah.
Abram.

1. *Phaleg* being thirty years old, begat *Ren*, otherwife called *Robu* and *Ragan* by the 70: *Ren* 32 years old, begat *Sarug*. He at thirty years of Age, had a Son named *Nahor*. And *Nahor*, one (when he was 29) called *Terah* or *Thare*.

2. *Terah* being feventy years old begat *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*. Not that all theſe were born at the ſame time, or are to be accounted in Age as we find them in Order; Priority in years not being conſtantly obſerved in Scripture; but rather that of Piety and true Worth. *Haran* is to be reckoned as the eldeſt; who died at *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, before his Father departed thence, and left three Children, viz. one Son named *Lot*: and two Daughters *Milcab* married to his Brother (and her Uncle) *Nahor* and *Sarai* (or *Iſcab*) to *Abram*. The ſecond was *Nahor*, Father to *Chetſed* (or *Chetſed*;) and ſo *Abram* the youngſt; becauſe he was born, not in the 70th as hath been thought; but 130 year of his Father. For *Terah* lived in all 205 years, and died in *Charran*. *Abram*, when he came out of *Charran* (which *Stephen* faith, was after his Father's Death) was 75 years old; which being deducted out of 205, 130 years will remain. But if he was born in the 70 year of his Father; then, at his Death, was he 125 years old; and having *Iſaac* born to him, when 100, in the Land of *Canaan*, he muſt with him have returned back to *Charran* (which ſeemeth very incredible;) or elſe he left it not at his Fathers Death, as *Stephen* muſt make us believe he did.

3. *Abram* therefore was born in the 130 year of his Father's Life, and the 2008th of the World, as is clear from the Ages of all his Progenitors, taken at the Births of their Sons, and laid together. About the 70 year of his Age, God commanded him to leave his Father's houſe, and come into the Land which he ſhould ſhew him, promifing to make of him a great Nation, to bleſs him, and in him all the

Sect. 1.

He cometh
from Ur to
Charran.

Thence into
Canaan.

Sojourneth in
Egypt.

Recovered
Lot and the
Body from
the four Kings.

Why called an
Hebrew.

Families of the Earth. He, obeying this Command, drew on his Father also with him, and so (together with *Lot* the Son of *Haran*, and *Sarah* *Abram's* Wife) they came from *Ur* of the *Chaldeans* to *Charran*, and dwelt there. Dwelling there, Remeth to imitate a longer Stay than of one year; so that some probably think five Years to have been there spent. For *Terah*, now very old, might detain them by his Weakness; they being unwilling to leave him, till they saw him either recovered or dead: But after his Death, mindful of Gods Command, they left *Charran*, and came into the Land of *Canaan*. This Journey from *Ur* to *Charran*, was the Beginning of the four hundred thirty years of him, and his Posterity's, sojourning in a strange Land; the Promise also made to him being so many years before the Promulgation of the Law in Mount *Sinai*, as the Apostle *Paul* hath observed.

4. The first Place of *Canaan* in which *Abram* made any Stay, was *Sichem*; where God again appeared to him, and renewed his Promise; another of giving that Land to his Seed being added to it; and in this place he built the first Altar to the Lord. Thence he removed towards the hilly Country, and the Eastern Tract of *Lotz*, (afterwards called *Bethel*) where he built another Altar, and so proceeded into the Southern Coasts, whence a Famine drove him into *Egypt*. There he sojourned, and taught the *Egyptians* Astrology, which *Joseph* saith they were ignorant of, till he communicated to them the Knowledge of it, and of Arithmetic. His Wife being beautiful; for fear of his Life, he counterfeited himself her Brother, so that *Pharaoh* began to cast his Affections on her, till, plagued by God, he was constrained to dismiss them both in Peace. Out of *Egypt* then he returned to that place, between *Hai* and *Bethel*, where he built the second Altar: Now was he and *Lot* grown fo rich, that no longer could they conveniently live together. *Lot* being departed to the Plains of *Sodom*, God again renewed his Promise to *Abram*, which he more largely explained, both as to the Giving of the Land, and the Propagation of his Posterity. After this, as he was commanded, he went and viewed the Land; then pitch't his Tents in the Plain of *Manre* near to *Hebron*, where he built another Altar to the Lord.

5. At this time four Kings about the River *Euphrates*, viz. *Anraphel* King of *Shinar* or *Babylonia*, *Arioch* King of *Ellasar*, (thought to be *Arabia*, because of a City upon the Borders of that Country, called *Ellas*) *Chedorlaomer* King of *Blam* (afterwards *Persia*) and *Tidal* King of *Nations*, (thought to be many petty Kingdoms, adjoining to *Phoenicia* and *Palestine*) came and fought against the five Kings of the *Pentapolis*; viz. *Era* of *Sodom*, *Birisa* of *Gomorrath*, *Stinab* King of *Admah*, *Seimber* of *Zebojim*, and the King of *Bela* (afterwards called *Zoar*;) of who, had twelve years served *Chedorlaomer*; and in the thirteenth rebelled. They overthrew these five petty Princes, led away much Pillage, and many Captives, amongst which was *Lot*, who then sojourned in *Sodom*. *Abram* hearing this, armed 318 Servants; and pursuing them, recovered *Lot*, and all the Prey, which he restored to the Owners. In his Return, *Melchisedech* (whom some improbably make *Senn*) King of *Salem* (or *Jerusalem*;) Priest of the most high God, brought forth Bread and Wine, and blessed him; to whom he gave the Tithes of all. In this Story *Abram* is first called an *Hebrew* by *Moses* (And there came one which had escaped and told *Abram* the *Hebrew*) which Word, in Scripture, is not found applied to any other before him.

6. Some think he was so called from *Heber* the Son of *Salah*; and that this Appellation only was proper to his Family, because it kept the most ancient or *Hebrew* Tongue incorrupt. But (a) others finding the word to signify one so other from beyond the Water, or a Stranger; think it was given to *Abram* upon no other Account, than because he came from beyond *Euphrates*: None of *Heber's* Posterity being called so; but only he, and some of his; they think, addeth much to their Reason. They conclude, that the *Hebrew* Language was not appropriate to *Heber* as a Reward of his Piety, because those that descended of him used it not always; and to others, besides his Posterity, it appeareth to have been natural. They instance, that *Laban* spake *Syriack*, and the *Canaanites* and *Philistines* the *Hebrew* naturally; as the names of their Men, Places, &c. do shew. Therefore they judge it most probable, that *Abram* speaking the *Chaldean* Language before, (which only differeth in Dialect from the *Hebrew*) got both the Name and Language, after his Arrival in the Land of *Canaan*. The Heathen (a) Writers thought them to have been called *Hebrews* from *Abraham*, as corrupted from *Abraheans*, out of Ignorance of the Language. *Augustine* also once inclined to this Opinion, which he afterwards renounced.

7. *Abram*,

7. *Abram*, after his Victory over the Kings, received a more large promise from God, who engaged to become to him a *Shield*, and a *sufficient Reward*; and (for that it troubled him to go childless) to give him *Issac*, from which should proceed an innumerable Posterity, that, inhabiting a strange Land four hundred years, was to return and possess this of *Canaan*, when the Iniquity of the *Amorites* would be full, in the fourth Generation. This League made betwixt God and *Abram*, was confirmed by Sacrifice; yet, *Sarah*, seeing her self barren, persuaded her husband to go in unto *Hagar* her handmaid, of which he had a Son born to him, and named *Ismael*, in the eleventh year after his coming into *Canaan*, the 86 of his Age, and of the World, the 2094. In the thirteenth year after, God made another Covenant with him concerning the seed of *Isaac*, who was to be born the year following, and Circumcision was instituted as a Seal thereof. Now, whereas his name before was *Abram* or an *High-father*, it was changed into *Abraham*, or *Father of a great multitude*. And *Sarah*, which signifieth *My Princess*, or *Lady*, (as of one Family) was altered into *Sarah*, or a *Princess* *absolute*; as of many Nations. Not long after, God made known to *Abraham* his purpose to destroy *Sodom*, and the other Cities, for their abominable wickedness. He interceded hard for them; but there being not so many as five righteous Persons in *Sodom*, God having taken care for *Lot* and his Family, rained Fire and Brimstone down upon the Cities, which, together with the Plain were utterly destroyed; only *Bela* was spared for *Lot's* sake, who fled thither. Of the rest the *Dead Sea* (into which the Ground was converted) remaineth a lasting Monument to this day. In this Sea (or Lake) no living Creature is bred, having nothing but a Sulphureous matter thence taken in great quantities. It is described to be 72 miles in length, and 19 in breadth. Nigh to it fair and pleasant Apples grow, which being touched, turn into a Sulphureous Vapour; and a Tradition remained amongst the Heathen, of these Cities being destroyed with Thunder and Lightning from Heaven. *Lot's* Wife, after she had got out of *Sodom*, looked back, and was turned into a Pillar of Salt. His two Daughters, thinking all Mankind to have perished, made their Father drunk, and lay with him; from which incestuous Copulation came *Mobab* and *Ammon*, Fathers of the *Mobabites* and *Ammonites*, two great and powerful Nations.

8. A little after (in the same year) *Abraham* having continued in the Plain of *Manre* about eighteen years, departed unto *Gerar* the *Metropolis* of the *Philistines*; where hapned the same thing concerning his Wife, as formerly had done in *Egypt*, *Abimelech* the King having taken her into his House, who therefore was plagued till he restored her with large Gifts. The year being precisely finished, *Sarah* bare to him *Isaac* (so called because he laughed when God made mention of it to him) he being now an hundred years old, and the ninety; four hundred before the Departure of his Posterity out of *Egypt*. At the weaning of *Isaac*, *Sarah* seeing *Ismael* mocking, procured him and his Mother to be banished the House, God bidding *Abraham* fulfill her Desire herein, and promising to make of him a great Nation. When *Isaac* was grown up (though of what Age, is not expressed, some guessing thirty years; others (improbably) ten, or twelve, because he must have been of sufficient Strength to carry wood) God to try his Faith, commanded him to offer him up for a burnt-offering on Mount *Moriath*, where afterwards the Temple of *Solomon* stood. He, out of Obedience, went about to do it; but God accepting his Will for a Performance, renewed his Promise to him. *Sarah* died aged 127 years, and after her Death *Abraham* married another Wife, called *Keturah*, by which he had other six Sons. To those he gave Gifts, and before his Death sent them away from *Isaac*, the Heir of the Promise.

9. When *Isaac* was forty years old, his Father procured him to Wife *Rebecca*, the Daughter of *Bethuel*, who was Son to *Nachor*, the Brother of *Abraham*. She (married at fourteen years of Age, according to the Tradition of the *Jews*) was barren twenty years; but then her Husband beseeching God for her, she brought forth Twins (*Elsau* and *Jacob*) which struggled in her Womb; the elder being, as God foretold, to serve the younger. Fifteen years after, *Abraham* died, being 175 years old, having sojourned in the Land of *Canaan* a hundred years; twenty two after the Death of *Senn*, four before that of *Heber*; in the days of *Inachus* King of the *Argives*, 1821 years before the *Ara* of *Christ*, in the 2183 year of the World. Of *Abraham* (besides *Artapanus* and *Charan* before mentioned) *Berossus* the *Chaldean* had some Knowledge, though he named him not. *Hecateus* not only made mention of him, by the way, but wrote an History of him: *Nicolaus Damascus*, in the fourth Book of his Histories, related that *Abra-*

Artapanus
and Euseb.
de Chron.
c. 111, &c.
and Joseph.
c. 11.

Art. 2. c. 10.
(a) Leger
L. 1. c. 10.
Chron. 1. c. 11.
&c.

Euseb.

Scct. 1. *ham*, a certain Stranger, reigned at *Damascus*; having come from a Country about *Babylon*, said to be that of the *Chaldeans*. That he departed thence with his People into the Land of *Canaan*, afterwards called *Judea*, where his Posterity grew very numerous; concerning which he should speak in another Place. In *Josephus* his time the name of *Abraham* was famous at *Damascus*; where was shewn a certain Village, called *Abraham's dwelling*.

10. After the Death of *Abraham*, God blessed *Isaac*, and made the same Covenant with him. In a time of Famine, he also sojourned in *Gerar*, where differing concerning *Rebecca* his Wife, the same thing happened to them as formerly to *Abraham* and *Sarah*, from another *Abimelech*, which name was common to all the Kings of the *Philistines*. Some years after, *Isaac* died, aged 137 years, 48 after his Father, in the year of the World 2231. From his eldest Son *Nebaioth*, descended the *Nabatheans*, who inhabited part of *Arabia*, from the River *Euphrates* to the *Red-Sea*, called *Arabia Petraea*, from *Petra* the Metropolis of the Country; which, wanting Fruits, abounded in Sheep and Cattel. *Diodorus* describeth it to have Iyen like a Wilderness untilld, as without Inhabitants; without Rivers or Fountains. It was unlawful with them to sow or plant, to drink Wine or build Houses, being extraordinary desirous of Liberty, and judging these things but Temptations, to such as were stronger, to inhale them. Some of them kept Camels, others Sheep; some used to convey Spices, brought out of *Arabia* the Happy, to the Sea. When they were invaded by an Enemy, they betook themselves into the Wilderness, which being vast, and without water, afforded them sufficient Protection. Another Son of *Isaac*, named *Kedar*, gave name to a Place of *Arabia* the *Desart*, often mentioned in Scripture. It is thought that, though the *Chuseans*, *Madianites*, and *Ismaelites* were of several Originals, yet they dwelt promiscuously together, and grew up into one Nation of the *Saracens*.

11. Fifteen years after this, *Isaac* being 138 years old, and blind, sent his eldest Son *Elsan* to Hunt for Venison, that he might eat and bless him before his Death. But *Jacob*, by his Mother's Help, supplanted him, and got the Blessing, having formerly bought his Birthright for Potage. Hereat *Elsan*, enraged, determined to kill him after his Father's Death; which *Rebecca* knowing, sent him in to *Mesopotamia* to her Brother *Laban*, that he might thence also take a Wife out of her own Kindred, and not make his Choice amongst the *Hittites*, of which *Elsan* had married two Wives. In his Journey God appeared to him in a Dream, and blessed him; for which Cause he changed the name of the Place from *Luz* into *Bethel*. Coming to *Laban*, after a Month's time, he covenanted to serve him seven years for his youngest Daughter *Rachel*, which being ended, *Leah*, the eldest, was given to him in her stead, and presently after, *Rachel*, for which he agreed to serve him other seven years. *Rachel*, most beloved, continued barren; and *Leah*, because neglected, obtained Favour of God to be fruitful, which raised such Emulation betwixt them, as *Rachel* first, and then *Leah*, gave her Maid to his Bed, accounting the Children begotten on them, as their own. Within seven years, he had by *Leah* seven Sons, viz. *Reuben*, *Simon*, *Levi*, *Judah*, *Issachar*, *Zabulon*, and a Daughter named *Dinah*; by *Bilhah*, *Rachel's* Maid, two Sons, *Dan* and *Naphthali*; by *Zilpah*, *Leah's* Maid, also two Sons, *Gad* and *Asher*. Lastly, by *Rachel*, her self one Son, named *Joseph*, and born the fourteen year of his Service ending. Six years longer he served *Laban* for Wages (being to have the Cattel of such and such a Colour) which his hard Master changed ten times; but could not withstand the Providence of God, in his growing rich.

12. Having served his Father-in-law and Uncle twenty years, and observing what Envy he had contracted from him and his Sons, he stole away with all he had, and proceeded three days on his Journey, ere his Departure was known. Then *Laban* with his Friends pursuing, overtook him after seven days in Mount *Gilead*, which from the Event of this Meeting had its Name. After several Explications, they made a Covenant (*Laban* being warned by God not to hurt him) and, in Testimony thereof, laid together an Heap of Stones, which *Jacob* called *Gilead*; but *Laban*, in his Syrian Tongue, *Jegar-Schadutha*. *Jacob* then continued his Journey towards *Canaan*, wrestling with God's Angel in his Way; from which he received a Blessing, and the Surname of *Israel*. His Brother *Elsan* also met him, and lovingly received him, contrary to his Fears. The first place he stayed at was *Succoth*, so called because there he built an House, and made Booths for his Cattel. Thence he passed over *Jordan*, and came to *Siechem*, where he bought of *Hamor*, the Father of *Siechem*, a Field, for a hundred Lambs, or

Gen. 25.

Strabo l. 16.

p. 779.

lib. 19. p.

722. A.

Gen. 27.

chap. 28, 29.

32.

A. M. 2246.

chap. 31, 32.

Gen.

A. M. 2255.

or so many pieces of Money. How long he continued in either of these places is not expressed. *Demetrius* and *Alexander Polyhistor* wrote that he abode ten years in *Secot*, saying nothing of *Siechem*; perhaps because he made little Stay there. Indeed *Dinah* seemeth to have been Ravished not long after their first coming thither; *Hamor* speaking to his Citizens concerning them, as persons lately come, and her curiosity to see the Women of that Country, probably may be thought to have proceeded from the strangeness of it. At the end of these ten years she was Ravished, then sixteen years old; being born a little before *Joseph*, and perhaps the same year. To be revenged upon *Siechem*, who committed the Rape, her two Brothers *Simcon* and *Levi* slew him, and put the whole City to the Sword, coming upon them when they were yet fore by Circumcision, which he had procured them to admit of, that he might obtain the Maid for his Wife.

13. *Jacob* much troubled heret, was commanded by God to go to *Bethel*, having Buried all the strange Gods and the ear-rings of his Family under the Oak in *Siechem*. At *Bethel* he erected an Altar to the Lord, and here *Deborah* the Nurse of *Rebecca* died. Thence he removed to *Ephrath*, being 107 years old, and when they had almost reached the place, *Rachel* died in Travel of *Benjamin*, having (as *Demetrius* and *Alexander* wrote) lived with her Husband 23 years. Eleven years after *Jacob's* Return into *Canaan*, when he was now 109 years old, *Joseph* being hated of his Brethren, because he had brought to their Father their evil report, and for his Dream (which prefiged his preeminence over them) they sold him to the *Ismaelites*; who carried him down into *Egypt*, where *Potiphar* Captain of the Kings A. M. 2277. Guard bought him, being now seventeen years old. Ten years he lived with him: Till refusing to satisfy the wanton Desires of his Mistress, he was falsely accused by her of his own fault, and cast into Prison. The year after, he interpreted the Dreams of the chief Butler and Baker of *Pharaoh*, both which were in Prison with him; and accordingly the Baker was hanged, but the Butler restored, who yet forgot *Joseph*.

14. At this time his Grand-father *Isaac* died; aged 180 years, in the 2288 year of the World. He was buried in *Hebron*, by his two Sons *Elsan* and *Jacob*; the former having (as some think they have Ground in Charity to believe) reconciled himself to his Brother, and joyined himself to the Church; not being estranged from the Grace of God, but only from the special and particular Covenant, as to the promised Seed; which they have the same Reason to think concerning *Ismael*: The Funeral pail, and the Goods divided betwixt them, being both exceeding rich, and therefore requiring large Room, *Elsan* departed to his former Possession of Mount *Seir*; Providence for ordaining it, that when the *Ismaelites* should afterwards come to inherit *Canaan*, his Posterity might neither be destroyed, nor displaced. He was otherwise called *Edom*, and from him *Idumaea* took its Name, which seemeth from *Strabo* to have also included the Country of the *Nabateans*. And likely enough it is, that he who married the Sister of *Nebaioth*, might joyn himself to them, and preside over them. This is the famous *Heroes*, *Vite Fulvii* from whom not only *Idumaea*, but also the adjoining *Erythraean*, *Edomaeon*, or *Redsea*, (all signifying the same thing) was so called; being known to the *Greeks*, by the name of *Erythras*, the same with *Edom*.

15. But two years after *Joseph* had interpreted the Dreams of the Servants of *Pharaoh*, he was called up out of Prison, to explain the meaning of one, which the King himself had dreamed. This, betokening seven years of great Plenty to come, and after them as many of Famine; and it being necessary, as he hinted to *Pharaoh*, to chuse out some wife Man, who being let over the Land, should gather and preserve the Fruits of the Earth, against the time of Want; *Pharaoh* made Choice of him, being about thirty years old, for this purpose: he appointed him next to himself, and gave him in Marriage *Asenath* the Daughter of *Potiphar*, Priest of *On* (or *Heliopolis*, where *Strabo* writeth, that the Priests of old time had their Habitation) on which he begat *Ephraim* and *Manasser*. According to A. M. 2297. his Prediction, seven most plentiful years ensued, wherein he gathered into Store-Houses the Corn that abounded; and after them came seven other of Famine, which prevailed for both in *Egypt* and the neighbouring Countries of *Canaan* and *Arabia*. *Jacob*, amongst others, wanting Provisions, in the second year of the Famine, sent his Sons down into *Egypt* to buy Corn. *Joseph* knowing them, though undiscovered, accused them for coming as Spies, cast them into Prison, and dismissed them not, till *Simon* (the eldest of those which conspired against his Life) was bound and left as an Hostage, for their bringing down of *Benjamin*; that so their Story might be confirmed, of their being one Mans Sons, and that their youngest Brother was left behind. The next year; being pressed with Famine

Scct. 1.

Apud Euseb.

p. 104.

p. 104.

p. 104.

p. 104.

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p. 104.

Sect. 1. mine, they returned, and Benjamin with them, whom their Father was constrained to let go. Now, after some further terrifying of them, he made himself known, and sent for his Father down into *Aegypt*. *Jacob* understanding of his Son's Life and Promotion (whom he had given over of a long time, for dead) gladly went down, and with him 66 Souls, besides his Son's Wives; in the third year of the A. M. 2258. Famine, of the World the 2298th, aged 130 years.

16. By *Pharaoh's* Consent, *Joseph* placed them in the Land of *Goshen*, and there nourished them during the Famine. He sold to the *Aegyptians* the Corn formerly treasured up, and therewith purchased for the King all their Money, Goods and Lands, except the Lands of the Priests, which were not alienated. The Grounds he afterwards granted to the former Owners, paying the fifth part of the Profit to *Pharaoh's* Use. After *Jacob* had lived in *Aegypt* seventeen years, he adopted the two eldest Sons of *Joseph*, viz. *Manasse* and *Ephraim*, of whom the younger he preferred before the elder: He called his Sons together, blessed them, and told them apart, what should befall them in their Posterity. From *Reuben* he gave his first born he took the Preheminence, because he had defiled his Bed, and gave it to *Judah*. He prophesied of Christ's Coming, commanded them to bury him in the Cave of *Machpelah*, in the Land of *Canaan*, with his Ancestors; and then died at the Age of 147 years, in the year of the World 2315. *Joseph* caused his Servants the Physicians to embalm *Israel*, and a Mourning of seventy days (or seventy two,) was observed for him, which number in that Country was only proper to Kings; Then, obtaining Leave of *Pharaoh*, he and his Brethren, with a great Company of Courtiers, carried him into the Land of *Canaan*, and buried him there, according to his Will, where they also mourned for him seven days.

17. Being returned into *Aegypt*, *Joseph* forgave his Brethren the Fault they formerly had committed against him (which now they feared he would revenge, after their Fathers Death,) and as long as he lived, he nourished them and their Children. This space of time was fifty four years after his Fathers Death, at the end whereof, having exhorted them to Unity and Concord, foretelling them their Departure out of *Aegypt*, and commanding them thence to carry his Bones, he dyed at the Age of 110 years, when he had governed *Aegypt*, under several Kings, the space of 80. *Trogon Pompeius* (as appeareth out of *Justin* his Epitomizer) wrote many things concerning him, partly taken out of the Sacred History, partly mixed with such Fables as the Heathen were not wanting to invent concerning the Jews. *Abram*, *Moses*, and *Israel*, are made by him Kings of *Damascus*, which City took its name from their Predecessor. *Israel* had ten Sons, to whom he committed the Kingdom, and commanded them to call themselves Jews, from *Judah*, who died before the Division, and whose Portion was divided amongst them all. The youngest of the ten Sons was *Joseph*, whose excellent Wit his Brothers fearing, they sold him to some Merchants that carried him down into *Aegypt*. Here learning the Magick Arts, he became very dear to the King, having skill in working Wonders, and Interpretation of Dreams: moreover, nothing either Divine or Humane was beyond his Reach; inasmuch, that he foretold the Barrenness of the Ground several years before it happened, and all *Aegypt* had perished with Famine, but that the King, by his Advice, caused Corn to be treasured up many years: finally, such was his Knowledge, that his Answers seemed rather the Oracles of a God, than the Replies of a Man. Then lowly, that *Moses* was his Son, who both wife and beautiful, became a Leader to such *Aegyptians* as were infected with Scab and Itch, and so returned to *Damascus*, the Country of his Ancestors. Which Lyes (with others hereafter to be mentioned) are to be attributed to the Malice of the *Aegyptians*. With the Life of *Joseph* endeth the first Book of *Moses* his History, called by the Greeks, *Genesis*, which containeth the Account of 2369 years of the World. The next to it in order of time, the Book of *Job* is thought to be; of which *Moses* also is reputed Author, by the common Consent and Opinion of the Hebrews.

18. After the Death of *Joseph*, and all that Generation, the Children of *Israel* increased abundantly, and grew exceeding mighty; so that the Land was filled with their numbers. But a certain King arising, which knew not *Joseph*, to keep them down, he pressed them with fore Labour; and left they should increase, gave order to the Midwives to drown all the Male Children in the River. At this time (fifty eight years after the Death of *Joseph*, and forty one after that of *Levi*) *Auram*, the Son of *Caath*, and Grand-son of *Levi* by *Jochabed* the Daughter of *Levi* (so called by an Hebraical, and not *Caath's* own Sister, as some have thought)

Moses born.

thought) was made Father of a Son, whom for his Beauty they hid three Moneths, not fearing the Kings Command, and when he could no longer be concealed, put him in an Ark of Bull-rushes, daubed within and without with Pitch, and laid him on the Brink of the River. Either the Kings Daughter (by *Josephus* called *Thermutis*) coming down to wash her self, found the Babe; and moved with Compassion, sent for a Nurse, which was *Jochabed* her self, through the Procurement of *Miriam* her Daughter, which had watched what would become of the Child, and unknown, had offered her self for a Messenger. Being nursed up, the educated him as her own Son, and called him *Moses*, because the had taken him out of the Water. *Moy* in the *Aegyptian* Tongue, as *Josephus* saith, signifying Water, and *Tes* taken out, though *Moshe* in the Hebrew is no compounded word, signifying drawn out, delivered, or rather a Deliverer; not without a Mytery; he being a Type of that great Deliverer of Mankind. He was learned in all the Learning of the *Aegyptians*, and became mighty in Words and in Deeds.

19. But *Moses* being grown up, by Faith refused to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, and despised the Pleasure of his Court; having, according to *Josephus* his History, thrown down his Crown, set upon his head when a Child, and trampled it under his Feet; for which, as an ill Omen, the Priest (who had foretold, that his Nativity would prove disastrous to the *Aegyptians*) would have had him slain; but he was spared through the Affection of *Thermutis*. Being forty years old, he visited his Brethren the *Israelites*; and looking upon their Burdens, when he saw an *Aegyptian* smiting one of them, he killed him, and hid his Body in the Sand. But this coming to *Pharaoh's* Ear, he was forced to fly for his Life, into the Land of *Midian*, where he kept the Sheep of *Jethro*, or *Hehab* Priest of that Country, who gave him *Zipporah* his Daughter to wife. Forty years he continued with him, till the Birthens of the Children of *Israel* were grown so intolerable, after above eighty years Continuance, that God being moved with their Cries, called to him out of a burning Bush, as he was feeding Sheep, to send him on a Message to *Pharaoh*, about their Dismission. He laboured by all means to make Excuse; but at length, confirmed by Promise of divine Assistance by Miracles, and the Company of his Brother *Aaron*, (three years elders) he undertook the Employment.

20. This Message was ill relented by *Pharaoh*, and greater Burthens imposed on the People; no Straw being now allowed them, for the making of Brick, in which servile work they were employed. Many Signs and Wonders were wrought by *Moses* in the Kings Presence, which little availed; *Janer* and *Jambres*, *Magicians*, doing the same with their Enchantments. Ten Plagues also by the Ministry of *Moses*, God inflicted upon the Land. 1. The Waters were turned into Blood. 2. Frogs swarmed in the Land. 3. Lice. 4. Flies and other Insects. 5. A Murrain followed amongst the Cattel. 6. Ulcers in Man and Beast. 7. Thunder and Rain mingled with Fire and Hail, that destroyed the Corn with the Trees of the Field. 8. Locusts covered the Face of the Earth, and consumed the Fruits thereof. 9. Enforced Darkness throughout the Land of *Aegypt*, such, as no *Aegyptian* could stir out of his House, yet the *Israelites* had Light in their dwellings. 10. Lest of all the first-born were slain, from *Pharaoh* that sat upon the Throne, to the first-born of the Captive in the Dungeon, and the first-born of Cattel.

21. The nine former Plagues *Pharaoh's* heart was so hardened as to withstand; but the tenth forced him to let the People go. Upon the Death of the first-born, he and his Subjects thrust them out with Halte, out of the Land, and forgot the Jewels of Silver and Jewels of Gold, which they had lent them. For the *Israelites* were commanded by God, to borrow these things; and, the Night before their Departure, to kill a Lamb; with the Blood of which they were to sprinkle the Lintels of their Doors, that the Angel appointed to do this Execution upon the first-born, might pass by their Houses, at the sight thereof. And in Memorial of the thing, they were to do every year, on the tenth day of that Moneth (thenceforth commanded to begin the year, being called *Abib*) eating a Lamb in a travelling Posture, with their Loins girt, and Staves in their hands. Thus left they *Aegypt*, 430 years after the first Promise made to *Abraham*, and his Leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*, 400 after the Birth of *Isaac*, 210 after *Jacob's* Descent into *Aegypt*, in the 2508th. year of the World. This their Departure is also attested by Heathen Writers; but related to have been upon such Grounds, as the *Aegyptians* themselves

Sect. 1.
A. M. 2428.

De nominibus
Hebraeis à Jo-
sepho scriptis
vult Jacob.
Capellum
Hil. Sacra &
Expositio ad A.
M. 1719.

A. M. 2468.
Exod. 3. & 4.

Chap. 5. &
7. &c.

Exod. 12.
A. M. 2508.

The *Israelites*
oppressed in
Aegypt.

Joseph dieth.

Dieth.

Jacob goeth
into *Aegypt*.

Sect. 1.

A. M. 2370.
Lk. 35. c. 2.

The ten
Plagues of *A-*
egypt.

The *Israelites*
depart.

Vide Pterium
in 2 Exodi.

Sect. 2. selves invented; who, as it seemeth, took Occasion from the Plague of Leprosy, which they suffered in their own Persons, to feign, that because of Leprosy they were forced out of the Land; as will largely appear in the History of Egypt.

SECT. II.

From the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, to the Death of Solomon, and the Rent of the Kingdom.

I. THE Number of the Children of Israel may be esteemed by what is recorded concerning their men of War, of the Age of twenty years and upwards. Of these went out about 600000, besides Women and Children; so that if those of that Age be reckoned as two parts of five, of the whole Multitude, (which is the usual Account amongst all Nations, to reckon men for War, as forty to a hundred, in respect of the whole Body) then the total number of all, both old and young, amounted to about 1500000. To these must be added a mixed Multitude; which, having taken up their Religion, went out with them, and is thought by some to have consisted of as many more; so that the whole Sum of all together, at that rate, would arise to 3000000. As for the number of the Israelites, it need not seem incredible, that from about 70 Persons in the space of 210 years, so many should proceed. For if but one man, in the thirtieth year of his Age, should begin to be a Father, and had but ten Children, who also with their Posterity should beget at the same Age, in all ten Children, who also were 200 years, would have descended from him, of the sixth Generation 1000000. of the fifth 100000. of the fourth 10000. of the third 1000. of Grand-Children 1000. of Grand-Children 100. and of Children 10. But that the Israelites began to be Fathers before the Age of thirty is more than probable; Nature * sometimes not requiring half that time, and there is ground sufficient to think that they often exceeded the number of ten Children. The Scripture relateth Abdon to have had forty Sons, Abizara thirty, and as many Daughters, Gideon seventy Sons, and Ahab as many. Egyptus, Danaus, Priamus, and Darius, are reported to have had fifty Children; Artaxerxes, Justin relateth to have had 115. and Hierotimus 600. These things (to add no more) prove the great Increase of the Israelites to have been possible in the course of Nature, although not without an especial Providence.

2. Moses had gathered the People together, as Josephus writeth, about Ramesses the chief City of Goshen, that they might be in a Readiness; and thence they came to Succoth where was their second Station. Here Moses propounded the Command of God concerning the annual Observation of the Passover, and Consecration of the first born. A ready way hence to the Land of Canaan would have been through that of the Philistines; but because the Israelites were born in Slavery, and therefore had but low and poor Spirits; to exercise them to return, them up, and left, for want of Experience, they should be so terrified as to return, they could lead them another and longer way. From Succoth therefore they came by Eiham in the end of the Desert, in two days; whither God conducted them by a Pillar of a Cloud by day, and Pillar of Fire by night, that never forsook them, till they came to the Borders of the promised Land. From Eiham they journeyed to Pihabiroth, and thence to the Red Sea. Hither Pharaoh pursuingly struck all his Forces, repenting he had let them go. They were there exceedingly struck with Terror, and murmured against Moses, for bringing them out of Egypt. In this Extremity God divided the Waters of the Red Sea, which being as a Wall on both sides to them, they passed over on dry Ground. The Egyptians cloyed also to pursue them in this place, but the Pillar then removed from before them, and placed it self between them, giving light to the Israelites, but causing great Darkness to their Enemies. Hereupon ensued great Conternation, and a panic Fear amongst the Egyptians, which causing great Disturbance, the Lord

Vide Petenium in 12 cap. Exodus.

*Vide Jacob. Capell. ad A. M. 2292. * Met. memora in civitate Lib. 11. cap. 1. de- vompulencia, puri minor an- norum dandis annis ex pilla confidit sua que videntur dic- tum annis explevrat.*

Rem notan nar- ra. et caput me- moria adue re- cens in de- pui- tione. Videri hoc ipse de se patri meo relatu, quod aliqui tunc in pari quidem igno- rabant. Scilicet. in Part. 1. cap. 1.

to

so fought against them, and they fled. But then the Waters returned to their Place and overwhelmed them all, so that neither Pharaoh, nor any one of his men escaped. This place of the Red Sea being here not at all fordable, the sole Power of God procured their Passage; though Josephus, to gain Credit to the Story from the incredulous Heathen, taketh off from the Miracle, by an unfuitable Comparing of it to Alexander the Great his Passing the shoar of the Pamphylian-Sea, which at low Water was ever bare, and at other times not very deep.

3. From the Red Sea they journeyed three days through the Wilderness of Eiham; (which, as it seemeth, stretcheth forth it self to both the sides of the Sea) where they found no Water. Thence they came to Marah, where they found Water, but bitter, and thence the Place had its name; which Bitterness was removed by the casting in of a certain Tree which God shewed to Moses. From Marah, they came to their fifth Station at Elim, where were twelve Fountains of Water, and seventy Palm-trees, and thence to the Red Sea; which name seemeth to be applied to some Bay or Creek thereof. From the Sea they came into the Desert of Sin, where they pitched their Tents on the fourteenth day of the second Month after their Departure. Here murmuring for Flesh, Quails were rained down upon the Camp at Evening, and in the Morning was there found Manna, which continued every Morning, to fall, all the forty years they abode in the Wilderness. This Wilderness of Sin being very large, and reaching as far as Mount Sinai, they had several Stations in it. The ninth was at Diphkah, the tenth at Alush, the eleventh at Rephidim; where the People again murmuring for Water, the Rock being struck by Moses, gushed out into Streams. Whilist they here continued, the Amalekites (descended from Amalek, who was the Son of Eliphaz, and Grand-son of Esau) fell in upon their Rear, and made Slaughter of the weaker sort. Moses against them sent Joshua the Son of Nun, he himself in the mean time praying to God in the Mount. And as long as his hands were lifted up the Israelites overcame, but when he let them down the Amalekites prevailed; so that Aaron his Brother, and Hur his Sister Miriam's husband, bore them up till the Going down of the Sun.

The Deca- logue.

4. In the third Month they removed, and took up their Station in the Desert of Sinai, over against the Mountain Horeb (which 'tis thought was some part of Sinai) and here they continued almost a year; to the twentieth day of the second Month of the next year. Upon this Mountain, God gave the Law of the ten Commandments in a terrible manner, on the fiftieth day after their Coming out of Egypt, as some of the Ancients apprehended. The day after, several other Laws were promulgated, as it were Commentaries upon the Decalogue both Judicial and Ceremonial. Then Moses having offered Sacrifice, read the Book of the Law to the People, and made a Covenant betwix God and them, and went up into the Mountain, where he remained forty days, six in the lower and cloudy, and thirty four in the highest and fiery Part. In this space of time he received Advice concerning the Structure of the Tabernacle, the Ornaments and Consecration of Priests, &c. From this familiar Converse of God with Moses, the Heathen Law-givers took occasion to feign such a Privilege to themselves. As amongst the Greeks, Zanoloch gave out he received two Laws from Vesta; Zathraustes amongst the Arimapians from a good Daemon; Mneces, amongst the Egyptians, from Mercury; Minos the Cretan, from Jupiter; Lycurgus the Lacedemonian, from Apollo; and Numa the Roman, from the Goddess Egeria. To this number * Diodorus, out of Ethnick Ignorance, addeth Moses himself, writing that he counterfeited Conference with the God Jao.

The molten Calf.

5. But the People missing Moses so long a time, and not knowing what was become of him, raised a Tumult, and caused Aaron to make them a God that might go before them. The Hebrews have a Tradition, that Hur, opposing this, was slain; but Aaron, overcome with their furious Importunity, made them a molten Calf of Gold, after the Fashion of the Egyptians, who worshipped two Heifers, Apis and Mnevis, which they accounted Gods. Forty days, and as many Nights being ended, God gave Moses two Tables of Stone, wherein was written the Decalogue by his own Finger, and sent him down, telling him wherein his People were employed. Moses something appeasing Gods Wrath, came down from the Mount; but seeing them dance before the Calf, in a great Rage cast the Tables out of his hands, and brake them. He put the Calf into the fire, and grinding it to Powder threw it into the Brook, and made them to drink of the Water;

F 2

Sect. 2.

Vide Strabo. lib. 1. 14. p. 666. D.

Exod. 17.

Cap. 19. 20.

Hieronymus ad Fabianum: 2. 1. de Litteris.

* Biblioth. 1. 1. p. 59. B. 14. Georgius Sallust.

Cap. 31. 30.

then

Sect. 2. then commanded the *Levites* to take every man his Sword, and slay his Neighbour; so that the People fell that day about 3000 men. After this going up into the Mount the second time, he interceded for the People, and at his Return, removed the Tabernacle, or Tent, wherein he used to speak with God, out of the Camp, in token of the Lords Displeasure. He hewed two new Tables of Stone, like to the former, and having given order for the making of an Ark of Wood, and all things about the Tabernacle, according to the Pattern shewed him in the Mount, he went up the third time, and continued there forty days and as many nights, without eating any thing, as before. In this time God wrote anew the Ten Commandments; and, being pacified, renewed the League conditionally, and propounded other Laws to the People. When *Moses* returned, his Face shone, so that he put thereon a Vail when he spake to the Multitude, to which he declared Gods Commands, urged the Observation of the Sabbath, and the Offering for making of the Tabernacle; in the Work whereof, the latter part of this year was spent by *Bezaleel*, and his Companions.

6. On the first day of the first Month of the second year, was the Tabernacle reared, and in this Month were these things done which are spoken of in the third Book of *Moses*, called *Leviticus*. On the fourteenth day was the Passover celebrated in the Wilderness of *Sinai*. On the first of the second Month God commanded *Moses* to number all the *Israelites*, except the Tribe of *Levi*, from twenty years old to sixty; the number of whom amounted to 603550, just so many as had been found seven Months before, when the Contribution was to be made for the Tabernacle. On the twentieth of the same Month, the Cloud which rested on the Tabernacle, removed, and they following it in four Armies came from the Wilderness of *Sinai* to that of *Paran*, where they stayed twenty three days, in the thirteenth Mansion of *Kibroth-Hattavaab*. Here the People, weary of their Heavenly Bread, lusted after the Flesh of *Egypt*, and were punished with a sudden Fire, which devoured many, and was at length quenched by the Prayer of *Moses*. Here also *Moses* complaining to God of the great Burthen which lay upon him; the *Sanhedrim* of the seventy Elders was instituted. In this place, moreover God gave the People Quails for a whole Month, on which they lusted, so that a Plague arose whilst the Flesh was yet bewet with their Teeth, and many perished. Hence the Place had it's name of *Kibroth-Hattavaab*, or the *Sepulchres of Conscience*.

7. From *Hattavaab* they removed to *Hezerath*, where *Aaron* and *Miriam* spake against *Moses* about his Wife; *Miriam* for that, was struck with Leprosy, and cast out of the Camp, till *Aaron* confessing their Fault, and interceding for *Moses* for her, he prayed to God, and she was healed. She being after seven days received again into the Camp, they removed, and came to *Rithma*, near unto *Cades-barnea*, in the same Desert of *Paran*. In the fifth Month of the second year, and the time of Vintage, *Caleb* the Son of *Jephunne*, *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, and ten other principal men were hence sent to spy the Land of *Canaan*. After forty days they returned, bringing with them of the Fruit of the Land. *Caleb* and *Joshua* encouraged the People, but the rest utterly disheartened them, causing them to despair ever to possess it, because of the Strength of the walled Towns, and the Giants which there lived. This raised such a Mutiny, that they not only murmured against *Moses*, but spake of making them a Captain, and of returning into *Egypt*, threatening to stone *Caleb* and *Joshua*, who laboured to the contrary. This so highly provoked the Lord, that he threatened suddenly to destroy them, and being prevailed with by *Moses* to mitigate his Wrath, denounced that none of twenty years and upwards should ever enter into the promised Land, but wander up and down till their Carkeites fell in the Wilderness; except *Caleb* and *Joshua*. And this Sentence was presently executed upon the ten, which had caused the Sedition.

8. When they had therefore now arrived at the Borders of the promised Land, they were commanded to turn back again into the Wilderness towards the *Red Sea*. But to make some amends, as they thought, for their late Fear and Cowardice, they arose in the Mornings; and against the express Command of *Moses*, went up into the Mountain to fight, where the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* that there inhabited, smote and discomfited them even unto *Hormah*. At their Return they wept before the Lord, but were not heard; and upon this Occasion, and the Death of those that fell daily in the Desert, *Moses*, as it's thought, composed the 90 Psalm, wherein complaining of humane Frailty and shortness of Life, he signifyeth, that mans Age was reduced to 70 or 80 years: and so now the third

time was it, as it were, cut shorter by the half; the two former having been immediately after the Flood; and again, in the time of *Phaëas*, at the Division of the Earth.

9. Thenceforth, from their Departure from *Cades-barnea*, are numbered seventeen more Stations in the Wilderness of *Paran*, wherein they spent 38 years, wandering about, till all the rebellious ones were consumed. The things which happened in those years, cannot certainly be fixed upon any particular one, *Moses* herein being silent. Yet it is thought, that the History of the Man that gathered Sticks on the Sabbath day, and for it was stoned; of the Rebellion of *Corah* and his Companions, of *Aarons Rod* that budded, &c. are to be referred to the latter part of the second year; none of the forty, except the two former and the last of all, being taken notice of by *Moses*, who recordeth only the seventeen Mansions which were taken up, during the 37 years that passed between. The seventeenth and the last of these (being the thirty second Mansion reckoned from the Beginning) was at *Ezion-gaber*, upon the *Red Sea* in the Country of the *Edomites*, whence they came to *Cades*, where they took up their 33 Mansion. *Hierom* and others, account this *Cades* the same with *Cades-barnea*, the fiftieth, in so many years, returned to the same Place. But, others finding *Cades-barnea* in the Southern Confines of *Canaan*, will have this *Cades* or *Kadesb*, a place different from it, and near to *Ezion-gaber* upon the *Red Sea*, (whence they immediately passed to it) in the Desert of *Zin*. Whilst they remained in *Cades*, *Miriam* died at the Age of 126 years, and was there buried. After this the People murmured, because the Water which had hitherto followed them from the Rock *Rephidim*, here failed, being, as some think, swallowed up of the *Red Sea*. Hereupon *Moses* and *Aaron* were commanded only to speak to a Rock in that Place, to give out Water; but *Moses*, wearied with the Untowardness of the Multitude, uttered some words of Impatience and Diffidence, and struck the Rock twice, so that the Water gushed out in great Abundance. Because they did not sanctify God in the Eyes of the People, he was angry with them, and excluded them both from Entering into the Land of Promise.

10. *Moses* afterwards sent to the King of *Edom*, desiring Leave to pass quietly through his Country; but, he opposing, he led the People by the Borders from *Kadesb* unto Mount *Hor*, where *Aaron*, died, some four Months after his Sister *Miriam*, at the Age of 123, in the 40 year of their wandering in the Wilderness; and *Eleazar* his Son succeeded him in the Office of High-priest. In the sixth Month of the 40 year, the King of *Arad*, who inhabited the Southern parts of *Canaan*, came out against them, and took many Prisoners; whereupon, they vowed, if God would deliver his Country into their hands, to destroy his Cities. Hereunto God assenting, they went up, and prospering, gave to the Country the name of *Hormah*, which is the same with *Arababab* or *Cirjed*. Then journeyed they from Mount *Hor*, to compass about the Land of *Edom* (against which God had charged them not to fight, because of their Ancestors) and came to the thirty fifth Mansion of *Tjalmone*, which signifyeth an Image. For here the People murmuring against the Lord and *Moses*, because of the tediousness of the Journey, and loathing Manna, were bitten by fiery Serpents sent by God (the *Greeks* call them *Dyspades*, and *Ælian* maketh them chiefly to breed in *Arabia*); so that many perished without Remedy. At length, *Moses* by God's Appointment erected on a Pole a brazen Serpent, upon which as many as looked, were presently made whole.

11. From *Tjalmone* they came to *Punon*, thence to *Oboth*, and so to *Jio-Abarim*, on the Borders of *Moab*, in the Desert thereof, towards the Sun-rising. Here runneth the Brook *Zared*, towards which, when they passed, God commanded them not to make War upon the *Moabites*, who had formerly beaten hence Giants called *Emmim*, as their Brethren the *Ammonites* had also outed others, known by the name of *Zamzumim*. Thirty eight years after their Removal from *Cades-barnea*, the *Israelites* passed *Zared*, all the Carkeites of the rebellious being in that space fallen in the Wilderness, and came to their thirty ninth Mansion of *Dikon-Gad*. Thence they travelled to *Almon-Diblathaim*, still in the Desert of *Moab*, and being to touch upon the Borders of the *Ammonites*, God forbade them to molest these also, because defended of just *Lot*. He commanded them to pass over the River *Arnon*; which having done, they removed to their 41 Mansion, in the Mountain of *Abraim*, over against *Nebo*.

Joshua
quished
Kings.

Sec. 2. How long this War continued till the Division of the Land, is not expressed in Scripture; yet is thence to be gathered. For *Caleb* being forty years old, when with others he was sent by *Moses* to search the Land, was at the time of the Division, as he saith, forty five years older. Now the Spies were sent out in the fifth Month of the second year, after their Departure out of *Egypt*, or sooner; so that from that time to the Entrance into *Canaan*, followed almost 39 years; (the *Israelites* being forty years in the Wilderness) which being deducted out of the said forty five, six years and some few, Remain; during which, the War in *Canaan* must have continued.

The *Clerechie*,
or Division of
the Land.

19. The *Clerechie* then, or Division of the Land, fell out in the Beginning of the seventh year from their Entrance into *Canaan*, and in the year of the World 2555 also beginning. It continued about one year, as some gather from the Story. A. M. 2555. First of all, an Inheritance was given to two Tribes and an half, viz. The Tribes of *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and the other half Tribe of *Manasse*. Then met the *Israelites* together in *Shiloh*, because seven other Tribes yet remained undisposed of. Therefore certain men were sent from that place to bring a Survey of all the Land, which could not be done in a few days; and then, after their Return the Division was perfected; for all which no less than the space of a year seemeth necessary. So, there are from the Beginning of the World to the end of this Division, 2555 years, containing just so many Weeks of Years, as there are natural Days in the year, viz. 365. Or if we make a great year consisting of so many great years, as the solar Year consisteth of Days; then have we fix (or seven) such great years. It is further observable, that from the Beginning of the World, to the Entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan* may be reckoned so many Jubilees of years (viz. 52.) as are Days in the seventh part of a Solar year, one only excepted. The War having endured six years, they rested on the seventh, wherein the Division was made, as in the Sabbatical year.

The Rise of
Sabbatical
years and Ju-
biles.

20. The Rise therefore, and Beginning of the Sabbatical year, and of Jubiles, some chuse rather to fetch from the first Entrance into *Canaan*, than from the Division of the Land. For though they began not to sow the Land on this side *Jordan* till after the Division; yet before this, had they taken Possession of the Country lying beyond the River, which was divided betwixt the two Tribes and the half; whereof, though it must be granted that those which were fit for War, accompanied their Brethren over *Jordan*, according to the Charge laid upon them by *Moses*, yet it is to be supposed that those which stayed behind were nourished by the Fruits of that Soil. For Manna had already ceased, and the Corn which the other reaped of the Enemies sowing being but gotten by Degrees, according as they conquered the Country, could scarce maintain them without sending for Supplies to those that stayed beyond the River. When they had ended the Division, the Children of *Israel* gave for an Inheritance to *Joshua* that which he asked, even *Timmeth Serab* in Mount *Ephraim*, where he built a City, and dwelt therein. The Tabernacle of the Congregation was set up at *Shiloh* by the whole Assembly. As for the *Levites* they had no Inheritance assigned them, but (the Lord being their Inheritance) they were to live of Tythe and Offerings. Only 48 Cities on both sides of *Jordan*, were set apart for them to dwell in, which were also to be Cities of Refuge, whither those that were guilty of casual Homicide might fly from the Avenger of Blood, and there remain in Security till the Death of the High priest. *Joshua* being very old at the Division, is by the Jews said to have lived past the first Sabbatical year, but to have died before the next arrived. Some give to this Congregation 20 years, and some above; but others think he died, not long after the Division. There is no Certainty thereof from Scripture; but that he lived a hundred and ten years is expressly recorded.

Joshua dieth.

The *Israelites*
did so Idols.

21. After *Joshua* and that Generation were dead, which had seen the Wonders of the Lord, another arose after them, that knew not the Lord, nor the Works he had done; so that the Children of *Israel* followed other Gods, serving *Baal* and *Astarteh*. For this Cause the Anger of the Lord was hot against *Israel*, and he delivered them into the hands of Spoilers which spoiled them. He fold them into the hands of their Enemies round about, inasmuch that they could not stand before them; but whithersoever they went out, the Hand of the Lord was against them for Evil, as he had said and sworn. Nevertheless he raised them up Judges to deliver them out of the hands of those that spoiled them; and yet they would not hearken to their Judges, but went a whoring after other Gods, and bowed themselves unto them. Hereupon the Lord resolved not to drive out thenceforth any Nations before them, which *Joshua* left when he died, that

that by them he might prove *Israel* whether they would keep his way, and to teach them War. There were left five Lords of the *Philistines* with all the *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*; and *Hittites* that dwelt in Mount *Lebanon*, from Mount *Baal Hermon*, unto the entering of *Hamath*. The Children of *Israel* dwelt amongst the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Ammorites*, *Perizzites*, *Hittites*, and *Jebusites*: They took their Daughters to be their Wives, gave their Daughters to their Sons, and served their Gods.

Sec. 2.
chap. 3.

Cushan oppress-
eth them.

22. For this, the Anger of the Lord was hot against *Israel*, and he fold them to the hand of *Cushan-rishathaim* King of *Meopotamia*. How long this was after the Division, the Scripture expresseth not. We read that he oppressed them eight years, but some think it should be read in the eighth year, viz. after the Division, or eighth years, because this Servitude ended in the eight. But that it began not immediately after the Division, neither after the Death of *Joshua*, seemeth evident, because the *Israelites* served the Lord as long as that Generation lasted which had seen his Wonders; which cannot be conceived extinct at the same time with him. Others think a longer time than seven years to have passed betwixt the Division and this Oppression, assigning fourteen years to the Government of *Joshua* after the Division, then ten more to the Government of the Elders after his Death, who might very well live longer than 60; none that were twenty years old when they came out of *Egypt* having entered *Canaan*, except *Joshua* and *Caleb*. After that, as many years they attribute to an Anarchy, in the sixth year of which they will have the Civil War to have broken out betwixt *Benjamin* and the rest of the Tribes, wherein all the *Benjaminites*, except six hundred, were slain. Four years after this War, and at the end of the tenth, *Cushan* the King of *Meopotamia* afflicted *Israel* for its Idolatry eight years. But concerning this there is no Certainty.

Luc. Cappel-
lus.

Jacobus Capi-
rellus.

Jude. 201

Othniel deliver-
eth them.

23. At the end of the eight years, God stirred up for a Deliverer, *Othniel* of the Tribe of *Judah*, Nephew to *Caleb* by his younger Brother *Kenaz*, and his Son-in-law. Into his hands the Lord delivered *Cushan*, and the Land had rest forty years. After his Death (which is set to the end of these forty years) *Israel* turned again to Idolatry, and the Lord delivered them up to *Eglon*, King of *Moab*, for eighteen years. At the end of this Term he stirred up *Ehud* a left-handed man of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, who under Colour of a Message stabbed *Eglon* into the Belly, and gathering the *Israelites* together on Mount *Ephraim*, slew 10000 of the *Moabites*, all men of War. After this, the Land is said to have rested eighty years, the words being taken literally; but then some think none of the years of the Tyrants or Oppressors, are to be counted severally, and by themselves, but to be included herein as other years after mentioned; else the Account will swell much larger than the whole number of years which the Scripture seemeth to allow of. If we take in all the years ascribed to the Tyrants, then they will have it an Enallage (frequent in all Languages) and instead of 80, *Ehud* governed, or the Land rested under him only eight years; but others think they have as much reason to take them literally.

chap. 4.

Shamgar judg-
eth *Israel*.

24. After *Ehud*, *Shamgar* the Son of *Aneth* judged *Israel*, but no mention is made of any time. It followeth, when *Ehud* was dead, the Children of *Israel* did Evil again in the sight of the Lord, and he fold them into the hand of *Jabin*, King of *Canaan*, whose General was *Sisera*, and who had 900 Chariots of Iron: he mightily oppressed them twenty years. It is most probable that in this time the Government of *Shamgar*, was included, (he flew with an Ox-goad 600 of the *Philistines*, who at this time might also afflict *Israel*) or else it being but short might fall betwixt *Ehud*'s Death, and the Oppression of *Jabin*; there being Probability enough that some time passed after his Death, before the *Israelites* so highly provoked the Lord as to be given up into *Jabin*'s hands. At the end of these twenty years *Deborah*, the Wife of *Lapidoth* (judging *Israel* at this time in Mount *Ephraim*) moved by God, for *Barak* the Son of *Abinoam* from *Kadesh-Naphtali*, and made him Captain. He, with 10000 men of *Zebulun* and *Naphtali*, overthrew *Sisera*, who flying on his Feet to the Tent of *Heber* the *Kenite* (descended of *Jethro*, Father-in-law to *Moses*) *Jael* his Wife killed him, by a Nail driven into his Temples as he lay asleep. So the Land rested under *Deborah* forty years, as we read it, another interpreting it in the fortieth year, viz. after the Rest restored to it by *Ehud*.

Jud. 6.

The *Midia-
nites* oppress
them.

25. This time expired, and the *Israelites* relapsing to Idolatry, God gave them up into the hands of the *Midianites*, and other People of the East, which afflicted them seven years, destroying their Corn, driving away their Cattel, and making Havock of all things. This made them cry to the Lord, who first reproved them

Se^{ct}. 2. by a Prophet; and afterwards, by an Angel stirred up *Gideon*, the Son of *Joab*, of the Tribe of *Manasse*, to deliver them. He having pulled down the Altar of *Baal*, and burnt his Grove, out of 23000 men chose 300. with which number marching against the *Midianites*, he fo affrighted them by a Stratagem of *Lamps and Pitchers*, that he routed their whole Army. The *Ephraimites* took *Oreb* and *Zeeb*: *Gideon* following the Chace beyond *Jordan* wholly discomfited them, and took, and slew two Kings of the *Midianites*; *Zeeb* and *Zalmunna*. After fo great a Victory the *Israelites* offered him the Kingdom; but he refused it, and asked only the Earrings of the Prey, wherewith he made an Ephod, which afterwards gave Occasion to Idolatry (all *Israel* going a whoring after it) and became a Snare to him and his House. But thus *Midian* being subdued, the Country was in Quietness under *Gideon* forty years, as most read it; but, as others, was quiet in the fourth year; viz. after Quietness restored to it by *Deborah* and *Barach*.

26. Though *Gideon* refused the Sovereignty, yet *Abimelech* his base Son thinking such a thing was not to be neglected, dealt with the *Sichemites*, of whose City his Mother was Native, to make him King: and by their Help he seized on the Kingdom, having slain his seventy Brethren upon one Stone; *Jotham* the youngest only escaping. The *Israelites*, after *Gideon*'s Death, had again turned after Idols, and therefore God not only subjected them to the Dominion of this most wicked of all Parricides, but to intestine Dissentions, by reason of him. For after he had tyrannized three years, *Gaal* with the *Sichemites* conspired against him, which having timely discovered, he destroyed them and their City (sowing it with Salt) and burnt the house of their God *Berith*, with a thousand Men and Women which had fled to it. Then went he against *Thebez*, and took it, the Inhabitants whereof retired for Defence into a stronger Tower. Here, as he was about to set Fire to the Door, a Woman cast down a Piece of a Mill-stone upon his Head, and so brake his Skull, and he cauled his Armour-bearer to kill him, left it should be said, that he died by the hands of a Woman. After his Death, *Tolab*, the Son of *Enab*, the Son of *Dodo*, a man of *Issachar*, that dwelt at *Samir* in *Ephraim*, arose to defend *Israel*, and judged it twenty three years. After him *Jair* a *Gileadite* 22 years, thought to be defended of that *Jair* who took the Towns of *Argob*, and called them after himself *Hanoth-Jair*; as his thirty Sons in like manner, after that Example, named so many Cities, which they possessed in the Land of *Gilead*.

27. *Jair* being dead, the *Israelites* returned to their evil Courses, serving *Balaam*, *Ashtaroth*, the Gods of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the *Philistines*; for 8, 9. which God fold them into the hands of the *Philistines* and *Ammonites*. It is written, And that Year they oppressed the Children of *Israel* eighteen Years, all that were on the other side *Jordan*, in the Land of the Amorites, which is in *Gilead*. Moreover, the *Ammonites* passed over *Jordan*, to fight also against *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the house of *Ephraim*; so that all *Israel* was sore distressed. Some will have this Oppression but to begin at the Death of *Jair*; others think, they had oppressed *Israel* eighteen years before, and now passed over the River, to afflict the other Tribes. The *Israelites* cried to God, and being reproved, put away their Idols: herupon, the *Ammonites* being got together in *Gilead*, and the *Israelites* assembled in *Misgab* in the same Country, *Jephthab* the Son of *Gilead*, begotten on an Harlot, was sent for by the *Gileadites* and made Captain, being a mighty man of Valour: chap. 11. He first sent to expostulate with the King of *Ammon*, and to demand the Cause of the War. He answered, it was because *Israel* took away his Land, when they came out of *Egypt*, from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and unto *Jordan*; of which he required Restitution. *Jephthab* replied, that in their Journey from *Egypt*, they sent to the Kings of *Edom* and *Moab*, to desire Passage through their Coasts; but this being denied, they turned aside through the Wildernels, and compassed about the Lands of *Edom* and *Moab*, not coming within the Borders of *Moab*, and so at length came and pitched on the other side of *Arnon*, which was the Limit of *Moab*'s Coasts; Then, that *Sibon* King of the *Amorites* denying them Passage, and fighting against them, the Lord God of *Israel* delivered him into their hands: and they possessed the Land of the *Amorites* from *Arnon* unto *Jabbock*, and from the Wildernels unto *Jordan*.

28. Seeing the God of *Israel* had dispossessed the *Amorites*, he demanded a Reason, why he should possess that Country; and whether he was any thing better than *Balack* the Son of *Zippor*, King of *Moab*, who never strove nor fought against *Israel*. Lastly, he asked him, why he recovered not the Land all the 300 years which

which the Children of *Israel* had enjoyed it, and appealed to God for righteous Judgment betwixt them. These 300 years, if they be reckoned exactly, the years of the Oppressions, and of the Judges, must all along be counted in Length, without including the one in the other; but if this be done, still many more than 300 will be found, and a hundred years more will arise in the Account of time, from the Coming out of *Egypt* to the Building of the Temple, than the Scripture in another Place alloweth of. Some say, if so many years really passed, betwixt the last year of *Moses*, save one, and this time of *Jephthab*, as those Successions do make; 400 years was rather to have been mentioned, seeing the number exceeded that of 300; and therefore accounting the other way forth of 300, they alledge, that it is usual, when a Kill or round Number is chosen, rather to make Use of that which most favoureth their Cause; and therefore *Jephthab* meant by 300, about, or almost so many. On the contrary, others believe, that the Scripture doth not suffer them to omit the years of Servitude, and contain them under those of the Judges, which they suppose clearly appeareth out of those words before mentioned, which in General describe the Condition of the *Israelites*, as successively guilty of Idolatry, then punished, and delivered; after which, falling into an Anarchy at the Death of their Deliverer, they again relapsed into the same Sin. They will have also the particular Accounts of these things in Scripture, by their Order and Distinction, to hold out no less unto us.

29. But the King of the *Ammonites* not hearkening to *Jephthab*, was overthrown with a very great Slaughter. *Jephthab* at his going forth, vowed, if the Lord would deliver the Enemy into his hands, that whatsoever came first out of his House to meet him at his Return, should surely be the Lord's, and he would offer it for a Burnt-offering. It hapned that his only Daughter came out to meet him with Timbrels and Dances; and after she had bewailed her Virginity, he is said to have done to her according to his Vow. Some observe that for And in the place may be read Or, as if, he would offer the thing, if it were to be offered, or, however to consecrate it to the Lord. And their Opinion seems most probable, who hold she was not offered up as a Burnt-offering, but consecrated by perpetual Virginity and Austerity of Life, being altogether separated from Humane Society, except four days in a year, for a little Refreshment; it being said, that he executed his Vow upon her, for that he did not redeem her with Money, according to the Law mentioned in *Exodus*, but left her consecrated to God in an unmarried State, left she should seem to be another's and not the Lord's. *Jephthab*, after this, warred against the *Ephraimites*, who spake against, and threatened him and his House. He cut off forty two thousand Men, all being slain in their Passage over *Jordan*, that could not pronounce *Shibboleth*. Having judged *Israel* six years, he died, and was buried in *Gilead*.

30. After *Jephthab* arose *Isaiah* of *Bethlehem*, and judged *Israel* seven years, then *Elon* a *Zebulonite* ten, and *Aidon* the Son of *Hillel* a *Pirathonite*, after him eight years. Now the *Philistines* again vexed *Israel* forty years. Seeing neither of these three are said to have delivered the Land, some think those forty years, to have included some of Their Government. There are that fetch the Beginning of them from the fourth year of *Isaiah*, and end them at the Death of *Samson*, whom they will have the immediate Successor of *Aidon*. Of those that are for the lengthening out of the time, some think they are to be reckoned from the Death of *Aidon*, and end at the Beginning of *Samson*'s Government, which others again infer, by good Arguments, to be included in them, or else twenty of them must fall in with the time of *Eli*; the seventy Interpreters accordingly, giving to *Eli* not forty years, as the Hebrew Copies, but only twenty. Still there are not wanting, who think *Eli* to have succeeded *Aidon*, and *Samson*'s 20 years (who was yet unborn) to have been included in his 40. They fetch the Rise of the forty years of the Oppression, from seventeen years before the Beginning of *Eli*, and end them so many after his Death. *Samson* was a *Nazarite* from his Mothers Womb, no Razor coming on his Head, and keeping himself from Wine and strong Drink all his time. Hence, as his admirable Strength is said to have lain in his Hair, so others have ascribed it to his Abstinence, as if it had not proceeded from the especial Providence and Power of God. He was the *Heracles* of the *Israelites*, really performing such things as the *Greeks* would scarce attribute to theirs, on whom yet they heaped those things that were done by many. He afflicted the *Philistines* much in his Life, but much more at his Death, by throwing down the House of *Dagon* upon the chief of them, being therein assembled

Sect. 2.

Eli.

The Ark taken.

Returned.

Samuel.

Verses 1-10.

From 1250 to 1251.

Uxian City, 1251.

to make themselves Sport with fo great an Adversary, whom having got into their Power, they had deprived of his Sight.

31. Had *Eli* preceded *Samuel*, he would have been reckoned amongst his Predecessors; according to general Apprehension. The High-priest-hood which hitherto had continued in the Family of *Eli* for five Generations, (*viz.* in himself, *Phineas*, *Abisua*, *Bukki*, and *Uzzi*, according to *Josephus*) was in *Eli* translated to that of *Ithamar*, another of *Aaron*'s Sons. The Sons of *Eli* being very lewd, grievously abused their Power, and he used not his Authority in Correcting them, whereby he so far incurred Gods Displeasure, that he threatened to destroy his house; as it came to pass. The *Israelites*, towards the end of his forty years, fought with the *Philistines*, but were worsted, and lost four thousand men. To better their Success, they then sent for the Ark of God from *Shiloh*, promising to themselves Victory in it's Preference; but of the next Battel the Issue was the same. *Hophni* and *Phineas* the Sons of *Eli* were slain, and the Ark taken. This News being brought to *Eli*, upon mention of the Captivity of the Ark, he fell backward from a Seat, and being 98 years old, his Neck brake. The *Philistines* placed the Ark in the house of their God *Dagon*, which Idol fell down twice before it; and the Multitude was so plagued with the *Hæmorrhoides*, that they were glad to return it back with Presents.

32. To *Eli* succeeded *Samuel*, both a Levite and a Prophet, to whose Government, from the Division of the Land, passed 450 years, according to *St. Paul*, as the Text of *Luke* now hath it. But to this Place another in the first Book of the * *Kings*, expressly seemeth to contradict, which maketh the Foundation of the Temple to be laid in the 480th year after the *Israelites* Departure out of *Egypt*. This later number exceeded the other but by 30. although in it must be comprehended, besides what is in the former, the forty years of their Stay in the Wilderness, the six years which passed before the Division, the time of *Samuel*'s Government, the Reigns of *Saul* and *David*, with the three years of *Solomon*, that passed before the Building of the Temple; all which make up the number of 1295; so that the literal Senses of these two cannot stand together: Some go about to reconcile them by drawing down the Beginning of the 480 years, lower than the Text will bear; and by removing that of the 450, higher than is convenient: to whom others joyn, in attempting the Reconciliation both of those Numbers, and clearing up the matter concerning the 300 years ascribed by *Josephus*, to the Possession of the Land of the *Amorites* before mentioned. But there are, who find a Necessity of confessing a Mistake, either in the one or other Copie of these Places. These are divided in their Opinions; one Party thinking they have better Reason to stick to the Place of the *Kings*, which is not so liable to any Corruption (through the great Care of the *Jews*) as the *Greek* Text hath that, by Reason of the Similitude of Words, might well be changed from one to another, through the Ignorance of Transcribers. Another will have the 450 years to belong to the Division of the Land, and not to the Judges: all which have been mistaken through the wrong Reading of the words.

33. Others both of ancient and modern times, are very confident, that, all considered, the Fault must fall upon that Place of the *Kings*, which giveth but 480 years, to all that time that passed from the Departure out of *Egypt* to the founding of the Temple; and that, instead of 480, 580 was anciently written. For when any one Place disagreeeth with the whole Series of History, clearly held out elsewhere, it is rather to be corrected in its number (which may easily be altered by a Mistake of one Word) than many Places wrested to a Compliance with it. Now all the times of the *Anarchies*, *Liberty*, *War* and *Servitude*, of the *Israelites* laid together, without Confusion of years (for which there is no ground at all,) clearly hold out a hundred years more than this Place of the *Kings*; and so exactly from the several Particulars make it up, that it seemeth to take away all Doubt. From the Departure out of *Egypt* to *Moses* his Death, intervened 40 years; thence to the Beginning of *Othniel* 34. whereof 26 are given to the Government of *Josua* and the Elders, and eight to the Servitude under *Cushan*. Then *Othniel* governed 40 years, the Oppression of the *Moabites* followed for eighteen. *Ahud* ruled 80. The *Canaanites* tyrannized 20. *Deborah* and *Barak* governed 40. the *Madianites* oppressed the *Israelites* 7. thence *Gideon* judged *Israel* 40. *Abimelech* reigned 3. *Tolab* 23. *Jair* 22. and then the *Ammonites* oppressed *Israel* 18. All which numbers amount to 385 years. After this, *Jeptah* judged *Israel* 6 years, *Izan* 7. *Elon* 10. *Aldon* 8. the *Philistines* vexed *Israel* 40. and *Heli* ruled 40. which make up the Sum of 111 years. Then *Samuel* and *Saul* governed 40 years (as will be seen)

Sect. 2.

Vide Gerard. John Vossii. Hist. Chronol. Differt. 2.

1 Sam. 7.

1 Sam. 8.

1 Sam. 11.

1 Sam. 7.

1 Sam. 11.

1 Sam. 13.

feen) *David* alke 40. and *Solomon* 2. before the Foundation of the Temple was laid, which make up 83 years. Now all these numbers laid together amount exactly to 579 years, to which if the fourth year of *Solomon* be added, wherein the Temple was founded, there ariseth the full number of 580. They perceive therefore it was not without Reason that so many of the Ancients differed from that Place of the *Kings*, which might also be lyable enough to the Carelessness of Scribes. According to this Account, Students in History and Chronology are to take Notice that a hundred years are to be added to the more ordinary *Æra* of the World.

The Philistines overthrown.

The Israelites desire a King.

Saul is King.

34. In the days of *Samuel*, the *Philistines* grievously afflicted *Israel*, till such time as by his means, the People being turned to the Lord cast off their Idols, and solemnly repented at *Mizpah*: Hereat God was pleased to spare them, and thundering upon the *Philistines*, when they were ready to joyn Battel, discomfited them utterly, and so terrified them that they forsook the Cities formerly seized on, leaving only one Garrison in the Country; and no more afflicted the Children of *Israel* so long as *Samuel* had the chief Power in his Hands. When he grew old he made his Sons Judges over the Land; who perverting Justice by Bribery, the People thence gladly took Occasion to desire a King, that in Government they might be conformable to other Nations. Their most urgent Reasons were, for that the *Philistines* yet kept an Hold in their Country, and *Nabab* the King of the *Ammonites* threatened them with War; at which they were so affrighted, that neither trusting in God's Providence (who hitherto had been their King, and Avenger) nor to the Justice and Prudence of *Samuel*, would they be satisfied, or put off without a King. God therefore gave unto them *Saul* the Son of *Kish* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

35. In the Book of *Samuel* no certain years are either given to his own Government, or to that of *Saul*, but it seemeth probable from Scripture that he governed about twenty years alone, from the Death of *Eli* to the Election of *Saul*. For it is said, that the Ark of God abode in *Kiriath-jearim* twenty years; and that, the time being long, all the house of *Israel* lamented before the Lord at *Mizpah*; which Passages are joyned unto the serious Exhortation of *Samuel* to move them to Repentance. So then the end of twenty years, the Exhortation, their Repentance hereupon, and their moving for a King, with good Reason seem to have been about the same time; so that 20 or 21 years and an half are to be given to his Government, which began at *Eli*'s Death. Now *Heli* died when the Ark was taken; which staying seven Months in the Land of the *Philistines* was then sent away and came to *Bethshemesh*, where the Inhabitants losing 50610 of their number, for their Curiosity of looking into it, sent Messengers to those of *Kiriath-jearim* to fetch it unto them, with whom it remained twenty years; and these years the *Israelites* counted along.

Raiseth the Siege at Jebel-Gilead.

David anoints Saul.

36. *Saul* was first by *Samuel* privately anointed, and afterwards publicly declared King at *Mizpah*. Not long after (a month it's thought) *Jabesh-Gilead* was besieged by *Nabab*, who refused to grant Peace to the Inhabitants upon any other Terms than to put out all their right Eyes, and lay this for a Reproach upon *Israel*. They desired Truce but for seven days; in which Space, if no Relief came they promised to come out to him. But *Saul*, hearing of their Distress, got together an Army of 300000 of *Israel*, and 30000 of *Judah*, with which he easily overthrew the *Ammonites*, and raised the Siege. Hereupon, at the Procurement of *Samuel*, the People again met at *Gilgal*, where the Kingdom was established, and confirmed unto *Saul*: at which time *Samuel*, upbraiding them with their Unthankfulness to God and him, terrified them with Thunder and Rain in Wheat Harvest; and again comforted them in the Mercy of God. *Saul* having reigned two years, the *Philistines* again afflicted the Land, with whom he had fore War all the days of his Life. He fought against his Enemies round about; against *Moab*, the Children of *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the Kings of *Zobah*: he smote the *Amalekites*, and delivered his People out of the hands of them that spoiled them. Yet, his heart not being upright before the Lord, God chose him out a man after his own heart, and rejected him and his Family. This man was *David*, the youngest Son of *Jesse*, of *Bethlehem-Judah*, whom *Samuel* was sent to anoint some years before his own Death, and more before that of *Saul*. In this Place, *Saul* persecuted him from Place to Place; yet such ardent Affection was there betwixt *Jonathan* his Son, and *David*, that the Love of a Kingdom it self, joyned with the deep Displeasure of a Father, was nothing able to interrupt it.

Sect. 2.

37. The Apostle Paul declareth, that, after God had destroyed seven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by Lot, he gave unto them Judges for the Space of 150 years, untill Samuel the Prophet. And afterward, they desired a King, and God gave them Saul, the Son of Kis, a man of the Tribe of Benjamin, by the Space of forty years. Some take the words as giving to many years to his Reign alone; but by general Consent the Government of Samuel is to be included in them. Samuel seemeth to have died not long before Saul (two years it's supposed) at such time as David was provoked by the Churlishness of Nabal; and is said to have judged Israel all the days of his Life. Hence is it certain, that Saul reigned not alone all those forty years, and probable that Samuel having governed alone for one half of them, had still an hand in the publick Affairs of the Nation. At length Saul was overthrown in Battel by the Philistines, and lost his three Sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishai. And he himself being fore wounded, after he could not prevail with his Armour-bearer to kill him, fell upon his own Sword and died. His Son Ishboeth, by the means of Abner Captain of his Host, succeeded him at the Age of forty years; but the Tribe of Judah anointed David King over them in Hebron, who had formerly been consecrated to this Office by Samuel: and he reigned over that Tribe alone, seven years and six Months. Ishboeth is said to have reigned over Israel two years; which is to be interpreted peaceably, and not disturbed by War; as his Father is said to have reigned one year, viz. unmolested by the Philistines.

Saul's three Sons slain, and he killed him self. Ishboeth succeeded him.

Ishboeth slain after seven years.

David's Adultery and Murder.

Punished.

Joan ravished Tamar. Absalom rebelled.

The Conspiracy of Shimei.

38. For, after these two years were expired, a long War ensued betwixt David and him, his side growing weaker and weaker, as David's grew stronger and stronger: David to strengthen himself married Maacka, the Daughter of Talmai, King of Geshur, on which he begot Absalom and Tamar. At length Abner conceiving a Displeasure against Ishboeth, because he had reproved him for meddling with his Father's Concubine, revolted to David, and laboured to transfer the Kingdom to him; but coming to visit him about this Affair, he was treacherously slain by Joab, David's General, and Nephew by his Sister Zeruiah. All being out of order now in Israel; Baanah and Recab two Benjamites, the Servants of Ishboeth, slew their Lord as he slept in his Chamber, and brought his head unto David. He rewarded them with Death, and was by the Captains and all the Elders of the Tribes, anointed the third time King at Hebron, over all Israel, which Government he held 33 years. A little after this Intallment he took Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and made it the Seat of his Kingdom; himself building and fortifying the City of Zion, and Joab repairing the rest. Then twice he overthrew the Philistines in Rephidim, who came up against him after they heard he was made King. The Ark of God he removed from Kirjath-jearim, to the house of Obed Edom the Gittite, and thence, after three Months, unto Zion. He purposed to build God an House, but was forbidden (because a man of Blood) that Work, which was to be reserved for Solomon. For besides his Wars in his young time, all the Space betwixt this and the Birth of Solomon, seemeth employed in Wars; wherein he overcame the Philistines, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumeans and Syrians. The Borders of his Empire he very much enlarged, not only from Shihor of Egypt to the entering in of Hamath, but also as far as Ephraim, the utmost Limits promised by God unto Abraham; and only possessed by him, and his Son and Successor Solomon.

39. Solomon was the second Son begotten on Bathsheba, the Wife of Uriah the Hittite, with which Woman David first committed Adultery, and then for a Cover added to it the Murder of her Husband. After he had been reproved by Nathan the Prophet he repented, and wrote the fifty first Psalm upon this Occasion. Yet the Infant conceived in Adultery, died as soon as it was born; and, though Solomon was born the next year (as it's thought) yet this Sin escaped not without a further Punishment. For within a while, his eldest Son Amnon ravished his half-Sister Tamar, and for that was killed by Absalom. Some years after, Absalom by the Advice and Policy of Achitophel seized upon the Kingdom. David hereupon fled to God as his Rock of Refuge, and composed the third and the fifty fifth Psalms: then opposing Force to Force, overthrew Absalom in the Wood of Ephraim by Joab his General, who thrust the young man through with a Dart as he hung in an Oak, contrary to David's Order, who had charged all the Captains to deal gently with him for His Sake. This Rebellion was followed by a new Sedition raised amongst the Israelites, by one Sheba, upon this Occasion; because they had not the chief hand above the Tribe of Judah, in bringing back the King to his house; but this was happily suppressed, after Joab had procured the Inhabitants of Abel to cut off Sheba's head.

Acts 13. 21.

1 Sam. 25.
1 Kgs. 55.

1 Chron. 31. and
1 Chron. 10.

2 Sam. 2. 3.
1 Sam. 13. 1.

A. M. 2544.
1 Sam. 13. 1.

2 Sam. 2. 3. Sec.

1 Chron. 12.
2 Sam. 5. 6. 7.
Sec.

1 Chron. 12. Sec.

1 Sam. 11. 12.
13.

A. M. 2557.
David's 12.

Chap. 15. 16.
17. 18.

Chap. 15. 22.

40. After

Book I.

Contemporary with the Babylonian Empire.

47

David numbereth the People.

Maketh Solomon King.
Died.

Solomon put to death Adonijah and others to Death.

The building of the Temple.

Solomon's Navy.

40. After these things, several Battels infused with the Philistines, in one of which (the last wherein he was present) David hardly escaped the hands of Ishbi-benob, one of the Sons of the Gyiants; being rescued by Abishai his Nephew, who slew the Philistine. Not long after, tempted by Satan and his own Ambition, he numbered the People: for which God being angry, propoted to him three sorts of Punishments, viz. Famine, Sword, or Pestilence; as to which, he chose rather to fall into the hands of God, than of man. Then God sent a Plague, whereby perished in one day 70000 men; but, as the Angel was about to destroy Jerusalem he was commanded to desist. David at length having arrived at seventeen years of Age, was so decayed and spent by his many Labours and Troubles, that he could not receive any heat from Cloaths, and therefore a young Maid, one Abigail, a Shunamite was chosen out, to lye in his Bosom. Adonijah his Son taking Advantage at this Infirmary, by the Assistance of Joab the General, and Abiathar the Priest, seized upon the Kingdom. When he had Notice thereof, according to the Prediction of God, and his Promise unto Bathsheba, he established Solomon in his Throne, and having given him a Charge, died about six Months after, when he had reigned over Judah alone in Hebron seven years and six Months, and in Jerusalem over all Israel and Judah 33 years; in the year of the World (according to the vulgar way of reckoning, without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the History of the Judges) 2985.

41. David being dead, and Solomon established in the Kingdom, Adonijah asked Abigail the Shunamite to wife, and for that was put to Death, as affecting the Sovereignty. Abiathar was removed from the Priesthood, and Zadok, of the Posterity of Phinehas, placed in his Room, as had been foretold by God, against the house of Eli, from which the Priesthood now returned; Joab for Fear fled to the Horns of the Altar, and there was slain by Benaiah, who was made General in his stead. Simei, who had cursed David when he fled from Absalom, was commanded to build him an House in Jerusalem, and not to stir thence beyond the Brook Kidron, upon pain of Death; which he after two years suffered, having broken the Order. Solomon within a year after his Father's Death, married the Daughter of Pharaoh; after which, offering 1000 Burnt-offerings at Gibeon, where the Tabernacle then rested, God appeared to him in a Dream, and offered him whatsoever he would ask. He asked only Wisdom to govern his People, and neither Riches nor Honour; with which God was so well pleased, that he made him to excell therein all meet men, and accumulated also the other upon him.

42. Having all things in a Readiness for building an House to the Lord, (for which David his Father had made large Provisions) Vaphres King of Egypt supplying him with 80000 Men, and Hiram King of Tyre with as many, besides an Architect named Hypero (whose Mother was an Israelitish Woman, of the Tribe of Judah) he laid the Foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of his Reign, and the second day of the second Month Zif. The Structure being in building seven years, the Work began (according to their Computation, who by reckoning the years of the Judges, and the Oppressions severally, add 100 years to the Hero of the World) in the 3089th year from the Creation, was dedicated in the 3095th ending, and in the 387th year after the Departure out of Egypt, also ending; from which if we subtract those 40 they lived in the Wilderness, then 547 years will be found to have passed from the Original of Jubilees to the Dedication of the Temple, which make up eleven Jubilees, and eight years. So the Service therein began in the eighth year of the twelfth Jubilee, or in the first year of the second week of the twelfth, which seemeth agreeable to the Ceremonial Law, wherein most things consist in the number of seven, and are reckoned by Sabbatical years and Jubilees. And if we divide 3025 by seven, we shall find the Temple dedicated in the first year of the 442 Week from the Creation, almost twelve intire Jubilees after the Service thereof had been first appointed on Mount Sinai.

43. About the same time Solomon built a Navy at Eshon-gaber, on the Shoar of the Red Sea, in the Land of Edom. This furnishing with his own Subjects and the Tyrians (then, by reason of the Situation of their Country, the best Sailors in the World) sent to him by Hiram, he dispatched to Ophir, once in three years, for Gold and other Merchandize, whence they brought him 420 Talents. The Country of Edom David had formerly subdued, and thence Solomon his Son had the Privilege of building his Ships there. Aloth or Elath, called by other Writers Eilat, and Elanum, was then a famous City, seated upon the Arabian Gulf, to part whereof, lying about it, it gave Appellation. As Eshon-gaber was the Ar-
canal

Sect. 2.

2 Sam. 21.
1 Chron. 20.
2 Sam. 24.
1 Chron. 20. 7.

1 Kings 1.

1 Chron. 28. 29.

A. M. 2985.

1 Kings 2.

Chap. 3.

Chap. 6.
Clemens
Stramat. lib. 4.

Ludov. Capellanus.

SECT. 2. *nal* for building the Navy; so this City seemeth to have been the *Emporium* or *Marit-town*: and, as long as the *Edomites* continued under the Obedience of the Kingdom of *Judah*, it is probable, that thence Merchandise was transported to *Petra*, the chief City of *Arabia*, and so to *Jerusalem*. But when the *Edomites* revolted (which happened after the Death of *Jehoshaphat*) the Course was altered from *Jerusalem* to *Rhino colura*, a City in *Phœnicia* upon *Egypt*; and there continued long, till such time as the *Protonies* with much ado, brought down the Trade to *Alexandria*. To effect this, they made two Ports upon the Borders, whereof the one bare the name of *Berenice*, and is mistaken by *Josephus* for *Ejion-gaber*, that lying at a great Distance both from this and *Elath*, which seemeth to be the same Place, mentioned in (2) *Strabo*, by the name of * *Albus Pagus*.

* *Aruch sajan.*

44. As this Navigation of the *Tyrans* gave a Beginning to their Fame in that Art; so from it (as is probably conceived) came the name of the *Red Sea*, or that of *Edom*, first to be famous in other Countries. Their Traffique increasing, they might well send out Colonies into other parts; and hence, as *Herodotus* writeth, the Sea-coast of *Arabia* might be inhabited by them; but as for their coming from these parts to inhabit *Phœnicia* (which Opinion seemeth to have taken it's Original, from the Journey of the *Israelites* out of these Coasts) it is a mere Fable. Sailing out of the *Arabian* into the *Persian* Gulf, the name of *Red Sea* might upon this Occasion be given by them to both (which is usually to be expounded of both in ancient Writers) the word *Edom*, being changed into others of the same Signification in several Languages. As for *Ophir*, if we think this Country denominated from the Son of *Seu*, (or him from it) either immediately by his Habitation therein, or rather mediately by the *Tyrans* imposing that name upon it, which properly belonged to a place in *Arabia*; then need we not seek for it in *America*, and feign strange Circuits to have been made, from the *Red Sea* round about *Africa* to sail thither; as those, who place it in that part of the World, are forced to do.

(2) *Strabonem*
lib. 16. p.
780. D. & 781.
A. B. Ed.
Vide Fullenium
in misellaneis.

Ten Tribes
fall off from
Rehoboam.

His Buildings.

45. *Solomon* after the Dedication of the Temple, fortified *Jerusalem* with a treble Wall, and repaired *Hazron*, the ancient Metropolis of the *Canaanites*; so did he *Gaza* of the *Philistines*; he built *Beithoron*, *Gerar*, and the *Millo*, or Munition of *Jerusalem*. He also built *Megiddo* in *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, *Beulah* in *Dan*, and *Thadmer*; which may be either *Thamron*, in the Desert of *Judea*, mentioned by *Protony*, or *Palmyra*, as *Josephus* thinketh, situate in the Desert of *Syria*, on the Borders of his Dominions; which being many Ages after rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, was named after him *Adrianopolis*. He built for himself in thirteen years time a Palace, and an House for his Wife the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. After this, he offered twenty Towns, bordering upon the Tribe of *Asher*, to *Ebzan* King of *Tyre*, as a Reward for the Assistance he offered him in his Buildings; but he refusing them, he placed Colonies therein. And from his Refusal the Country came to be called *Cabul*.

His Incontinency and Idolatry.

46. In the latter part of his Reign, he fell into great Incontinency, and thence became accessory to abominable Idolatry. He loved many strange Women, as (together with the Daughter of *Pharaoh*) those of the *Mosabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Sidonians*, and *Hittites*: of the Nations, wherewith the Children of *Israel* were forbidden to marry. He had 700 Wives, and 300 Concubines, which turned his Heart after other Gods, so that he went after *Astarte* the Goddess of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the Abomination of the *Ammonites*: he built an high place for *Chemosh* the Abomination of *Moab*, in the hill before *Jerusalem*, for *Molech* the Abomination of the Children of *Ammon*; and so did he for all his strange Wives, which burnt Incense, and sacrificed to their Gods. This provoked the God of *Israel*, who had twice appeared to him; inasmuch, that for his horrible Ingratitude, he determined Evil concerning his Kingdom, to be fulfilled in his Son. Yet have we ground to judge well of his eternal Condition, seeing he made a Recantation of his former Errors, and was used as a Pen-man of Scripture by the Holy Ghost. He died after he had reigned 40 years, being without Parallel for *Wisdom*, *Magnificence*, and *Humane Frailty*. A. M. 3025.

A. M. 3025.

SECT.

SECT. III.

From the Death of Solomon and the Rent of the Kingdom to the Destruction of the Kingdom of Judah.

1. **S**OLOMON being dead, *Rehoboam* his Son, by *Naama* an *Ammonitish* Woman, reigned in his Stead. The Tribes, when they met at *Sichem* to make him King, petitioned for a Relaxation of their Burthens imposed by his Father; to which he answered so churlishly (defying the Council of the ancient and grave men,) that ten Tribes revolted from him, and made King over them *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who had fled into *Egypt* for fear of *Solomon*, after that God's Intentions came to be known of giving him part of the Kingdom. With *Rehoboam* yet remained the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the greatest part of the *Levites*, who left their Possessions and settled themselves in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, because *Jeroboam* and his Sons had cast them off from executing the Priest's Office. With the Tribe of *Judah* is also to be reckoned that of *Simen*, whose Possessions were within the Inheritance of *Judah*, for which that part of the Division that fell to it was too much. Part also of the *Danites* had its Seat within that of *Judah*; for it appeareth that they had some Towns in the Division of the Land, which formerly had been assigned to the Children of *Judah*, who (as hath been observed) had so large a Country at first assigned to them, rather to protect and defend, than solely to possess it. All these still remained the Subjects of *Rehoboam*, though ten Tribes are said to have revolted, the Tribe of *Dan* being attributed to *Jeroboam*, for that *Dan* the chief City, was within his Dominions; and because the Tribe of *Manasseh* being separated and divided into two parts, might be reckoned for two Tribes. The Kingdom thus divided, the Northern parts fell off; but the Southern continued in Obedience to the Son of *Solomon*, whose Successors henceforth are called *Kings of Judah*, as those of *Jeroboam*, *Kings of Israel*; and yet this Distinction is not always observed. *Jehoshaphat* being called *King of Israel*, and also *Ahaz*; though we know they were both Kings of *Judah*; of that Division only.

1 Kings 12.

2 Chron. 11.
17. 13. 14.

1 Kings 15.

2 Chron. 31. 2.
28. 19.

1 Kings 12. 14.

He and his
Subjects rebelled
against God.

Afflicted, they
humble them-
selves, and are
delivered.

Abiah.

A. M. 3043.

2. *Rehoboam* purposed to make War upon the Tribes, but, admonished by God, gave over the Enterprize of Invading them with 180000 Men; although there was continual War betwixt the two Kings all their Days. The Priests and Levites that were driven into *Judah*, retained it in the true Religion three years; but when *Rehoboam* had established himself, he forsook the Law of the Lord, and all *Israel* with him, committing Sins above all that their Fathers had done. They built them high Places, Images, and Groves on every high hill, and under every green Tree: there were *Sodomites* in the Land, and they did according to the Abomination of those Nations, which the Lord cast out before the Children of *Israel*. Because of this, the fifth year of his Reign, *Shishak* King of *Egypt*, (perhaps invited by *Jeroboam*, who had lived with him in Exile) came up against him with 1200 Chariots, 60000 Horsemen, and innumerable People, out of *Egypt*: the *Lubims*, *Sukkims*, and *Ethiopi-ans*, with which he took Garrisons in *Judah*, and pierced as far as *Jerusalem*. *Rehoboam* and his Princes humbling themselves at the Preaching of *Shemaiah*, thereby obtained Deliverance; which yet, was to be bought at an high Rate. For *Shishak* took away the Treasures of the house of the Lord, and the Kings House, with all the golden Shields which *Solomon* had made, in the room of which *Rehoboam* put others of brass. He died after he had reigned seventeen years.

2 Chron. 11.

2 Chron. 20.

1 Kings 15.

3. *Abiah* his Son succeeded him, whose Mother is in one place named *Maachab* the Daughter of *Abshalom*, and in another (2) *Micajah*, Daughter to *Uriel* of *Gibeak*. Some think she was the Daughter of *Tamar*, which might be married to this *Uriel*, and adopted by *Abshalom*, who seemeth to have left no Issue. He imitated the Impiety of his Father, his heart not being perfect before the Lord, his God; and yet God remembering the Covenant made with *David*, brought him by a fatherly Correction into order, and Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty. He also warred with *Jeroboam* all his days, who coming up against him with 80000 Men, he joyed Battle with him having but half so many, and yet trusting in God, obtained Victory, and killed 50000 *Israelites*, the greatest number we read to have fallen in one Battle. He took from him *Bakek*, *Jekananah*, and *Ephraim*, with their Towns; neither did *Jeroboam* recover his Strength in his time. *Abiah* waxed mighty, married fourteen Wives, begat 22 Sons and 15 Daughters. Yet he reigned but three years.

H

4. *Asa*

Sect. 3.

A. M. 3046.

4. *Afa* his Son succeeded him in the twentieth year of *Jeroboam* ending, and did that which was righteous in the Sight of the Lord. He reformed what was amiss, commanding his Subjects to seek the God of their Fathers: in his time the Land had rest ten years. In his 11th year, according to *Jehophaz*, (inhabiting *Arabia*, where *Abthian* against him, with 100000 Men, of *Calhans*; besides 300 Chariots. to *Zerah* his *Ethiopia* is only to be found) and *Labaans*, 280000 of *Benjamin*; to those he opposed himself with 300000 of *Judah*, and 280000 of *Benjamin*; and calling upon his God, obtained the Victory, which he prosecuted, and got much Booty. Returning to *Jerusalem*, he was so wrought upon by the words of *Azariah* the Prophet, the Son of *Obed*, as together with his own Subjects and others, (that fell to him in Abundance out of *Israel*) he sacrificed to, and made a Covenant with God. Then proceeding in the Reformation of his Kingdom, he removed *Maaca* his Grand-mother from her Dignity, because she was the Patroness of Idolatry. *Basja* who now reigned in *Israel*, provoked with the Revolt of his Subjects, and jealous of the growing Power of *Afa*, came up against him, and built *Ramah*, in the 36th year from the Division, left any should go in or out to him. *Afa* to divert him, hired *Ben-hadad* the King of *Syria*, to invade *Israel*. This *Ben-hadad* was the Son of *Tabrimmon*, and Grandson to *Hesrin*, or *Resin*, the first King of *Damascus*, and from him the Surname of *Hadad* descended upon his Posterity. He smote *Jion*, *Dan*, *Bethmach*, all *Creberah*, with the Land of *Naphthali*, and constrained *Basja* to leave off building *Ramah*. *Afa* then destroyed *Ramah*, and with the Stones thereof built *Seba* and *Mizpab*; but was checked by God for not trusting in him, but putting his Confidence in the King of *Syria*; and War for this was denounced to be upon him all his Days. Hereat he grew angry with the Seer that brought the Message; and oppressed some of his People: and for this was punished with the Gout in his latter days, for a Remedy to which, he had Recourse to the Physicians, and not to God. So he died, in the 41 year of his Reign.

Jehophat.

5. *Jehophat* succeeded him, to a good Father a better Son. In this third year he sent the *Levites* throughout the Cities to teach the People, having removed the *Sodomites* out of the Land. He married his Son *Jehoram* to *Ataliab* the Daughter of *Abah* King of *Israel*, and in his eighteenth year made him Vice-King. This Affinity drew him down with *Abah* to fight against *Ramoth-Gilead*, where *Abah* received his Death-Wound, and he escaped narrowly with his Life. For joyning himself with this wicked King, he was forely chidden by *Jehu* the Prophet, the Son of *Hanani*; which so affected him, as he reformed his Subjects, travelling himself from *Beerseba* unto Mount *Ephraim* to accomplish it: he also constituted Judges, to whom he gave a pious and strict Charge. After this the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and a great Multitude of others invaded him; against which he first strove by Prayer to God, and thereby obtained Victory, his Enemies being so stricken with Madness, that they fell upon, and slaughtered one another. Afterwards intending to send Ships for Gold to *Ophir*; because he joyined with wicked *Abaziah* King of *Israel*, the Lord spoiled the Works, and the Ships were broken at *Ezion-geber*. Some think he made his Son Partner in the Kingdom it self, having formerly been but his Vicegerent, a year or two before he died. He reigned 25 years, or rather 24, with some odd Months.

Joram.

6. To *Jehophat* succeeded *Joram* being thirty two years old, to the best Father the worst Son; who being established in his Seat, made away all his Brethren, and some of the Princes. In his days the *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, who hitherto, from the time of *David*, had been in Subjection to the Kings of *Judah*, revolted. They had heretofore been governed by a Vice-Roy, chosen either out of themselves or the Jews; but now they made themselves a King; the Prophecy of *Iaac*, the common Progenitor of both Nations, being now fulfilled, that though *Esaue* should serve his younger Brother *Jacob*, yet the time should come, when he should break the Yoke from off his Neck. At the same time *Livnah* (a City of the Priest's in the Tribe of *Judah*) revolted, because he had forsaken the God of his Fathers; for having married *Abah's* Daughter, he followed the Example of his House, making high-places in the Mountains of *Judah*, and causing his Subjects to commit Idolatry therein. Because of this, there came a Writing to him from the Prophet *Elijah*, rebuking him for his Sin, and foretelling his Punishment. *Elijah* being before this taken up to Heaven, the Jews have believed that this Letter was sent down thence. Some think, there was another Prophet of this name; but most are inclined to believe, that foreseeing, before his Assumption, the Idolatry of this man, he left this Letter with his Scholars to be delivered to him

1 Kings 15:2
2 Chron. 15:
15, 16. Chap.1 Kings 22:
A. M. 3077:2 Chron. 19:
20, 21. Chap.2 Chron. 21:
A. M. 3109.

Gen. 27. 40.

2 Chron. 21:
vers. 12.

Sect. 3.

in due time. According to the Threatnings therein contained, God first stirred up against him the *Philistines* and *Arabians*, who making an Invasion took away all his Goods, his Wives, and Sons, except *Jehozabab* the youngest, otherwise called *Abaziah* and *Azariah*. Afterwards God struck him with an incurable Distace in his Bowels, which after two years came out of his Body: so that he miserably died, having reigned eight years; three whereof are to be reckoned in Conjunction with his Father. He was buried without Honour at *Jerusalem*, not in the Sepulchre of Kings; not defired, misfed, nor lamented.

Abaziah.
A. M. 3116.Abaziah ultra-
peti.

Joas.

7. *Abaziah* his Son succeeded him, who followed the Steps of his Grandfather, *Abah's* wicked Family, and became a Patron of Idolaters. But having scarce reigned one year, he went down to *Jezreel* to visit his Uncle *Joram*, King of *Israel*, where they were both killed by *Jehu*; *Joram* being slain outright, and *Abaziah* dying shortly after of his Wound, at *Megiddo*. *Abah's* Mother seized upon the Kingdom, wherein to establish her self, she destroyed all the Royal Seed. Only *Jehoshaba* the Daughter of *Joram*, and Wife to *Jehojada* the High-Priest, withdrew *Joash* an Infant, her Brothers Son, and hid him six Years in the House of God. At the end of these years, *Jehojada* brought him out to the People, then seven years old, and anointed him King, slew *Ataliab*, restored the Worship of God, and destroyed the House of *Baal*, whose Priest *Matthan* he slew before the Altar.

8. *Joas* then succeeded his Father after six years, who did what was good and just as long as *Jehojada* the Priest lived, and through his Advice took Care to repair the Temple, which now had stood 155 years. But *Jehojada* being dead (who lived 130 years; the Jews observing that he, the Repairer of the Temple, was born the same year that the Builder thereof died) Idolatry brake out afresh through his Connivance. The Prophets exclaimed against it in vain, especially *Zacharias*, the Son and Successor of *Jehojada*, against whom *Joas* was so far transported beyond the Bounds of Piety, and Gratitude to his Father's Memory, that he commanded him to be stoned, and that in the Court of the House of the Lord. While't as he died, he said, *The Lord look upon it and requite it*. So he did; for after a years time, the Forces of *Hazael*, King of *Syria*, though but small, invaded *Judah*, destroyed all the Princes of the People, and sent the Spoil to their King. *Joas* himself they left very sick of great Distaces, but when they were departed from him, his own Servants conspired against him for the Blood of the Sons of *Jehojada* the Priest, and slew him on his Bed, in the 40th year of his Reign. A. M. 3160.

9. *Amaziah* his Son succeeded him, who also seemeth to have reigned with him the three last years; seeing he is said to have begun his Reign in the second year of *Joas*, King of *Israel*. When he was confirmed in his Seat, he put those to Death that slew his Father, sparing their Children, according to the Law of *Moses*. In his twelfth year, he undertook an Expedition against the *Edomites* with 300000 of his own Subjects, and 100000 *Israelites*, which he hired for 100 Talents of Silver. But as he was about to begin his March, a Prophet dehorted him from joyning to himself the idolatrous *Israelites*, so that he dismissed them, and they returned home in great Discontent. He prospered against the *Idumeans*, but the Souldiers (dismissed) fell upon his Cities, and smiting 300 of them, took much Spoil. Yet he at his Return, to amend the matter, having brought home the Gods of the *Edomites*, set them up to be his Gods, bowed down before them, and burnt Incense to them. The Lord being fore angry for this, sent first a Prophet to him, whom he rejected. But burning with a desire to be revenged upon the *Israelites*, he sent and defied *Joas* their King, who admonished him to be well advised, but this being in vain, they met, and joyined Battle, wherein *Amaziah* was taken, and led back to *Jerusalem*; the Wall of which City *Joas* demolished 400 Cubits, and plundering the house of the Lord, with the Kings House then, departed. Fifteen years after, *Amaziah* lived; but then, having turned away from following the Lord, a Conspiracy was made against him in *Jerusalem*; whence he fled to *Lachish*, and there was slain by the Pursuers, after he had reigned 29 years.

Uzziah.

10. He left a Son named *Uzziah* and *Azariah*, who succeeded him; but being said to have begun his Reign in the twenty seventh year of *Jeroboam*, King of *Israel*, an *Inter-regnum* of twelve years must needs have passed betwixt his Father's Death and his Beginning; the Kingdom all this time having, perhaps, been governed by a Lieutenant, or the High-Priest. When he came to the Age of 16, all the People of *Judah* took him, and made him King in the room of his Father, and under him the State of *Judah* much flourished. He fought prosperously against the *Philistines* and *Arabians* that dwelt in *Gur-Baal*, and *Mcminimi*, or *Mineani*, dwelling in

2 Kings 8. 26.
2 Chron. 22.

2 Kings 9.

Chap. 11.
2 Chron. 24.2 Kings 12:
A. M. 3122.

Chap. 14.

2 Chron. 25:
A. M. 3160.2 Kings 15:
2 Chron. 26.

A. M. 3201.

Seet. 3. Arabia the Happie upon the Red Sea: the Ammonites fought with him with Presents, and his name was great in those Parts. About the 35th year was celebrated in Greece the first Olympiad, that great Help to our Understanding in the Distinction of times. He invaded the Priests Office in offering Sacrifice, and for that was stricken with Leprosie, which continued upon him till his Death, living in an house by himself and *Jotham* his Son ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom. He reigned 52 years.

11. *Jotham* his Son succeeded him, who prevailed against the Ammonites, and forced them to pay Tribute two years. He became mighty, because he prepared his ways before the Lord his God; he built the high-gate of the Temple much on the Wall of Ophel; Moreover, Cities in the Mountains of Judah, and in the Forests thereof Castles and Towers. Under him, his Predecessor, and his two Successors, prophesied *Isaiah* and *Hofea*. *Micah* began in his time; and *Nahum* also, according to *Josephus*, prophesied the Destruction of *Niniveh*, which was fulfilled 115 years after; though others think the Beginning of these years should rather be placed in the time of his Son. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by *Ahaz* his Son, whose Reign if it be compared with that of *Pekah* and *Hofea*, Kings of *Israel*, it will appear that he reigned seven or eight years with his Father. He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, walking in the ways of the Kings of *Israel*: he made molten Images for Baalam, burnt Incense in the Valley of the Son of *Hinnom*, burnt his Children in the Fire, sacrificed and burnt Incense in the high Places, on the Hills, and under every green Tree. Because of this, God stirred up *Pekah*, King of *Israel*, and *Rezin* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Syria* against him, who invaded his Kingdom, and did much Hurt: *Rezin* got *Elath*, which *Uzziah* had recovered and built; the King of *Israel* gave him a grievous Overthrow: the Edomites also afflicted him; and the Philistines, whom *Uzziah* had brought under, made Inroads upon him. Suspecting his Estate because of these things, he sent to *Tiglath-Pileser*, King of *Assyria*, for help, presenting him with the Silver and Gold, which was found in the Temple.

12. *Tiglath-Pileser* accordingly came up, and taking *Damascus*, killed *Rezin*, in whom fell this Kingdom: which having continued ten Generations, and began in a *Rezin*, ended in one of that name. Then turned he his Forces upon *Pekah*, transported into *Assyria* the Inhabitants of *Gilead* and *Naphthali*, as formerly he had done those of *Damascus*. But *Ahaz*, to procure those things, having made himself his Vassal, was yet never the better, remained in great Fear of him, and still continued in his Wickedness. He made his Son *Hezekiah* for his three last years Partner with him in the Kingdom, and at the end thereof died, having reigned together with his Father, and by himself, 16 years. *Hezekiah* succeeding, opened the Temple which his Father had shut, and reformed the Abuses in Religion. He brake in pieces the brazen Serpent, because the superstitious Multitude fancying some Divine Virtue therein, gave it suitable Worship. He took off the Yoke of the King of *Assyria*, refusing to pay Tribute; for which Cause in his fourteenth year, *Sennacherib*, being to make War upon *Egypt*, led part of his Forces into *Judea*. Besieging *Lachish*, *Hezekiah* bargained with him to depart; but he brake his Promise, and sent *Rabshakes* with others to *Jerusalem*, who blaspheming God, and reproaching the King, laboured to draw the People from their Obedience. This being to no Purpose, *Rabshakes* returned to him, who had now departed from *Lachish*, and besieged *Livnah*, a strong City of *Judah*; removing till near *Jerusalem*, that he might seem to pursue what he had given in Charge to *Rabshakes* to denounce against *Hezekiah*.

13. But lying before *Livnah*, News came that *Tirshakah*, King of *Ethiopia* (who, as it seemeth, had entred into Conspiracy with the *Egyptian* against him) was moving towards him; at which he was so terrified, that he brake up his Siege, and departed homewards. Yet having a greedy mind towards *Judea*, he sent a blasphemous Letter, full of Threats to *Hezekiah*; but he lost in one night by the Stroke of an Angel 180000 men (as some think being on his way towards *Jerusalem*) and confounded here, returned to *Niniveh*, where he was slain by his two Sons, *Adramalech* and *Sharezer*, as he was worshipping in the house of *Misraim* his God. In the time of these Dangers, *Hezekiah* fell sick unto Death, the Sentence of which he received from *Isaiah* the Prophet. But by his Prayers and Tears he obtained a Prolongation of Life for fifteen years, and in Confirmation of the Promise, the shadow of the Degrees which was gone down in the Sun-dial of *Ahaz* was brought ten Degrees backward; and it followeth, So the Sun returned ten Degrees, by which Degrees it was gone down. As for this Sun-dial it is thought that in those ancient times the Knowledge of *Dials* was scarce amongst the Hebrews. Yet it is possible that *Ahaz* might have something of that Nature, though imperfect, from the Baby-

The Sun returns ten Degrees backward.

Babylonians, who were of old much given to Astrology, he being otherwise too curious an Admirer of foreign things, as appeareth, in that he must needs have such an Altar made, and erected at *Jerusalem* as he had seen at *Damascus*. That the Sun went back, hath been generally believed; but one of late hath gone about to prove that the Shadow was lyable to Reduction, without Retrocession of the great Luminary.

14. The Knowledge of this Miracle coming to the Babylonians (who by reason of their continual Observation of the Heavenly Bodies might have more Occasion to take notice of it) *Merodach-Baladan* their King sent to *Hezekiah* to congratulate his Recovery, desirous, it's likely, of his Friendship whom he had undertook to be so much in the Favour of God; especially bearing no Good Will to the *Assyrians*. He in a vain Ostentation of his Wealth shew'd the Ambassadors all his Treasures, and whatsoever was in his House; for which, *Iaiah* the Prophet denounced the Carrying away all these things to *Babylon*. For the Pride of his Heart there was Wrath upon him and *Judah*; yet he humbled himself, both he and the Inhabitants of *Judah*, so that the Wrath of the Lord came not upon them in his days. He flourished in Abundance of Riches and Honour, stopped the upper water-course of *Gihon*, and brought it straight down to the West-side of the City of *David*. He reigned 29 years (three whereof were together with his Father); being dead, they buried him in the chiefest Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, and all *Judah*, with the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, did him Honour at his Death.

15. *Manasse* his Son succeeded him at the Age of twelve years, and therefore was begotten by him after his Recovery. He did Evil in the sight of the Lord above those Nations, which the Lord had cast out before *Israel*, being more idolatrous than any of his Predecessors; he was also given to Witchcraft and Divinations, built Altars for all the Host of Heaven, which he served in the two Courts of the House of the Lord, wherein he also set up an Image of the Grove which he had made. He filled *Jerusalem* with innocent Blood; amongst other Martyrs *Iaiah* the Prophet (as it's said) being fawn asunder with a wooden Saw, because he was free with him in reproving his ungodly Life; although he was of the Blood Royal, as the Son of *Amos*, the Brother of King *Amaziah*, according to the Tradition of the Jews, who also have related him to have been Father-in-Law, nay (as some) Grandfather by the Mothers side, to *Manasse* himself. In such Wickedness continued he for several years, till such time as God sent upon him the Captains of the King of *Assyria* (*Elarhaddon* some think) who took him lying amongst the Thorns, and carried him bound with Fetters unto *Babylon*, which City (as it appeareth from this Place) was now again under the King of *Assyria*. Here having Leisure and Occasion to bethink himself, in his Affliction he repented, was humbled greatly, and besought the Lord, who heard his Prayer, and restored him to his Kingdom. After this, he knew that the Lord was God; and purged his Realm of Idolatry; which Reformation the Jews make to have been in the 33 year before his Death. He reigned 55 years.

16. *Amon* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdom and Idolatry, but not in his Repentance, worshipping and sacrificing to all the craved Images which his Father had made, and going on to trespass more and more. After two years, his Servants conspired against him and slew him in his own house, all whom the People of the Land put to Death, and made *Josiah* his Son (a Child of eight years old) King in his stead. He in the eighth year of his Reign began to seek after the God of his Fathers, and in his twelfth to cleanse his Kingdom, and all the Land of *Israel*, from Idolatry: although the greatest part of the latter, was now Subject to the King of *Assyria*. In the eighteenth year of his Reign and of his Age the 26th, he commanded the Temple to be repaired, and the Worship of God therein restored: where also finding a Book of the Law, he renewed the Covenant between God and the People, and celebrated such a solemn Passover, as had not been kept in *Israel* since the time of the Judges. Now if the time of the Judges, and the Oppressions, be not confounded, but taken at their full Length; then this year being the 920th ending, or the 921st Beginning, from the entering into *Canaan*, was the 7th of the 133 week, or the last of the 12th Jubilee. *Josiah* in his 21th year ending, disguised himself that he might fight with *Necho* King of *Egypt* (who was going up against the *Assyrians*) and would not hearken to his words from the Mouth of God, labouring with him to refuse Fighting against the Lord; who had sent him, and commanded him to make Haste: Therefore joyning Battel with him in the Valley of *Megiddo*, he was fore wounded, and being carried to *Jerusalem*, died there; all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, mourning and making great Lamentation for him.

17. Whilst *Pharaoh* was busy in his Affairs against the *Assyrians*, the People made *Jehoaiah* the younger Son of *Josiah*, King; who continued but three Months in the

Seet. 3. Gregory of Oxford.

2 Chron. 32. 41.

2 Kings 21. 2 Chron. 33. 20. A. M. 3359. Olymp. 19. aa. 4.

A. M. 3359. Olymp. 33. aa. 4.

Chap. 34.

2 Kings 23. 2 Chron. 35. A. M. 3368. Olymp. 35. aa. 4.

2 Chron. 36. A. M. 3392. Olymp. 41. aa. 4.

Jehoaiah.

Baby-

Seft. 3. Dignity. For *Pharaoh* having finished his work at *Euphrates*, and in *Celafofia*, came to *Jerusalem*, whence he led away into *Egypt* this young King, and left his elder Brother *Eliakim* in his Place, whose name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, imposing a Tax of a hundred Talents of Silver and a Talent of Gold upon the Land. Though *Jehoaabaz* be said to have reigned three years, yet some will have a year to have passed betwixt the 31 year of *Jofiah*, and the first of *Jehoiakim*; partly for that *Jofiah* seemeth to have reigned something more than 31 years, and some space would be taken up in so solemn a mourning for him, before the Infatment of *Jehoaabaz*; and also to consult about this thing, seeing it was against Right and Custom to give this Honour to the younger Brother: lastly some time (perhaps some Moneths) was requisite for settling the Affairs of *Judea*, about the Infatment of *Jehoiakim*, and the Tribute. *Ludovicus Cappellus* moreover, giveth a whole year to *Jehoaabaz*, and *Jehoiakim* (though the Scripture speaketh but of three Moneths apiece) that the last year of *Zedekiah* might fall into the 390th year from the Rent of the Kingdom; of which more, when we arrive at that time.

18. *Jehoiakim* thus advanced by *Pharaoh Necho*, was twenty five years old when he began to reign; which if so, he was born in the fifteenth year of his Father's Age; as, if *Jehoaabaz* was twenty three when he began his Reign, he must also have been born in the sixteenth of *Jofiah*. This maketh *Jofiah* to have applied himself to Procreation of Children at least in the fourteenth year of his Life; which (seeming too early, and not agreeable to the Piety of that Prince, there are that suspect for 25, ought to be read 15, and 15 for 23; so that the one might be born in the 24 and the other in the 25 year of his Father. But there is no Necessity for such a Reading of the Text. The fourth year of *Jehoiakim* fell in with the first of *Nebuchadnefar* King of *Babylon*, and was the 23th from the 13th of the Reign of *Jofiah*, wherein *Jerem. 25. 11* *Jerem. 25. 11* the Prophet first began to prophesie; and hence it also appeareth, that *Jofiah* reigned at least full 31 years, and that one passed between his Death and the Beginning of *Jehoiakim*, else 23 only had passed betwixt the 13th of the one, and the 4th of the other. In this year *Pharaoh Necho* fell upon the *Babylonians* with War, because, as it seemeth, they had solicited *Jehoiakim* his Tributary to revolt, and fought against *Nebuchadnefar* at *Carchemish* near *Euphrates*, (by the Greek and Latin Writers called *Cerchium*;) in which Battel he was overthrown and slain.

Pharaoh Necho slain.

19. After this Victory, came *Nebuchadnefar* to *Jerusalem*, where he either took *Jehoiakim* Captive to lead him to *Babylon*, or at least made him his tributary Vassal. Some account this year, as the Beginning of the Reign of *Nebuchadnefar*, so of the Captivity of *Judah*, and the Desolation of that Country, because that *Jeremiah*, having spoken first of the 12 years, in which he and the other Prophets had warned the People to no Purpose, afterwards addeth, that God would send *Nebuchadnefar* his Servant against the Land, which should be a Desolation and an Astonishment, and that these Nations should serve the King of *Babylon* 70 years. But the Prophecy of *Daniel* beginneth thus: In the third year of the Reign of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, came *Nebuchadnefar* King of *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, and besegged it: and the Lord gave *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah* into his hand, with part of the Vessels of the House of God, which he carried into the Land of *Shinar*, to the House of his God. This Place seemeth to contradict, that in the third year of *Jehoiakim*, began the Captivity of it, and to hold, that in the third year of the Sabbatical year, or of the Jews. Others see more Reason to stick to the other Place, and to take away all Difference, interpret this third year of the third of the Sabbatical year, or of the Week of Years, and thus would read it, In the third year, *Jehoiakim* the King of *Judah* reigned, came *Nebuchadnefar* King of *Babylon* unto *Jerusalem*, &c. But the Jews with some modern Writers understand by this third year, the third of the Rebellion of *Jehoiakim*, against whom *Nebuchadnefar* coming, about the end of the fifth year of his Reign, made him his Tributary, and so he continued three years; viz. the 6, 7, and 8th, of his Reign. Afterwards, changing his Mind, he rebelled in the Beginning of his ninth year, and so continued for three years in Rebellion, which began expired, in the end of the eleventh, *Nebuchadnefar* took *Jerusalem*, and carried him Captive to *Babylon*, with part of the holy Vessels, and others of the Royal and Princely Race, amongst whom was *Daniel*; and so the Captivity of 70 years began not till this year.

The beginning of the seventh years of Captivity, which is variously assigned.

20. That this third year cannot be understood of the third of *Jehoiakim*'s Reign, is clear from *Jeremiah*, who joyneth his fourth with the first of *Nebuchadnefar*; and because elsewhere is made Mention of his fifth: whence is apparent, that he could not be led Captive in his third year. The second Opinion indeed is not amiss; for this

this was really the third year of the Week or the third from the Sabbatical year. For, the 18th of *Jofiah*, in which the Paschever was celebrated, being the last year of the 19th Jubilee, and so the Sabbatical year; from that to the 11th ending of *Jehoiakim*, or the 12th Beginning, are counted 31 years: viz. four weeks and three odd years; this being usual with the Pen-men of holy Story, to count their times by Sabbatical Years or Jubilees. *Jacobus Cappellus* would have *Nebuchadnefar*, at *Ad. M. 3391*, be the Command of *Nabopolassar* his Father, to have come into *Judea* in the second year of the Reign of *Jehoiakim*, who then swore Fealty to him; but in the third year rebelled: whence *Nebuchadnefar* came down again in his fifth year, and took him Captive. Then will he have him to have set *Shallum* over the Kingdom, till *Jeconias* his Son, an Infant of a year old, should come to Age; but *Jehoiakim* himself there lived miserably in Captivity, till the 11th year, reckoned from his first being made King by *Necho*. He being then dead, and News of it brought to *Jerusalem*, they there made his Son *Jehoiakim* King in his stead. And he beginneth the seventy years of the Captivity in his fifth year, when he will have him carried to *Babylon*.

21. But *Ludovicus Cappellus* his Brother replyeth, that in no Place is there any Mention made of *Nebuchadnefar*'s coming up against him in the second year of his Reign, the place thought to make for the Purpose, having as much Respect to the fifth, as the second year. And as little Mention is there any where made of *Jehoiakim*'s six years of Captivity, who if he had died at *Babylon*, the Scripture would never have attributed to him the Reign of eleven years, but only so many as he really reigned, viz. 5. The rest, it would either have given to *Shallum* the pretended Vice-roy, or to *Jehoiakim* his Son; it being a thing improbable, that the Name should be preserved for *Jehoiakim*, whilst *Sallum* indeed reigned. Besides, the *Babylonian* King observed no such matter afterward in *Jehoiakim*, whom taking away he really made King *Zedekiah*, without the Title of Vice-roy or Lieutenant. Nay, though *Jehoiakim* lived long at *Babylon*, and after the Death of *Nebuchadnefar*, being loosed out of Bonds, was honoured and esteemed by *Evilmerodach* above any of his Condition (and therein excelled *Jehoiakim*, if he lived there so long;) yet is there no more time given to his Reign, than that wherein he only continued in his Principality. As for the Regency of *Shallum*, it is a meer Invention, there being no other, according to the Jews, than *Jehoaabaz*, who was also called by that name. For in the place thought to make this out, they are bidden not to weep for the dead (viz. *Jofiah*) but for him that goeth away (*Jehoaabaz* taken away by *Necho*) for he should return no more into his Native Country.

22. *Jehoiakim* therefore being taken to be led away Captive, in the third year of his Rebellion, and the eleventh of his Reign, died ere he went (as we may suppose) and was cast out or buried, according to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, who had foretold he should be buried with the Burial of an Ass; being cast forth beyond the Gates of *Jerusalem*, in the Day to the Heat, and in the Night to the Frost, which could be done by none, except the barbarous *Babylonians*. After his Death, the Conquerour placed in his stead *Jehoiakim* his Son, called also *Conias* and *Jeconias*, who did civil in the Sight of the Lord, as his Father before him, and *Nebuchadnefar* it seemeth, repenting of what he had done, left he should be drawn from his Obdience, by the Example of his Father, and the Perswasions of those about him, sent his Army before him, (about a year after his former Expedition) to besiege *Jerusalem*. When he himself came to the Siege, *Jehoiakim* came out to him with his Mother and Servants, and yielded his Person in the eighth year of *Nebuchadnefar* his ending. Then the *Babylonian* entering *Jerusalem*, took away the Treasures found in the House of the Lord, and the Kings House, brake all the golden Instruments which *Solomon* had made for the Temple, and so carried *Jehoiakim* with his Mother, Wives, and Servants unto *Babylon*. Besides those, he transported all the best sort of the People from *Jerusalem*, with the ablest and strongest for War from other Places, in which number was *Ezekiel* the Priest, the Son of *Buzzi*. *Jehoiakim* in (a) one place is said to have been but eighteen years old when he began to Reign, but in another (b) only eight. A Fault must needs be in the Reading of one place of the two, which may best be laid upon the former. For if *Jehoiakim* his Father was 15 years old when he began to Reign, (as some will have it) then was he born to him in the 18th year of his Age, being otherwise (according to this Tenet) absurdly made to have been begot in his 7 or 8th year.

23. *Nebuchadnefar* made King over the Jews that remained, *Mattaniah* the Son of *Jofiah*, from whom he received an Oath of Homage, and thereupon changed his name into *Zedekiah*. He trode in the Steps of his Brothers and Nephews, the people

Jehoiakim.

Zedekiah.

Ezekiel.
(a) Kings 24. 8.
(b) Kings 24. 8.
(c) Chron. 36. 5.

Sect. 3.

ple also being with him incorrigible. He rebelled against *Nebuchadneſar*, taking part with the King of *Egypt*, who maintained a Quarrel with him, and therefore the *Babylonian* came up in the ninth year after his Establishment, took all the Cities of *Judea*, except *Jerusalem*, *Lachish*, and *Azeca*, which he also besieged. The year following *Pharaoh* came with an Army to his Assistance, which *Nebuchadneſar* understanding went to meet him, and he thereupon afraid to engage, retreated into his own Land. *Nebuchadneſar* then returning ſate down again before *Jerusalem*, wherein Famine at length prevailing, and *Zedekiah* ſtill refusing to yield, though *Jeremiah* constantly advised him to do it, in the end of his 11th year, and the first day of the Month it was broken into by the *Chaldeans*. *Zedekiah* flying, was overtaken, and brought to *Riblah*: where he first saw his Children and Friends slain, and then, having his Eyes put out, was carried to *Babylon*, where he miserably ended his days.

2. Lachish taken.

Jerusalem and the Temple burnt.

24. On the seventh day of the fifth Month, in the 19th year of *Nebuchadneſar* came *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard; and having got all things ready in two days, set the King's House, with the Temple, and the rest of the Buildings in the City on Fire. The same Month all the Walls were demolished; they that remained in the City, with those which before had revolted, and the rest of the People, together with the Treasures of the Kings and Princes, and the Utensils of the House of the Lord, did *Nebuzaradan* carry to *Babylon*. So went *Judah* into Captivity in the 12th year after the Death of *Jehoiakim*, 390 after the Death of *Salomon* and the Rent of the Kingdom (which the Prophet *Ezekiel* was commanded to represent by Sleeping for many nights upon his left side, the Iniquity of the Children of *Israel* having from that time abounded) to which the two years being added wherein the Captivity was completed at the Death of *Gedaliah*, and eight Jubilees are therein contained; 490 from the Beginning of *Saul*; so that the Kingdom of *Judah* continued 10 Jubilees, or 70 Weeks of years, so many as are given by *Daniel* to the Commonwealth of the *Jews*, from its Reſtitution, to the *Messiah*: From the building of the Temple 420. which therefore stood eight Jubilees, with four Weeks, or in all sixty weeks of years; from the Entrance into *Canaan* 967, as *Ludovicius Cappellus* reckoned, containing 138 weeks: from the Departure out of *Egypt* 1007, during which time Satan was as it were bound, and Gods People were free: Lastly, from the Beginning of the World 3515, which make 502 Weeks, and 71 Jubilees with five weeks of years. The Concurrence of all these Accounts do mightily confirm the Discoverer in his Opinion of their Reality.

Gedaliah the Governour slain.

The Jews constrain Jeremiah to go down with them into Egypt, where they flee him.

The last Deportation.

25. *Jeremiah* the Prophet had Leave, either to go to *Babylon*, there to live honourably, or to stay with the small Remnant that were left in the Land. The latter of these he accepted; and went to *Gedaliah*, who being appointed Governour kindly embraced him, and gave Encouragement to all the *Jews* left under his Charge, promising them Favour and Liberty, as long as they remained obedient Subjects to the King of *Babylon*: But ere the year went about, one *Ishmael*, a Prince of the Blood, who during the War had kept himself out of the way with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*, slew *Gedaliah* whilst he lovingly feasted him at *Mispah*, with others, both *Jews* and *Chaldeans* in his Company. The Residue then of the *Jews* being without a Governour, and fearing the Revenge of their Lords and Masters, were minded to fly into *Egypt*, and caused the Prophet to inquire of the Lord for them. *Jeremiah* answered, that if they would remain in *Judea*, God would mercifully provide for them; but if they offered to save themselves in *Egypt*, they should undoubtedly perish. They, notwithstanding this Warning, went down and constrained him, with *Baruch*, to accompany them, where, by the Leave of *Pharaoh*, they inhabited near *Taphnes*. Here the Prophet often reprehending them for their Idolatry, and foretelling both their Destruction, and the Ruine of those that harboured them, was by their wretched and ingrateful hands *stoned to Death; but is said to have been exceedingly honoured by the *Egyptians*, so that *Alexander* the Great translated his Bones into *Alexandria*. In the 23th of *Nebuchadneſar* (who then besieged *Tyre*) *Nebuzaradan*, Captain of his Guard carried away the Reliques of the *Jews* and *Israelites*, to the number of 745, which was the last Deportation. And the Prophecies both of (a) *Jeremiah* and (b) *Ezekiel* confirm us in this Belief, that the *Jews* in *Egypt*, after *Nebuchadneſar* had subdued that Country, were partly slain and carried away Captive to their own Country with the Natives, being nothing reformed by the former punishments inflicted either upon themselves, or their Nation.

2 Kings 25.

Jerem. 39.

A. M. 3445. Olymp. 48. an. 4. Nebuchad. 9.

Ezek. 4. 5.

Chap. 40.

Chap. 41.

Chap. 42. 43.

* Xenocras. Tem 1. Ter. tullian in Scort. p. 10. Jerem. 52. (a) Chap. 43. 24. 45. (b) Chap. 25. 30. 31.

SECT.

Sect. 4.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of Israel

From the Revolt of the Tribes, to their final Captivity under Salmanasser.

Jerem.

THE ten Tribes, falling off from *Rehoboam* upon his churlish Answer, chose *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim* to reign over them. He, being industrious in the Work of Fortifications, had been made by *Salomon* Ruler over all the Charge of the house of *Joseph*; but the Lord, after he was provoked by the Idolatry of *Salomon*, sent *Ahijah* the Prophet to him, to promise him ten Tribes; which coming to the Ears of the King he sought to slay him; whereupon *Jeroboam* fled for his Life to *Shishak*, King of *Egypt*, with whom he sojourned till *Salomon's* Death. Then he was sent for out of *Egypt*, and accompanied all *Israel* as their Speaker in their Address made to *Rehoboam*; whom after they had rejected, they made him King, that the Lord might perform what he had promised by the Prophet.

2 Kings 11. 12. 13. 14. 2 Chron. 11. 13.

A. M. 3026.

2. In the beginning of his Reign he built up *Shechem*, which had lyeen Waste well nigh 260 years, from the time that *Atimolech* destroyed it. This place being situated in Mount *Ephraim* he first made his Habitation, till he went over *Jordan*, and built *Penneh*, whence afterwards he also removed his Seat to *Tirza*. He forsook the Lord, who promised him Establishment, if he would keep his Statutes and Commandments, going about by carnal and wicked Policy to secure his Interest. For left his Subjects by going up to *Jerusalem* to worship, should be turned again from their Obedience to him, he set up two Golden Calves, the one at *Dah*, and the other at *Bethel*, having learnt Idolatry towards this sort of Cattel in *Egypt*. To that in *Bethel* he sacrificed, instituting a Feast like to that of Tabernacles: and, though rebuked by a Prophet, he was stricken with Leprosy, and might have been convinced by other Miracles; yet neither these things nor the many Judgments of God against him and his Successors, could reclaim either him or them. Rejecting the Priests of the Sons of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, he made of the lowest of the People Priests for the high Places: He had War with *Rehoboam* continually, and with *Abiah* his Son, who overthrew him in a great Battle, and slew 500000 of his men, although he added a Stratagem to the Force of his numbers (which doubled those of his Enemy) compassing in *Abiah's* Army whilst he was speaking to it. Some years after, he died, having reigned 22. *Nadab* his Son succeeding him, walked in the ways of his Father; and in his Sin wherewith he made *Israel* to sin; but in his second year, he and all *Israel* besetged *Gibbethon* of the *Philistines*, *Basia* the Son of *Abiah*.

A. M. 3047. A. D. 2. 1 Kings 15.

3. *Nadab* is said to have began his Reign in the second year of *Afa*, and to have reigned two years: yet *Basia* to have began to reign in the third year of *Afa*. To this, either must be said, that *Jeroboam* made his Son King whilst he himself yet lived, or else not reigning twenty two years complete, but some part only of the twenty second year (so that the far greater part of the first year of *Nadab* must fall in with the greater part of the second of *Afa*) neither did *Nadab* reign two whole years, but one with a piece of another, and so the first year of *Basia* will fall in with the greater part of the third of *Afa*. For in this comparing of the times of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, is to be taken notice; That, 1. A year only begun is taken for a complete one. 2. The fathers often, yet living, communicated the Royal Dignity to their Sons. 3. Some were twice inaugurated, as *Joram* in the Tribe of *Judah*, and *Hoshea* in that of *Ephraim*. 4. That there were many Vacancies, especially in the Kingdom of *Israel*. *Basia* cut off all the Posterity of *Jeroboam*, not leaving one to piss against the Wall, according as *Ahijah* had foretold; so that here *Jeroboam's* Policy filled him, the Golden Calves having pushed down his Family. When *Basia* saw that *Afa* had restored Religion, and for that Cause many of his Subjects revolted to him, he had War with him all his days, and in his fourteenth year built *Ramah* to restrain Fugitives. *Afa* to divert him hired *Benhadad*, King of *Syria*, who breaking the League formerly made with *Israel* came up with his Forces, and smote *Jion* (a City of the Tribe of *Asher*)

2 Chron. 16.

Dan

Settled up two Golden Calves.

Nadab.

Basia.

Jeroboam's Policy utterly destroyed.

Secd. 4. Dan of the Danites, Abel-bethmaach of the Manassites, and all Cimeroth with the Land of Naphtali; which forced Baasa to leave off building Ramah, and return to Tirzah. He reigned 24 years, viz. 23 with part of another.

4. Elah his Son succeeded him in the twenty sixth year of Aza, and reigned two years; at the end whereof his Servant Zimri, Captain of one half of his Chariots, slew him at Tirzah as he was drinking in the House of Arza his Steward, and the Prophecy of Jehu, the Son of Hanani, was fulfilled against the House of Baasa, that it should be made like to that of Jeroboam, all of it being destroyed in like manner by Zimri. But Zimri himself reigned only seven days; for the People then besieged Gibbethon, and understanding how things had passed at Tirzah, made Omri, the General of the Army, King. He presently led them against Tirzah, and took it; whereupon Zimri withdrew himself into the Palace, and setting it on Fire perished therein, because he also walked in the Steps of Jeroboam. A Schism now followed, for one half of the People chose Tibni, the Son of Gibeon, and he reigned four years (imperfect) as the Jews have it: the Division continued, till at Length Tibni dying, Omri reigned alone. He is also said to have began his Reign in the 31st year of Aza, which must be understood of his reigning alone, having slain Zimri in the twenty eighth year (beginning) of that King. After he had reigned six years at Tirzah, he translated the Seat of the Kingdom to Samaria, which City he had built on a Hill, brought of one Sower, from whom it took the name. Having done worse than any that were before him, he died after he had reigned twelve years. Which if they be accounted from the Death of Zimri, and so contain his whole Reign, then reigned Ahab his Son, and Successor but two years with him, his 11th year falling into the 38 of Aza; but if they be reckoned from the Death of Tibni, then must Ahab have reigned about five years together with him.

5. Ahab exceeded in Wickedness all his Predecessors, not only living in the Sin of Jeroboam, but marrying Jezabel the Daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon, whose god Baal he served and worshipped. For this, through the Prayer of the Prophet Elijah, it rained not upon the Land for three years; but at the end thereof he prayed again, and the Heavens gave Rain. He took Occasion to shew the Vanity of the Idol Baal, and then slew his Priests; for which being threatened by Jezabel, he fled into the Desert to Mount Horeb. Against Ahab came up twice Benhadad, King of Syria; once with 32 petty Kings, and both times with great Forces, but still was overthrown, and at the latter time yielded himself. Ahab honourably received him, and making a League with him, let him go in Safety; for which he was sharply rebuked by a Prophet, and told that his Life should go for the Life of Benhadad, and his own People for his People; but there followed a Peace between Israel and Syria for three years. In this space Ahab fell sick for Naboth's Vineyard, who being by Jezabel's Procurement accused of Blasphemy, was stoned to Death, and so Ahab enjoyed the Vineyard by way of Consecration. For this so wicked a Fact severe Judgment was pronounced against him and Jezabel, by Elijah; the Execution whereof by a temporary Repentance they caused to be prorogued. But the three years of the Peace being expired, he renewed the War with Syria; for that Benhadad having engaged to restore such Cities as he had taken, refused to surrender Ramoth-Gilead. Four hundred false Prophets persuaded him to undertake the Expedition; only Micaiah sent from God dissuaded him from it. With him joyned Jehoshaphat King of Judah, whose Son Jehoram had married Athaliah his Daughter. But going down both together, Ahab received a Wound by an Arrow, and there of died, that day, in the 22th year of his Reign.

6. Ahaziah his Son succeeded him, whom he had formerly made his Associate in the Kingdom, and reigned two years in all; being said to have begun his Reign in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat King of Judah, because his Father then dyed, having reigned 21 years, and some part of another. After Ahab's Death, Ahab fell off from Israel, to which it had been subject ever since the days of David. Ahaziah falling sick, of a Fall which he had through a lattice in his upper Chamber, sent to consult Baal-zebub the god of Ekron, about his Recovery; but the Lord commanded Elijah to meet the Messengers, and denounce Death to him for this his Sin. Hereat Ahaziah being angry, sent two Captains with their Fifes, one after another, to fetch him to him; but he called for Fire down from Heaven, which consumed them: then being irritated by the third, he went with him to the King, where denouncing the same to his Face, Ahaziah accordingly died, not long after him his Brother Jehoram followed, in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat King

A. M. 3071.
Aze 26.

A. M. 3076.
Aze 31.

Vide Lat. Cap.
pellum Chron.
Sacr. pag. 179.

A. M. 3083.
Aze 38.

1 Kings 18.

Chap. 19.

Chap. 20.

A. M. 3103.
Jehoshaphat 18.

2 Kings 1.

King of Judah ending, who wrought Evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like his Father and Brother; for he put away the Image of Baal, erected by his Father, yet cleaved to the Sin of Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, because of his carnal Interest; all the Kings of Israel accounting it an especial piece of Policy, to busie the People in the Worship of the golden Calves.

7. Joram made War upon the Moabites which had revolted, in Conjunction with Jehoshaphat King of Judah, and the King of Edom his Tributary, Elitha the Prophet miraculously providing the Armies of Water, and promising them Victory. When the Sun arose and shone upon the Pits full of Water, it appeared, to the Moabites, Blood; so that they concluding their Enemies to have fallen one upon another, came out to take the Plunder of the Field; but finding other Entertainment, were repelled with great Confusion and Loss. The Israelites then falling upon the Country, made Havock of all things, and besieged Mesha King of the Moabites, in Kir-hazareth, who being straitened, attempted with 700 Men to break through to the King of Edom, but could not; whereupon taking his Son, (his own fume think, others the King of Edom's) which should have reigned in his Stead, he offered him for a Burnt-offering upon the Wall. This Spectacle seemed so horrible, as raised Indignation against Israel, and such Pity towards the Man driven by extreme Necessity, (as Josephus telleth it,) that they being mindful of the Mutability of humane Affairs, they raised the Siege and departed.

8. Benhadad King of Syria made several Attempts upon Israel, and besieging Samaria, reduced it unto extreme Necessity by Famine. Him Hazael his Servant slew, and possessed himself of his Kingdom; but having received, together with it, the Succession of the War, Jehoram went up against him, and was accompanied by Ahaziah King of Judah, to Ramoth-Gilead. Here receiving a Wound, he returned to Jezreel, to be cured; but the Army was left under several Captains, amongst which was Jehu the Son of Jehoshaphat; to whom Elitha sent one of the Sons of the Prophets, to anoint him King. He was presently received as such by the Army, and returning to Jezreel, slew Joram, (and gave Ahaziah his Death's Wound) after he had reigned twelve years. He caused Jezabel to be thrown down out of a Window, where her Carkeiss was eaten by the Dogs; after which, writing Letters to Samaria, he procured seventy Sons of Ahab to be slain, and their Heads sent to him. Then going thither, he slew 42 persons in his way, of the Kindred of Ahaziah King of Judah, who were going to visit Jehoram and Jezabel: at Samaria he put to Death all the Priests of Baal, and burnt the Temple with the Images. Yet took he no Heed to walk in the Law of the Lord God of Israel, with all his Heart, departing not from the Sin of Jeroboam. For his executing of Justice upon the House of Ahab, the Lord promised that his Seed of the fourth Generation should sit upon his Throne; yet because of the Rotteness of his Heart, he began to cut Israel short in his days, by the means of Hazael, who now subdued not only the Gileadites, but also whatsoever the Israelites possessed beyond Jordan, raging with Cruelty against Man, Woman, and Child, as Elitha had foretold him. Jehu coming to the Kingdom at the same time as Athaliah began her Usurpation in Judah, reigned full 28 years, and then died.

9. Jehoabaz his Son succeeded him, in the 23th year of Josiah the Son of Ahaziah King of Judah, who did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, in the Sin of Jeroboam; a Grove being also in Samaria. Hazael mightily oppressed Israel also in his days, so that to him were left but 50 Horsemen, 10 Chariots, and 10000 Foot-men. Yet the Lord was intreated by him, and sent Israel a Deliverer; notwithstanding which, yet Prince and People remained incorrigible. After he had reigned seventeen years he died, and left his Kingdom to his Son Josiah, who also reigned with him about three years, for that he began his Reign in the 37th year of Josiah King of Judah, and is held by the Jews to be that Deliverer, mentioned to have been sent by God. He overcame the Syrians thrice, as dying Elitha foretold him (whom he visited, and consulted about the Affairs of his Kingdom,) and thereby recovered the Cities lost to Hazael by his Father. Upon the Occasion formerly mentioned, he took Jerusalem, with Ahaziah the King of Judah, and, breaking down the Wall of the City 400 Cubits, plundered the House of the Lord and the Kings House. He also was guilty of Jeroboam's Sin, and died after he had reigned together with his Father, and by himself sixteen years.

10. His Son came after him, Jehoram by name, whom God made instrumental to preserve Israel; nay to raise it to the highest Top of Greatness it arrived at. For he recovered Damascus and Hamath, which had by Right belonged to the

Secd. 4.
Chap. 3.

Chap. 8.

Chap. 9.

A. M. 3117.

Chap. 10.

Chap. 13.

A. M. 3145.

Josiah 23.

A. M. 3159.

Josiah 37.

Chap. 14.

A. M. 3176.

Chap. 15.

Seft. 4. Tribe of Judah, with whatsoever the Syrians had taken from his Predecessors, from the ancient Border of the Entrance of *Hamath*, to the Sea of the Plains, or the Lake *Asphaltites*, as *Jonas* the Prophet the Son of *Amittai* had foretold, the fame with him that prophesied against *Ninive*, being of *Gath-Hepher*, a Town of the Tribe of (*a*) *Zebulon*, in (*b*) *Galilee of the Gentiles*; out of which therefore arose a Prophet, though the learned *Pharisees* so earnestly urged the contrary to *Nicodemus*. In the King's days also prophesied *Hofea*, and *Amos*, called from the Herd in *Judea*, to prophesie to the People of *Israel*. Notwithstanding all that God did for *Jeroboam*, he did Evil also in his Sight, accompanying his Ancestors in the Sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*. He reigned 41 years, and after his Death the Affairs of his Kingdom fell to decay; way being made for the Ruine of his House, and an Anarchy ensuing for 24 years. For so it must be, if *Zacharias* his Son began not his Reign till the 38th of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, the last of *Jeroboam* falling in with the 14th of this King, seeing *Uzziah* is said to have begun his Reign in the 27th of his, and he reigned 41 years. This may well seem strange in this Kingdom, where Princes were often made away by Usurpers; but God had promised *Jehu*, that his Children should reign to the fourth Generation; and this *Zacharias* might be a Posthumus, or however very young, and therefore not admitted by the Nobility to govern, till he had attained to such Ripeness, as was convenient for so great a Charge.

11. *Zachariah*, doing Evil in the Sight of the Lord, as did his Ancestors, reigned but six Months, being then slain by *Shallum* the Son of *Jabeesh*, who reigned in his stead in the 39th year of *Azariah* King of *Judah*. He enjoyed his usurped Royalty but a short space, being after two Months served for himself by *Menabem* the Son of *Gadi*, who also reigned in his Stead. *Menabem* smote *Tiphah* and all that were therein, with the Coasts thereof from *Tirzah*, because they opened not to him; and ripped up the Women with Child. He did Evil in the sight of the Lord, not departing from the Sin of *Jeroboam* all his days; wherefore God stirred up the Spirit of *Pul* King of *Assyria*, who invaded the Land; so he gave him 1000 Talents of Silver, which he wrested from the richest of his Subjects, to confirm the Kingdom in his hand. After he had held it ten years he died, and his Son *Pekabiah* reigned in his Stead, in the 50th year of *Azariah*; so that *Menabem* having begun his Reign in the 39th of that King, and reigned but ten years, here seemeth an *Inter-regnum* of a year or more to have happened after his Death, except that he admitted which some think, viz. that *Menabem* did not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom till about a year after *Shallum's* Death, purchasing it then of *Pul*; so that beginning his Reign in the 29th of *Azariah*, or *Uzziah*, must be understood peaceably, and in that year ending. Then must *Pekabiah* have begun his Reign in the very beginning of the 50th year; and so a few Months being added to the ten years of *Menabem*, at the furthest, there will be no need of an *Inter-regnum*. *Pekabiah* treading in the wicked Steps of his Predecessors, reigned two years, and then was slain by *Pekab* the Son of *Remaliah*, one of his Captains, who possessed himself of his Seat.

12. *Pekab* joyned with the King of *Syria* against *Abaz* King of *Judah*, flew in *Judah* 120000 in one day, all valiant men, because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers. *Zichri*, a mighty man of *Ephraim*, flew *Maasiah* the Kings Son, *Azrikam* the Governour of the house, and *Elkanah* that was next the King. Two hundred thousand were also carried Captive, with much Spoil, all which *Obed* the Prophet, when they came to *Samaria*, procured to be sent back. This made *Abaz* purchase the Help of *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, who first destroyed the King and Kingdom of *Damascus*, carried the Inhabitants thereof into Captivity; and then came against *Pekab*, and transported the *Beniaminites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manasse* into *Halab*, *Harar*, and to the River *Gozan*: then crossing *Jordan*, he set upon *Galilee*, and carried away the Inhabitants thereof with all the *Naphtalites* (which remained of those that were left by *Benhadad*) into *Assyria*. *Pekab* doing Evil in the sight of the Lord, after he had reigned twenty years, was slain by *Hofea* the Son of *Elah* who usurped the Kingdom.

13. *Hofea* the 19th King of *Israel* began his Reign in the 12th year of *Abaz* King of *Judah*, who reigned seven or eight years with his Father *Jotham*, and began to reign by himself in the 17th year of *Pekab*; so that *Hofea* may truly be said to have begun his Reign in the 20th year from the Inauguration of *Jotham*; which we must say, except we allow of a kind of *Inter-regnum* for eight or nine years, during which time *Hofea*, for the Stirrs that hapned could not peaceably enjoy the Kingdom; and then must we lengthen out the time of this Kingdom longer by so many years. *Hofea* did Evil in the Sight of the Lord, but not as the Kings of *Israel* which were before

(c) Josh. 15.
(d) Isa. 9. 1.

2 Kings 15.

A. M. 3238.
Ezechia. 38.

A. M. 3250.
Ezechia 50.

2 Chron. 28.

1 Chron. 5. 26.

2 Kings 17. 18.
A. M. 3272.
Acha. 12.

before him. Against him came up *Salmanasser* King of *Assyria*, and made him his tributary Vassal, which he continued for some time, till weary of this Bondage, he conspired with so King of *Assyria*, and refused to pay his Tribute: Hereupon, *Salmanasser* subdued first the *Moabites*, left he should have an Enemy at his Back, then invaded *Israel* and besieged *Samaria*, in the fourth year of *Hosekiah* King of *Judah*, and the 7th of *Hofea*. At the end of 3 years (in the 6th of *Hosekiah* and the 9th of *Hofea*) he took the City, and carried the *Israelites* Captive into *Assyria*, where he placed them in *Chalach*, *Chabur*, by the River of *Gofan*, and in the Cities of *Media*, because they had not obeyed the Voice of the Lord, but transgressed the Covenant. In their Seat he placed certain *Perissians* that inhabited by the River *Chabur*, and afterwards, in Distinction from the *Jews*, were called *Samaritans*. This hapned to *Israel*, for their abominable Idolatry, 255 years after the Rent of the Kingdom; so that this Schism lasted five Jubilees and ten years; in the 832 after the Entrance into *Canaan*, according to *Adoniram Cappellus*, and therefore in the end of the seventeenth Jubilee from that; in the year of the World 3380, or 3381. and so in the end of the 69 Jubilee from the Creation; 134 before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Captivity of *Judah*.

A. M. 3280.
Ezechia 5.

The *Israelites* carried away Captive.

The *Samaritans* placed in their room.

CHAP. IV.

The most ancient Kingdom of Ægypt, Contemporary with the Babylonian Empire.

THIS Country falling, at the Division of the Earth, to *Cham* and his Posterity, seemeth also to have been inhabited by himself. For, thence (*a*) *David* knew it by the name of the Land of *Hams*; (*b*) *Plinarch* found it was called *Chemia*; *Stephanus*, *Hermochymius*; the Inhabitants themselves calling it (*c*) *Kam*, who distinguished their *Nomi*, by this Allusion, into *Clemonis*, *Plochemis*, *Pstachemonis*; the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in *Africa*, and the names of *Ammonis*, and *Ammonia*, given to that Country, challenge no other Original. It is not probable that these names should be only given to it upon this Account, that part of his Posterity here fixed themselves, for then the like might have been expected concerning many other places. *Misraim* his second Son succeeded him; or he, to whom *Mosef* giveth this name, as Father of the Inhabitants of the Land of *Misraim*; it scarce being the name of a man, because not of the singular number. The Scripture calleth *Ægypt* (*d*) often by the name of *Misraim*, which seemeth the singular of *Misraim* contracted from *Mejoraim*, and signifieth a fortified Place; no Country in the World being more fenced by its natural Situation. The *Arabians* at this day know the Metropolis *Alcairo* by the name of *Mesre*, and the *Ægyptians* anciently called their first Month *Mejor*. The lower word *Misraim* seemeth to hint at the Distinction of *Ægypt* into *Upper* and *Lower*; whereof the former, watered by the River *Nile*, running in one Channel, was divided into *Thebaïs* and *Heteranomis*. (*Thebaïs* being called the Land of *Petrobs*, and distinguished from *Ægypt* by *Istah* and *Jeremiah*) and the lower part was by the *Greeks* called *Delta*, from the Triangular Figure thereof; the River being herein divided into many Branches.

2. This *Misraim* is thought to be the same with *Osiris*, so much spoken of by the *Ægyptians*, and accounted the Son of *Saturn*, the eldest of the Gods, and also the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For *Osiris* being by the *Greeks* named *Dionysus*, one telleth us that he had this Appellation both from his Father and Country, the former part of the word noting the one, and the latter the other, viz. *Nysa* a City of *Arabia Felix*, built by *Cham*, in which he seemeth to have been born. From the Reign of *Osiris*, to the Coming down of *Alexander the Great* into *Ægypt*, the Priests reckoned, some above 10000 years, others little less than 23000. But several Forms of years being used in several Nations we are to suppose theirs to have been measured rather by the Course of the Moon through the Zodiac, than that of the Sun. *Jacobus Cappellus* therefore thinketh 1889 years to have passed from the Reign of this *Osiris* to *Alexander* his Going down into *Ægypt*, the beginning whereof he fixed at the 1778th year of the World; 100 and odd years after the Flood, about the same time

(c) Phil. 105.
23. 27.
(b) Plin. lib. 6.
(c) Theodor. 2.
Hieronimus
in Genesim.
vide cap. 1.
Parag. 22.

Lager. Brocharti
Phaleg. l. 4.
(d) 2 Kings
19. 24.
Ezechia 19. 6.
Mich. 7. 12.

Origenes l. 1.
c. 2.

Diadorm. Sic.
calus lib. 1.
pag. 1.

Osiris and Isis
their Benom-
ed Acts.

time that *Nimrod* his Nephew began his Principality at *Babylon*. This *Osiris* is feigned by the *Egyptians* to have married his Sister *Isis*, and they make them the true *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. Much they are both reported to have done for the Benefit of Mankind, by bringing it to Civility; to him they ascribe the finding out of *Agriculture*, and to Her the Invention of *Corn* and *Laws*. He built *Thebes* the ancient Seat of the Kings, with 100 Gates; travelled into the greatest part of the World to teach men Civility with the Use of *Corn* and *Wine*, taking *Pan* along with him, who being had in great Reverence amongst the *Egyptians*, dedicated a City to him by the name of *Chemmis*. In his time lived *Hermes*, or *Mercurius*; and *Heracles*, who being otherwise called *Cygnus*, or *Gygion*, is said to have helped the Gods against the Giants. *Osiris*, when he returned, was killed by his wicked Brother *Typhon*.

Osiris killed by
Typhon.

Typhon punish-
ed by *Isis*, and
her Son *Orus*.

The Sacred
Bull *Apis*.

3. *Typhon*, seizing upon the Kingdom, was by *Isis*, through the Help of her Son *Orus*, dispossessed again of it, and his Life; after which gathering together the 25 parts of her Husbands Body (into which he had mangled it) she instituted to him divine Honours, ordering that the several Tribes of the Priests should dedicate some one of their living Creatures to him, and for him worship it as long as it lived; then at his Death, seeking out another of the same kind, to do as much to it. Several things were consecrated in several Places, yet by a general Consent the Sacred Bull, called *Apis* or *Mnevis*, was most valued, and chiefly adored, because of the special Help that kind of Creature afforded to Tillage. This Bull was black all over, having only a square white spot in his Forehead, saith *Herodotus*, on his right side saith *Pliny*, like to a Crescent, being also sacred to the Moon, as *Marcellinus* will have it. On the back he had the Image of an Eagle, a knot on the Tongue like to a Crab, and on his Tail double hairs. This kind of Beast did the *Egyptians* worship as the greatest God, with astonishing Veneration, as *Macrobius* termeth it, till it had lived several years; but not being suffered to pass a certain Term, it was then drowned by the Priests. Being dead, a great and solemn Mourning there was, until another could be found with the same Marks. Now some make this Beast to be worshipped in Honour of *Apis*, King of the *Argives*, who going down into *Egypt*, was there Deified after his Death, and called *Serapis*. But there having been several Kings in divers places, of that name, they are confounded one with another.

Diodorus.

Aggeus of *Ci-
cero*, *Dion.* l. 18.
c. 5.

4. Nothing, indeed, but Uncertainties attend the most ancient History of that Nation; no two Authors agreeing betwixt themselves, concerning the Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings. This is not only to be attributed to the Force of time, but the Unfaithfulness of their Priests, who having it committed to their Charge, to record the Memorables of their Country, foisted things of their own heads into the Story, concealed from the Natives whatsoever made against their own Profit, and from Strangers all things that tended to the Dishonour of their Country. Out of such a kind of Design they related not the same things to such as travelled thither with a Desire to be informed; so that from the corrupt Fountains of their Records have proceeded the Histories of several, who pretending to have taken them out of the very Archives, are no less distant amongst themselves than from the Truth. The Catalogues of their Kings are full of inextricable Labyrinths; *Manetho* being of no Credit, because of his notable Lying, and all those who profess to follow him, as *Josephus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Synellus*, *Scaliger*, *Usser*, and others not agreeing in their ranking and ordering of them.

The Dynasties
of the *42nd*
Kings.

5. Several Dynasties are made to have preceded the time of *Abraham*, with whose Birth (as it is placed in the 43rd year of *Nimrod*) the beginning of the 16th is joyned. Much Labour is spent by some, in an Endeavour to clear the order of these Dynasties, and to expound them. But, if they should be allowed of, little more than 200 years are to be assigned to the Continuance of all the first 15, because the Passage of *Cham*, and his Posterity from the Mountains of *Ararat* into *Egypt*, and the Establishment of a formal Government there, could scarce be performed within one Century after the Flood; time for the Increase of mankind, and the unpassableness of the Earth duly considered; except we cast the Beginning of the first Dynasty back beyond the Flood. It hath been thought therefore that these were not several Successions of Kings, which continued for so small a time, but rather certain Ranks and Orders of Governours under the Kings; who might be content to enjoy their Ease and Quiet, together with the Dignity (as the Kings did which *Typhon* served) whilst the Management of publick Affairs was wholly committed to these Regents, or Lieutenants, of sundry Lineages or sorts of men, who by their Actions might leave greater Impressions upon Posterity than the Kings them-

Orus the last
of the *Egypti-
as Gods*.

themselves, and so give Occasion to the *Egyptians* of vaunting them for so many Sovereign Princes indeed. That *Eusebius* might accommodate the times and Orders of these Dynasties to the Histories of other parts of the World, he is not afraid to transpose them as he findeth them in several Authors. Upon this Account *Jacobus Capellus* thinketh it a vain thing to rectify in his Chronicle the Series of the Kings, seeing *Manetho*, by whom *Scaliger* would amend *Eusebius*, is most worthy of Credit. But it being requisite to give Beginners some Insight into the Story, such things must be briefly related, as out of such Uncertainties carry the greatest Show of Probability.

6. After *Typhon*'s Death, *Isis*, as *Diodorus* writeth, for some time governed the Kingdom; but so joyntly with her Son *Orus*, or *Horus*, that he is also said to have succeeded after the Death of his Father; and is moreover accounted the last of the gods. He instituted a year consisting of three Moneths, and thence a year was called after him *Horus*. The *Egyptian* Year, properly so called, consisted of 365 days; but besides this, they had also monthly years of thirty days, and others of four Moneths apiece, or 120 days; that by this various, and cunning Account, as *Capellus* maketh this following account to consist of such kind of years. After the gods, came men to the Government; and the *Egyptians* boasted that they had Kings of their own Country, and home-borne; for the most part, during the Term of 4750 years; after *Cambyses* Strangers, as *Persians* and *Macedonians*, having governed them. Now these 4750 years he guesseth to consist of four Moneths apiece, and to contain 1544 Julian years, which being deducted out of the years of the World, at the Period whereof *Cambyses* came down into *Egypt*, 1931 will remain; at what time *Osiris*, or *Orus* his Son might perhaps die, who being the last of the gods, Kings began when they ended.

Isis l. 1. p. 13.
Or.

Conformis
1941.

Pride *Capell.*
l. 1. m. ad A. M.
1531. Or.
1941.

Herodotus of
Diodorus.

Menas the first
King.

The first King that reigned after these gods was *Menas*, or *Mene*, whose name by some is thought to have been only of Dignity, and that *Osiris* was to be called. Others think *Mercurius Trismegistus* meant thereby, for that the Hebrew Word *Mene* signifieth an *Arithmetician*, and that *Osiris* might well be termed *Trismegistus*, being a great Conquerour, and Benefactor to Mankind, in giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. Another would have *Sesothris*, whom he supposeth to have succeeded *Osiris*, to be meant by *Menas*, as nothing inferior to *Osiris* in Prowess and great Undertakings. But *Sesothris* the Great reigned not till many years after, and nothing lieth but *Menas* in the *Egyptian* Language (to say nothing of the *Greek*) might be a proper name as well as a Title of Dignity. But, who succeeded him is not known; the Priests feigning 52 Princes to have followed him in order for the space of 1460 years, unto *Bulris*, multiplying Kings, for in this unknown Path, take the blind Conduct of the Dynasties again, of omitting the first seventeen, to which almost 4000 years are ascribed, the 18th is by *Capellus* made to begin nine years before the time whereunto *Eusebius* sets it, viz. in the 107th year of the Patriarch *Jacob*, the first in order of it being *Amor*, or *Amorfi*.

Amor or *Amor-
fi*.

A. M. 2274.

8. To his reign are given 25 years; so that, according to this Account, he it was who honoured *Joseph*, and set him over the Land. He dying in the second year of the Famine, *Chebrus* succeeded him, who reigned thirteen years, and him *Amenophis*, who reigned 21, under whom *Jacob* died. To him succeeded *Meptres*, according to *Eusebius*, but *Manetho* after him placeth his Sister *Amenes*, or *Ameres*, to which he giveth 21 years and 9 Moneths. After this reigned *Meptres* twelve years, *Meptremuthosis* 26, and *Thothmossis* (or *Thoufiss*) 9. After him followed *Amenophis* (otherwise called *Palmanothis* and *Phamenophis*) who reigned 31 years, and by some is accounted that *Mennon* whose Image of Stone, at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, founded like an Harp, when the Sun-Beams, first in the Morning beat upon it; which is witnessed by many Authors of good Credit. To him succeeded *Orus*, or *Horus*, who reigned 38 years, and to him *Aenecheris*, who reigned 12. *Manetho* maketh *Aenecheris* the Daughter of *Orus*, and giveth to her 12 years and one Moneth; after her, he bringeth in *Rathosis* her Brother, to whom he giveth nine Moneths. But after *Aenecheris*, *Eusebius* placeth *Achoris*, and giveth to him but seven years, to whom succeeded *Cenchris* the twelfth King; who, being more wicked than his Predecessors, oppressed the *Israelites* most grievously, and continued eighteen years in his Tyranny, till an end was put to it in the Red Sea.

A. M. 2508.

The Virility
afflicted in
Egypt.

9. Above eight years had they vexed the *Israelites* with insupportable Burthens, notwithstanding which, they grew and increased exceedingly; nay, although Order was given to drown all the Male Children, lest growing too numerous, they might in time of War joyn with their Enemies; else get them out of the Land with an high hand; or because of a *Prediction* mentioned by *Josephus*, that an *Hebrew* should be born, who was to afflict and overthrow the *Egyptians*. That the *Jews* lived amongst them, is ever acknowledged by their Historians, accounting it an Honour, as all Nations do, to have set forth Colonies. But to take away Disgrace, and to save the Honour of their Country, (which to the Priests was ever most solemn) abominable Lies have been made, and strange Stories devised, concerning their first Coming into *Egypt*, and especially about their Departure: which briefly to relate seemeth agreeable enough to the Nature of our Design.

stands his
Lies concern-
ing the Origin-
al of the
Jews.

10. *Manetho*, an *Egyptian* Priest and Historian, pretending to describe the Original of the *Jews*, relateth, That in the days of one of their Kings, *Timanus* by name, a certain ignorant People called *Hysos*, (which signifieth *Royal Shepherds*, or *Cap-tives*, as he himself interpreteth it) from the Eastern parts, with great Confidence invaded *Egypt*, which easily obtaining without any Force of Arms, they burnt the City and Temple, and raged against the Natives with Sword and Servitude. At length they made them a King of their own Stock, named *Salitis*, who, coming down into the Country about *Memphis*, imposed a Tribute upon the upper and neather Province, and put Garrisons in convenient Places. Especially he took Care of the Eastern Coasts, being jealous of the Power of the *Assyrians*; so that in the Principality of *Sais*, Eastward from the River *Babylus*, he built up a City called anciently *Anakis*, which fortifying with most strong Walls, he therein placed a Garrison of 240000 Men. When he had reigned nineteen years, he gave place to *Boon*, who governed 44, after him *Apachnas* 36 with seven Moneths, then *Apochis* 61, *Janus* 50, and one Moneth; then *Assis* 49. Under those six first Kings, they fore oppressed, and endeavoured utterly to destroy *Egypt*, and 511 years had they Power over it. Afterwards the Kings of the Province of *Thebes*, and the remaining part of *Egypt* fell on them with a great and lasting War, and by a King named *Alisfragnuthosis*, were they overcome, and driven up into a place containing the Quantity of 10000 Acres of Ground, called *Avaris*. The Son of this King, *Themufis* by Name, attempted the taking of this Place, besieged it with 480000 thousand Men; but, despairing of Success, agreed with him, that leaving *Egypt*, they should go whither else they pleased; so that, departing with all their Goods, to the number of 240000 Persons, they travelled through the Desert into *Syria*, (for that they feared the *Assyrians*, who then obtained the Empire of *Asia*) and built them a City in the Country, afterwards called *Judea*, which might suffice for so many thousands, and named it *Jerusalem*.

11. To this History taken out of the ancient Records, *Manetho* addeth, as he confesseth, fabulous Reports rise amongst the Vulgar, mixing with the *Israelites* a Multitude of *Egyptians* languishing with Leprosie and other Diseases; which he relateth, as having forgotten, that the Shepherds left *Egypt* 518 years before, as may be gathered from the Series of the Kings, and the Distance of time betwixt *Themufis*, who reigned when the Shepherds departed, and *Amenophis*, under whom the Lepers went out, the time of whose Reign neither dareth he to define; though he be exact, in the years of other Princes, as *Josephus* noteth. Now this *Amenophis*, forsooth, was told by a Priest of the same name, That he might see the Gods, if he would cleanse his Kingdom from Lepers, and other unclean Persons. He, being a very religious man, gathered all the infirm out of the Land, to the number of 80000, whom he sent with others to cut stones on the East of the River *Nile*; there being amongst them also some of the learned Priests infected with Leprosie. Because Favour was shewed towards them, the Priest, who would have had them destroyed, feared much the Displeasure of the gods, as well against himself as the King, and foreseeing they should have Power over *Egypt* for thirteen years, he durst not tell the King so much, but wrote a Book concerning the matter, and then killed himself; which call the King (you must know) into a great Melancholy.

12. But being still desir'd to do something for the Security of the diseased People, he gave them *Avaris*, the City of the Shepherds, now not inhabited: whither being entred, and perceiving the place to be very advantageous for Rebellion, they made Choice of *Ojarisphus*, one of the Priests of *Helipolis*, for their Captain, swearing to obey him in all things. He presently established for Law, that they should not worship the gods, nor abstain from such Creatures as were most sacred to the *Egyptians*; to marry with none but those that were tied to them by the same League,

In secundo co-
gitatione, apud
Polyphum lib. 1.
capit. Apianum.

and commanding many other things (especially such as he knew, contrary to *Egyptian* Customs) he prepared for War. Then sent he to the Shepherds at *Jerusalem*, formerly expelled by *Themufis*, to open their Condition to them, and to invite them to give their Assistance against *Egypt*. The Shepherds readily clofed, with the Motion, and all, to the number of 200000, marched down to *Avaris*. *Amenophis* much startled hereat, especially because of the Prediction of the Priest, committed his Son, but five years old, to a Friend; and, together with *Apis* and his other gods, went into *Ethiopia*, where he was received with all his Multitudes of Subjects, and was kindly entertained by the King, who made Provision for them for these thirteen years. The *Solymitans*, or Shepherds, with the unclean Multitude, made now great Havock of all things in *Egypt*, burning Villages and Cities, and raging against the sacred Animals with their Priests, whom they compelled to be their Butchers, and drave away naked; the forementioned Priest still giving Laws, and framing their Policy; who being from *Osiris* the *Helipolitan*-god called *Ojarisphus*, now changed his Name into *Moses*. But at the end of the thirteen years, *Amenophis* returned with great Power out of *Ethiopia*, and with the Assistance of his Son *Ramses*, fell upon the Shepherds and unclean Multitude, whereof killing many, they purified the rest as far as the Borders of *Syria*.

13. These ridiculous Lyes are more augmented by others. *Cheremoh*, who professed to write the History of *Egypt*, giveth the same name *Amenophis* to the King, and of *Ramses* to his Son; but addeth, that the Goddess *Isis* appeared to the former, complaining that her Temple was destroyed by War. That *Phrisphantes* a sacred Scribe, told the King, that if he would be freed from Terrors in the Night, he must purge *Egypt* from polluted Men: he therefore gathered out 25000 diseased Persons, cast them out of his Borders: That the two Scribes *Moses* and *Joseph* (the *Egyptian* Name of the former being *Tisbeus*, and of the latter *Petephseph*) became their Leaders, and, coming to *Pelusijsus*, found there 380000, which *Amenophis* having left behind would not convey into *Egypt*: with those they struck up a League, and undertook an Expedition against the Land. *Amenophis* not expecting the Issue of their Attempt, fled into *Ethiopia*, leaving his Wife big with Child, which lying hid in a Cave, brought forth a Son called *Messene*. He, when he came to age expelled the *Jews*, to the number of 200000 into *Syria*, and received back his Father *Amenophis* out of *Ethiopia*.

Isfmaachus his
malicious for-
geries.

14. *Isfmaachus* an Historian, going beyond the other two in the maliciousness of his Lyes, wrote, that when *Bocchoris* reigned in *Egypt*, the People of the *Levites*, infected with Leprosie, Scab, and other Diseases, resorted to the Temple to beg for their Living, and many being infected with this Disease, Barrenness fell upon the Land. *Bocchoris*, sending to the Oracle of *Ammon* about it, received this Answer, That the Temples were to be cleanse from impure and prophane Persons, who were to be cast out into the Desert; but the Scabby and Leprous should be drowned; the Sun not enduring they should live; which being done, and the Temples purified, fruitfulness would be restored to the Earth. *Bocchoris* accordingly ordered the Priests to gather all the prophane out of the Temples, and give them up to Souldiers, who were to carry them into the Wilderness; and the Leprous and Scabby to be wrapped in Lead, and cast into the Sea; which being drowned accordingly, the other were exposed to perish in the Desert. But those, consulting for their own Safety, kept Fires that Night, and strict Watch; then, the day following, a solemn Fast to God for their Preservation. On the next, Council was given them by a certain Man named *Moses*, that they should march on in one Body, till they arrived at some good Soil. Then commanded he them, to be kind to no man, to give bad Counsel rather than good, and overthrow the Temples of the Gods, as many as they should find; which being approved of, they travelled through the Desert, and after much Trouble, came to a fruitful Soil, where using the Inhabitants very injuriously, and rifing and burning the Temples, they arrived at length in that Country, since called *Judea*, and building a City seated themselves there. This City was at first called *Hierosola*, from the spoiling of the Temples; but afterwards, to shun the Disgrace of the Occasion, they changed it into *Hierosolyms*, and took the name of *Hierosolymitans*.

Apis his Lie.

15. Further than this; *Apian* a Grammarian of *Alexandria*, as he counterfeited himself, but born in *Osse*, a Town of *Egypt*, amongst several other Lyes against the *Jews*, wrote, that he had received from the eldest of the *Egyptians*, how *Moses* was a *Helipolitan*, and, being brought up according to the Customs of his Country, changed the Rites thereof at his own Pleasure: That he led the Leprous, Blind, and Lame, out of *Egypt*; but fairly saith, it was in the first year of the seventh

Olympiad, the same wherein *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*, which happened about 150 years after *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* (as appeareth out of the *Phœnician Annals*) with whom *Solomon* was contemporary. He mentioned the same number of infirm Persons as *Lyfimachus*, but addeth a Reason why the *Sabbath* was so called. Travelling fix days together, faith he, on the seventh day they rested in *Judea*, for that they were forely plagued with Ulcers in their privy parts, and named it *Sabbath*, from the *Egyptian Word Sabbathos*, which signifieth that Disease. Notwithstanding that he faith they finished their Journey in six days, yet he further writeth, that *Moses* hid himself for forty days upon the Mount *Sinai* (which lyeth betwixt *Egypt* and *Arabia*) whence coming down, he gave Laws unto the *Jews*. As for the *Jewish Religion*, he was not ashamed to write, that in their Temple was set the head of an Ass made of Gold, and of great Value, which being there worshipped, was taken thence when *Antiochus Epiphanes* spoiled the Place.

Reasons for
these Lyes
raised by the
Egyptians,
and others
against the
Jews.

16. Such Absurdities were delivered by the *Egyptians*, and those who out of desire to gratifie them, have, after their Example, endeavoured to conceal the Truth; to which *Josephus* in his two Books against *Apion*, hath abundantly answered. Several Reasons have moved them to corrupt their Original Records. The *Israelites* growing great in that Country, out of it they returned to the promised Land by the stretched out Arm of God, to the great Reproach of their cruel and imperious Lords. The Difference of Religion raised also betwixt the two Nations (as betwixt the *Jews* and the whole World) mortal Enmity, whilst the one worshipped the only true God, and the base and degenerate Spirit of the other fell down to things far inferior to themselves; which Difference some (though but few) Persons discerning, were ambitious to become Profelytes to the *Jewish Doctrine*: Hence again arose such Envy, that some defended to that Indiscretion and Weakness, as to contradict their own most ancient and authentick Writers. The in-born Blindness of men's Minds, increased by Education, hath so far prevailed, that the (a) greatest part of Heathen Writers have in this Contention sided with the *Egyptians*, (otherwise contemptible enough in their Eyes) and subscribed to what they have said concerning the Original of the *Jewish Nations*; though some (b) have not given Credit to such Reports.

Manetho his
false Chrono-
logy.

17. As *Manetho* erreth in the Cause of the Departure of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*, so also in the time thereof, though not so grossly as his Friend *Apion*. *Manetho* nameth the King *Themus*, by whom they were expelled: Who, if the same with *Amosis*, he lived 230 years before their true Departure; and that he is the same appeareth by *Manetho's Catalogue*, taken out of *Josephus*. But (to go on with the Story of the Kings) *Themus* reigned, according to *Manetho*, 25 years and four Months after their Expulsion. *Chiebron* his Son succeeded him, and reigned thirteen years; next him, *Ameneptis* 20 with seven Months; his Sister *Ameffes* two, and nine Months. *Mephres* followed her, and continued twelve years and nine Months; him *Mephramutosis*, who reigned 25, and ten Months; then *Themosis* nine, and eight Months; *Ameneptis* thirty, and ten Months; *Orus* 26, and five Months. His Daughter *Aenecheres* reigned ten years and one Month, *Rathoris* her Brother nine years, *Aenecheres* twelve, and five Months; another of that Name twelve, and three Months; *Arnatis* four, and one Month; *Arnefio* one, and four Months; *Arneffes Miamun* sixty six, and two Months; and lastly *Ameneptis* nineteen, and six Months. In whose time one who, forsaking *Eusebius*, followeth *Manetho*, in ranking those Kings holdeth the *Israelites* to have departed *Egypt*, and consequently will have this King drowned in the Sea. That *Rameffes Miamun* was he who first began to afflict the *Israelites*, the length of his Reign (as * one supposeth) maketh probable; whose Name also seemeth to him to have given Appellation to one of the Cities, in building of which they were employed.

Strabo or
Egyptus.

18. After *Ameneptis* reigned *Sethosis*, who having great Forces both by Land and Sea, left his Brother *Arnatis* Deputy of *Egypt*, and forbidding him the Diadem and meddling with his Wife or Concubines, undertook an Expedition against *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and then against the *Affrians* and *Medes*, all which he brought under, either by the Sword or the Terror of his name, whereby, elevated in his mind, he confidently marched up and down the East Countries, overrunning the Cities and States thereof at his Pleasure. Much time being herein spent, his Brother in the mean while acted all things in *Egypt* contrary to his Injunctions, by the Advice of his Friends, assuming the Diadem and rebelling. Of this the Chief Priest secretly gave him Intelligence, so that having back to *Pelufium*, he recovered his Kingdom. *Manetho* addeth, that this *Sethosis* was also called *Egyptus*, (from whence the Country took the Name of *Egypt*) and this his Brother *Arnatis* also

(c) As *Biddi-
Eling*, lib. 24.
40.
scilicet 191.
lib. 2. ad finem.
an. *Justin*, lib.
36.
(d) *Strabo*, lib.
15. p. 761.
Dion. Cassius
lib. 37.

* *Ulfertus* ad
ad. *Vit. 118*.
ad A.M. 2497.
8. 2494.

Manetho apud
Josephum l. 1.
contr. *Apio-
nem*.
A. M. 2422.

His Brother
Arnatis or *Da-
neus*.

Rameffes African
the same
with *Neptune*.

Ameneptis his
Son with *Euph-
ra*.

What the
Greeks write
concerning *Se-
thosis*.

His Conquests.

also the Appellation of *Daneus*. If so; then *Ameneptis*, who was swallowed up of the Sea, must be taken for *Belus*, the Father of *Egyptus* and *Daneus* according to the *Greeks*, who not being confounded with the Father of *Ninus* (as by *Mythologists* he is wont to be) is said to have lived 322 years before the Destruction of *Troy*, which account Learned *Usher* judgeth fitly to agree with the time of *Ameneptis*. He also thinketh *Rameffes Miamun* to be *Neptune*, *Mia* coming near to, and therefore seemeth to be derived from, *Moy*; which in the ancient *Egyptian* Language, according to *Josephus*, signifieth *Water*. *Neptune* is said also to be Father of *Bufris*, who at this time tyrannizing about the River *Nile*, cruelly flew such Strangers as came near him. Such a Son indeed was worthy of so cruel a Father as *Rameffes Miamun*; and it seemeth likely enough, that the Story of *Bufris* might be taken from him and his Sons Cruelty to the *Israelites*, and so the thing may well enough be applied to *Ameneptis*. Further, if we observe what * another telleth us, that the Poets are wont to call cruel and bloody men by the name of *Neptune*, as born of the raging and troublesome Sea; then may we find more Reason for *Rameffes Miamun* his being so called, because of his Inhumanity towards the *Israelites* and their innocent Children.

* A. Gellius
Noct. Attic.
lib. 15. c. 21.

19. Now, to joyn this Story of the *Egyptians* with that of the *Greeks*, (whom yet the other complain of, as corrupting their Antiquities) *Apollodorus* writeth, how *Neptune*, on *Lybia* the Daughter of *Epaphus* (who being the Son of *Telegonus*, and so the second Daughter to *Jafus* King of *Argos*, built *Memphis*, as some say, and reigned in the lower part of *Egypt*) begat two Sons *Belus* and *Aeneor*, whereof the latter went into *Phœnicia*, and there reigned. *Belus* obtained *Egypt*, and of *Archinoe* the Daughter of *Nilus* begot *Egyptus* and *Daneus*. He sent *Daneus* to inhabit *Affric* or *Lybia* (so called from his Mother; and after *Egyptus* had subdued the Country of the *Melampodi*, or *Black-fect*, named it *Egypt* after himself, which according to *Eusebius*, was formerly called *Aria*, and, according to others, *Potamitis*. But he whom *Maneth*, in *Josephus*, calleth *Sethosis*, seemeth to be the same with *Diordus* his *Sesofis*, and *Sesofis* of *Herodotus*, concerning whom both of them record (as *Manetho* hath done) very admirable things. Agreeable to what *Manetho* delivereth of *Sethosis*, *Herodotus* writeth, that *Sesofis* subdued many Nations. (a) *Diordus* faith, that *Sesofis* conquered *Arabia* and *Lybia* before his Father's Death, and afterwards, having a great Ambition to do as much by all the World, first secured the Affections of his Subjects at home (to keep him in Obedience) by his Clemency and Bounty. Then with an Army of 600000 Foot, 24000 Horses, and 27000 Chariots, he set upon the *Ethiopians*, towards the South, whom having conquered, he compelled to pay a Tribute of Ebonie, Ivory, and Gold. With a Navy of 400 Ships sent into the *Red Sea*, he subdued all the maritime Coasts, as far as *India*; he himself with a Land-Army overrunning not only these parts of *Asia* which afterwards *Alexander* subdued, but beyond *Ganges* all as far as the *Ocean* it self.

Lib. 2.
c. 102. Sec.
(c) Lib. 1.
p. 249. Sec.

20. After this, he conquered the Nations of *Scythia* as far as the River *Tanais* (which severeth *Asia* from *Europe*) and left some of his *Egyptians* to make a Plantation by the Lake *Meotis*, that gave origin to the Nation of the *Colchis*, which the *Egyptians* supposed they sufficiently proved to be their Colonie from the Use of *Circumcision*, imagining that the *Jews* had also this Rite from Them. Finally all *Asia* he subdued, with most of the Islands *Cyclades*; but then passing over into *Europe*, was in danger of losing his Army for want of Provisions, and by the Difficulty of Places: therefore in *Thrace* he put Bounds to his Expedition, having in all Places erected Pillars, wherein was written his Success; and where he found Courage, he caused a Member of a Man to be engraven, but where he met with Cowardice that of a Woman. At Length, after nine years, he returned home with much Spoil, where he refreshed, and rewarded his victorious Army. Here he was not idle, but set himself to such Works as he thought might eternize his Name, wherein he employed none of his natural Subjects, but the Captives he had brought with him. This the *Babylonians* not enduring, brake out into Rebellion, and, fortifying a place near the River, held it out in Despight of him, till at last by Composition they enjoyed a Seat, which they called *Babylon*, in Remembrance of their own Country. He raised up great heaps of Stones and Earth, and to them removed such Cities, as by Reason of the Lowness of their Situation, were obnoxious to Inundations from the River: yet, lest there should be want of Water, and for Convenience of Trade, he caused Rivolets to be digged throughout the Land; he also fortified the Country by a Wall on the *Ea* f, and otherwise provided against Invasions.

His Wife.

Sistris, or Sistris, the second Son to the other.

Affian King of Ethiopia.

Diodorus.

After an Anarchy.

Remph.

Nileus, from whom the Nile is named.

Cymus first built a Pyramid.

21. For an Ostentation of his Greatness, he caused such, as being subdued held their Kingdoms of him, or had received new Principalities at his hand, at certain times to come down with their Presents, whom he otherwise used with much Respect: but being to go to the Temple, or enter the City, he would loose his Horses out of his Chariot, and be drawn by four of these Princes. At Length, having excelled all men in Conquests, and other Royal Achievements, he fell blind, and killed himself when he had reigned 33 years; for which Act he was the more admired by the Egyptians. These amongst other things are reported of *Sejoftris*, before whose Statue many years after *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes* causing his own to be erected, the chief Priest contradicted it, alleging that *Darius* had not yet excelled *Sejoftris* in honourable Actions; with which Freedom the King was well pleased, and said, if he lived, he would labour to come no whit short of him. His Son succeeded him, of the same Name and Misfortune in the Loss of his Sight, which to recover, he was bid by an Oracle to wash his Eyes in the Urine of some Woman which never knew any other man than her own Husband. Beginning with that of his own Wife, he proceeded to make Tryal of the Honesty of many others, but found none effectual to the Cure, but the Wife of a certain Gardiner, which Woman he then married, and burnt all the rest. Many after him followed in Order till one *Amphis* came to the Government, who by his Tyranny made way for *Astifanes*, the King of *Ethiopia*. He using his Power with Moderation, put no Malefactor to Death, but, cutting off their Noses, sent them away into the Confiners of *Egypt* and *Syria*, where he built them a City, called from the Maimedness of the Inhabitants *Rhinocolura*, which was destitute of all sorts of Provisions through the Barrenness, and Unhealthfulness of the Place. The Soil he chose on Purpose, that they might be diverted from idle, and vicious Courses, by anxious and effectual Care for a Livelihood, which they got by a Trade of Fishing in the adjoining Sea.

22. After his Death the Egyptians recovered the Sovereignty, and created a King of their own Nation, called *Mendes*. He spent his Life in making Provision for Death by a Sepulchre inimitable for Art, which he made under the Notion of a Labyrinth; according to which Pattern they believed *Dedalus* to have framed that he made for *Minos* King of *Crete*, wherein to keep the *Minotaur*. After *Mendes* an Anarchy followed for a long time, till one of ignoble Extraction was made King; by the Egyptians named *Cetes*, but by the Greeks *Proteus*, who living in the time of the Trojan War, had great Skill in Astrology, and the Knowledge of Winds; whence, and because the Kings of *Egypt* were wont to have several kinds of living Creatures, Trees, Fire, and other things painted, and worn about their Heads, the Greeks took Occasion to invent that Fable of his Turning himself into all manner of Shapes. *Remph* his Son, and Successor, spent his time in the Improvement of his Revenue and Customs, inasmuch that he died far richer than any of his Predecessors, having got together 400000 Talents of Gold and Silver. The next who was any thing considerable, was *Nileus*, who because he took great Care about bringing Water from the River to furnish the Country, changed the name of it from *Egypt* into *Nile*.

23. The 8th from *Nileus* was *Chemmis*, who being born at *Memphis* reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of the three Pyramids, counted amongst the seven Wonders of the World. *Herodotus* writeth that the first King who gave his Mind to this Work was *Cheops*, and that he prostituted his Daughter to raise Money for this Purpose: That the biggest was twenty years in building by no fewer than 100000 Work-men, towards the Diet of whom the Price of Onions and Garlic only, amounted to 1600 Talents of Silver: That his Daughter, of every one who had to do with her begged a Stone, and therewith built a little Pyramid near adjoining. *Diodorus* writeth that the Basis of the greatest, was on each side 700 Foot broad, the height above 600 Foot, and at the Top it was six Cubits broad, all of solid Stone very hard, and of an everlasting Substance, which he proveth, for that the whole Structure in his time remained unchanged and uncorrupted, though raised 1000 years before. But others which within this hundred years have travelled into *Egypt* relate how those monstrous Buildings which stand 13 Miles off from *Memphis*, and look like Mountains at a Distance, are on the North-side much eaten, and confumed with that Wind; the *Etesian* Winds being there as much putrifying as the Southern in other Parts. These Piles of Stone stand in a sandy Place which affordeth not any Quarries of Stone, some five Miles distant from the Nile, so that the Work may well seem right miraculous, though the Egyptians raised many Fables thereupon. But so many thousands of men were to be killed with this Toil that one might be fatally buried; which yet they say hapned not to him: For the People

Diodorus.

Vide Phocum lib. 3. c. 22.

Cephren.

Mycherinus.

Bacchoris.

Sabaco.

Sathon.

Tirhake.

Phammeticus.

Pharob-Neco.

People were so enraged hereat, that his Son durst not there bury him, but laid him in another obscure and ignoble place. And yet he could not contain himself, but to his Power must also imitate his Father's Madnes.

24. *Cephren* the Brother of *Chemmis* succeeded him, and reigned 56 years, though some would have his Son *Chabrys* immediately to have followed him. He spent his time the same way, building another Pyramid in Workmanship like to the former, but much inferior to it in Compals and Largeness; being also buried in an obscure place, for Fear of the Rage of the Multitude. After *Cephren* followed *Mycherinus* (or *Mycherinus*) the Son of *Chemmis*, or *Cheops*, of whom the Egyptians made great Account, because he reformed much amis in his Father's and Uncle's Days. He also built a Pyramid less than the other, but in Excellency of Workmanship far excelling them. One *Bacchoris* succeeded next, according to *Diodorus*; in Body contemptible, but for Endowments of mind going beyond all his Predecessors. Then, after a long time came in *Sabaco* the *Ethiopian*, and reigned in *Egypt*. But *Herodotus* writeth that *Aphs* succeeded *Mycherinus*, and built a Pyramid of Brick; then followed *Amytis*, who being blind, in his time *Sabaco*, or *Sabaco*, invaded *Egypt*, and drove him into the Fens, where he hid himself: but *Africanus* relateth that *Sabaco* took *Bacchoris* alive, and burning him quick, reigned in his Stead eight years. This Cruelty is little agreeable to that Humanity which *Herodotus* ascribeth to him, viz. that he put no Malefactor to Death; but, according to the Degree of Guilt, imposed upon every one the Carriage of so much Earth to the Place where he dwelt; and hereby the Towns were made much higher, and less subject to Inundations at the time of the overflowing of the River. His Pity is much commended; for being told by one of the gods, that if he would reign quietly in *Egypt* he must cut off all the Priests by the Middle, he made Choice rather to quit his Interest in the Kingdom, and the Possession thereof, than to hazard the Quiet of it, or commit such an Act of Cruelty. He is thought by some to be the same with *Soc*, King of *Egypt*, who combined with *Holoba* of *Israel* against *Salmansar*.

25. After his Departure *Herodotus* brings the blind man out of his lurking Hole, where he had now lien fifty years, and maketh him to have recovered the Kingdom. More likely it is that *Sathon* the Priest of *Vulcan* succeeded him, thought to be *Senachis* his Son, whom *Africanus* placeth after him; and it may seem probable enough that if he forsook the Kingdom himself, yet he might leave his Son in the Government. This *Sathon* (or *Setbon*) wholly devoted to his Superstition neglected Military men, and therefore, when *Senacherib* King of *Affria* invaded *Egypt*, was quite forsaken by them; yet he is said, by his Impunity so far to have prevailed with his god, that pitching his Tents at *Pelufium*, the Mice did eat the Thongs of the *Affrian* Targets, and the Horse-Bridles, so that his Enemies were rendered incapable of fighting; and, confounded with Fear at so strange an Accident, retreated. But whatsoever was done at *Pelufium*, the * Prophecies against *Egypt* clearly shew that the *Affrians* pierced further into the Country, and led away a Multitude in Captivity. After *Senachis*, *Africanus* placeth *Tiracus* the *Ethiopian*, the same with *Tirhake*, who afflicted *Senacherib* back into his Country, A. M. 3280. and is said to have made an Expedition into *Europe*, and pierced as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*. Him followed an Anarchy of two years, and then happened the Government of twelve men together, which having continued fifteen years, *Pfammeticus* one of the twelve, assisted by the *Ionians* and *Carians*, got the Power wholly to himself. He reigned 54 years. 29 whereof he spent in the Siege of *Azotus*, or *Affod* in *Syria*. By placing his Egyptian Souldiers in the left Wing of his Army, he gave them such Distaste, that disdainning Strangers should have the chief Place, 200000 forsook him, and do what he could, departing into *Ethiopia*, there feated themselves. He, first of all Egyptian Princes, invited the Greeks, and others to trade in his Dominions, from which they had been formerly discouraged, either by the severity of his Predecessors, or by giving Credit to the Fable of *Bufris*.

26. He left the Kingdom to his Son *Neco*, called in Scripture *Pharob-Neco*, who first undertook that Fruitless Task of cutting a Passage from the River Nile into the Red-Sea, and in that work spent the Lives of 120000 men. Undertaking a War at Gods Command against the *Affrian*, *Josias* King of *Judah* opposed him in the Valley of *Mogiddo*, where he was worsted, and so mortally wounded, that he died within a short Space. After his Return he disposed of the Kingdom of *Judah* to *Eliakim*, to whom he gave the name of *Jehoiakim*, and made him his Tributary: Him *Nebuchadnejar* King of *Affria* withdrawing from his Obedience, to his own Service;

Herodotus. Diodorus.

* Neco 3. 29. 203031. 2 Neco 18.

Syracus. 3280. 3280.

A. M. 3280. V. C. 132. 746 30.

vice, *Neco* went up against the *Assyrian* to *Carchemish*, and there was slain, as is before (a) shewn from Scripture. *Herodotus* (b) writeth that he got a Victory over the *Syrians* in *Magdalum*, and took *Cadytis* in *Syria*, which may well be that *Cadytis* mentioned by (c) *Moses*. He reigned sixteen years, faith *Herodotus*, fix faith *Eusebius*, and was succeeded by his Son *Psamis* or *Psammetichus*, who after he had reigned six years made an Expedition into *Aethiopia* and died. Him followed *Apries* his Son, called in Scripture *Pharaoh Hophra* and *Vaphres*, who invading *Phoenicia*, made War by Land upon *Sidon*. He fought a Battle at Sea with the *Tyrans*, whom overthrowing, and returning home with great Spoil, he was so far puffed up, as to perfwade himself that no God could deprive him of his Kingdom; so strongly did he think he had established it. But making War upon the *Cyrenians*, he received from them a great Overthrow, and the Soldiers thereupon mutined against him, as having wilfully exposed them unto Danger. To appease them, he sent one *Amasis*, whom they presently chose for their King, and he after some Pause accepted their Offer. *Apries* fled, but after some time was taken, and by *Amasis* delivered up to his Subjects, who strangled him, having reigned fix years.

27. With this Report of *Herodotus* agreeeth *Diodorus Siculus* his Story, relating how *Apries* vanquished the *Cyprians* and *Phoenicians* in a Sea-fight, took by Force and demolished *Sidon*, wan the other Towns of *Phoenicia*, with the Isle of *Cyprus*, and finally perished, as is before rehearsed, when he had reigned 22 years. But others of late considering the move sure Testimony of Scripture, and how *Egypt* was promised to *Nebuchadnezzar* * as Wages for the Service he had done against *Tyre*; how *Pharaoh* and his Army should be slain by the Sword, and the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and *Pharaoh Hophra* delivered into the hands of his Enemies as *Zedekiah* had been; resolve that the *Egyptian* Priests notably deluded those Historians, hiding the Disgrace and Bondage of their Nation. Therefore it is thought fit rather to believe the Report of *Josephus*, that *Nebuchadnezzar* in the 23th year of his Reign, and the fifth after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* conquered *Egypt*; killed the King thereof, and appointed another in his Stead. Some think *Amasis* might be used as an Instrument by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and for that was made Governour by him; others, that the Deputy, or Vice-Roy, which he had set over the Land was slain by *Amasis*. Agreeable to this latter Opinion, the Army of *Ionians* and *Carians* are held to have been none other than the Garrisons of Mercenaries left by the *Assyrians*, for the Guard of his Viceroy, and Custody of this new subdued Province: as likewise the Company returning from *Cyrene* and *Bacee*, who, together with the Friends of such as were slain in that Expedition, depofed, and flue *Apries*, are conceived to have been the *Egyptian* Fugitives, when they recovered their own Country, seeing that of the Prophet was verified: *At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the People where they were scattered, and I will bring again the Captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the Land of Pathros, into the Land of their Habitation, and they shall be there a small Kingdom.*

28. *Amasis* being a man of mean Extraction, and perceiving himself upon that Account, despised of his People, took a Golden Vessel wherein he and his Guests had used to wash their Feet, and thereof made an Image of a God, which when the *Egyptians* worshipped with great Reverence, he called them together, and comparing his Original with the former Use of the Gold, convinced them of that equal Reverence which the Change of both ought to beget in them. Under him the *Egyptians* boasted that their Country was most happy, no fewer than 1020 Towns of good Note flourishing therein, in his days. He made a Law that all men should yearly give Account how they lived, which if they could not prove to be by some honest Calling, they were to be punished with Death; and this, *Solon* is said to have translated to *Athen*. He being the first of all others that took *Cyprus*, reigned 54 or 55 years. It seemeth probable enough that he revolted from *Cyprus*, being before tributary to the *Babylonian* Empire (though the Priests hid this amongst other things from *Herodotus* and others); and that this was the chief Cause, whatever is pretended, why *Cambyses* came down and conquered his Kingdom. This was not accomplished in his time, he dying in Preparation for the War. But his Son *Pshammis* succeeding him lost all, and so *Egypt* became a Province of the *Persian* Empire; which things involving much of the Affairs of *Persia*, and nearly relating to the Tragedy of *Cambyses*, are to be referred to a more proper Place.

29. The *Egyptians*, accounting themselves the most ancient of all Nations, were not wanting indeed of many Reasons to witness their Antiquity, although their Pride transported them beyond the true *Epoche* of their Original. The Scripture it self witnesseth *Egypt* to have been a mighty Kingdom, every way better replenished

(a) Chap. 3. Para. 18.
(b) L. 2. c. 159.
(c) Num. 20. 16.
V. C. 225.
Camiſti 5.

A. M. 3426.
Nebuchad. 20.
Apries 15.

Exek. 29. 18.
Jer. 43. 4nd 44.

Herodotus

A. M. 3480.
V. C. 229.
Camiſti 5.

than any other Country that we can read of, in so ancient times: in the days of *Abraham* it was a flourishing Kingdom, and the *Israelites* were not a People till such time as the *Egyptians* were one of the most flourishing Nations upon Earth. The *Ethiopians* concluded themselves more ancient, because *Egypt*, as they thought, was of old a Sea or Lake, ancient Writers being of Opinion, that it was the Gift of the River *Nile*, which having once contained within it self all the Compass of the Land, at length warped it up out of it's Bowels; so that from it's Mud, or Dirt, the firm ground proceeded; and became a Continent. They urge, that in the yearly Inundations of the *Nile* much Mud is left and sticks Immoveable; that in the Mountains of *Egypt* the Shells of Fishes are found; that the Springs and Wells there digged, afford Water of a brackish Taste, as if the Reliques of Sea-water yet remained in the Earth. Lastly, they say, that the Island *Pharus* at this day, is scarce a Mile distant from *Alexandria*; whereas in the time of (a) *Homer* it was a Day and Nights Sail off from *Egypt*. But Experience sheweth, that for some thousands of years there hath been no Accession by any such Mud, but that those Towns which anciently stood upon the Shore of the Sea, and River, still continue there. The Shells might come from the general Deluge, being found also in other Places as well as *Egypt*. Many describe the Fountain of the Sun at *Helipolis*, and yet none observe any brackish Taste in the Water. And as for *Pharus*, in the *Trojan* times it was distant from *Cannobus*, where *Menelaus* is thought to have arrived, but 120 Furlongs; and therefore could not be a Day and Nights Sail from *Egypt*, as *Homer* wrote by Virtue of his Poetick Liberty, or rather his Ignorance in Geography.

30. Certainly they had Cause enough to charge the *Greeks* with Novelty, and to jeer (as they did) at their pedantic Pretence to Antiquity; the Lustre of any one of their Commonwealths being to that of theirs but as yesterday; their Laws and Policy, their Religion and Rites but new Upstarts, and (as the *Egyptians* would go about to demonstrate) but Copies of their Original. There was Ripeness of Literature, civil Discipline, and Inventions of several sorts amongst them, before the like did as much as bud forth in *Greece*, *Italy*, or other Western Countries. They stick not to instance wherein the *Greeks* have borrowed of them. All, or most of the Names of their Gods, with the Superstition belonging to them, were, they say, stolen out of their Country, the Rites being something altered and new Stories invented, to blind the World, as to their Original. *Osiris* they avow to have been the true *Bacchus* or *Dionysius*, in whose Mysteries *Orpheus* the Poet being initiated whilst he sojourned in *Egypt*, when he was afterwards kindly entertained at *Thebes* in *Boetia*, to gratify them of that Place, raised a Fable of his being born there, and begotten by *Jupiter* on *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, a certain Bastard having at that time been born of her, and fathered upon *Jupiter*. *Isis* the Sister and Wife of *Osiris*, they affirm to be the true *Ceres*. *Hercules* was an *Egyptian*, not born immediately before the *Trojan* War, but in the most ancient time, even at the Beginning of Mankind, to which Season the Wearing of a Club and Lion's skin was most congruous, when Clothes were not as yet found out; as also his cleansing the Country of Monsters and wild Beasts, at that time, the Earth being but inhabited in a scattered manner. *Apollo* in like sort was no other than *Orus*, who was taught the Arts of Prophecy and Healing, by his Mother *Isis*. As to this Contrivance, is observable the Incertainty of the names of those heathenish Vanities, the same being to some *Isis*, to others *Ceres*, and to others *Theophrastus*, (or, the Inventor of Laws) to others *Juno*, to others the *Moon*, and to some all those Names are one. *Osiris* in like manner, is now taken for *Serapis*, then for *Dionysius*, otherwhiles for *Pluto*; sometimes for *Ammon* and *Jupiter*, and not seldom thought to be *Pan*, as *Diodorus* hath observed.

31. Several Colonies they glory to have sent forth. The first by *Belus* the Son of *Libya* and *Neptune*, into *Babylon*; where, upon *Euphrates*, he constituted *Flaminius* after the Custom of *Egypt*, free from all Taxes and Impositions. These by the *Philoſophers* were called *Chaldeans*, who in Imitation of the *Egyptian* Priests, and *Philosophers*, observed the Stars. *Danau* out of *Egypt* peopled *Argos* the (almost) ancientest City of *Greece*. The Nation of the *Colchis* and the *Jews* they prove theirs by Original, from the Rite of *Circumciſion*. *Cadmus* and *Plinius* his Brother they report to have been Natives of their *Egyptian* *Thebes*, whence the former translated the name of that City into *Greece*: but *Agnor* his Father, as is believed, (being the Brother of *Belus*, and uncle to *Egyptus* and *Danau*) came thence into *Platinia*, then have they further Occaſion to poſſeſs of a Colony led by him into that maritime Tract. The *Athenians* they prove to have been a Colony, led by *Cecrops* from *Sais* in *Egypt*, for that they alone called their City *Aſia*, from a Place so named in their

Egypt not the Gift of the Nile, as was generally imagined.

The Antiquity of the *Greeks*, Novelty in Comparison thereof of the *Egyptians*.

The Incertainty of the heathenish Deities.

Colonies pretended to, by the *Egyptians*.

vide prod. *Metell.* l. 3. p. 536. D. *Plut.* de *Wido.* *Plin.* l. 2. c. 85. *Ammon.* l. 22. (c) *Odysſ.* l. 4. v. 354.

Diodorus l. 1. p. 14. 80.

Pſammiſ.
Pharaoh-Hophra,
or *Apries.*

Amasi.

Amasi his Law.

Pſammis.

The Kingdom of *Egypt* very ancient.

their Country, and because the Members of their Common-wealth were distinguished into three Ranks; of *Noblemen*, who only were capable of Honours as the *Egyptian* Priests; *Country-men* who bare Arms agreeable to that sort of People in *Egypt*, who being called *Husbandmen*, afforded Souldiers for the Wars; lastly, *Artificers*, exercising manual and common Arts, which fitly answereth to the Custom of that place. Besides *Cecrops*, *Petes* the Father of *Mesheus* and *Eriphus* were of the *Egyptian* Extraction; of whom the latter carrying great Store of Corn out of *Egypt* to *Athens*, thereby obtained the Kingdom, and gave Occasion to the Story that *Ceres* at that time came into *Greece*.

32. Although it may not pass for current, that the whole World is beholding to them for the Use of Letters, the Knowledge of the Stars, Geometrical Speculations, the best Laws, and most of the Liberal Arts, as they have bragged; yet most ancient have several of these things been amongst them. Besides the common and usual way of writing, they had certain Notes, called * *Hieroglyphicks*, wherein each Letter served for a Word, and single Words expressed whole Sentences. As by the Image of a Vulture they expressed the Word *Nature*, because in that kind of Bird no Male can be found. By the Picture of a *Bee making Honey* they understood a *King*; hinting, that in a Governour, a *sting* or *sharpness* ought to be mixed with *Sweetness*. They also used enigmatical Compositions or Mixtures of Images; as, by a *Scepter with an Eye*, and an *Ear at the Top thereof*, they signified the Sovereign and all-knowing Majesty of God. As for *Astronomy*, though the *Babylonians*, for the Antiquity of their Knowledge therein, had no Need to give them place, yet were the *Egyptians* furthered in the due Observation of the Stars, by the Plainness and Evenness of their Ground, and the Serenity of the Air; it never raining in *Egypt* in ordinary Course of Nature, which Defect is supplied by the yearly overflowing of the River. If the World be bounden to them for Geometry, it's to be ascribed also to their River, as another Fruit of its Inundation, whereby washing away the Marks, and removing the Fences of their particular Lands, they were forced every year to measure them over again, and thence, through Necessity, driven to Mathematical Speculations. Now that the best Laws, and most ingenious Arts were from them conveyed into *Greece*, they evidence by a Particular of the Bearers.

33. The Priests, pretending in their Sacred Records to find the Register of their Names, and to demonstrate the Truth thereof by other Tokens, have made mention of *Orpheus*, who out of *Egypt* fetched the Mysteries of *Ceres*, with the Fable of the *Isuri*, or those in Hell; the several Places whereof, with the Ferry-man *Charon*, are taken out of the Fens of *Acherusia*, and the passing over this Lake by Boat to bury their Dead there. Besides him, they make mention of *Mesaeus*, *Merlampus*, *Dedalus*, and *Homer*, who travelled into *Egypt* to get Knowledge. To these they add, of Law-givers, *Lycurgus* the *Spartan*, and *Solon* the *Athenian*, who borrowed many of their Laws, and *Plato* the choicest of his Notions. *Pythagoras* of *Samos* from them received his Sacred Speech, as it's called; his Principles of *Geometry*, *Arithmetic*, and *The Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls*. *Democritus* of *Aldera* they take for granted, to have lived amongst them five years, in which time he proved an excellent Astrologer. *Oenopis* of *Chius*, by his Conversation with their Priests and Astrologers, amongst other things, learnt the particular Oblique Course of the Sun. And, to add no more, *Eudoxus* the Mathematician is beholding to *Egypt* (where he studied) for those Instructions which much profited *Greece*, and thereby procured him no small Honour.

34. The Invention of Philosophy and Laws, with all the rest of the *Egyptian* Wisdom, wherein *Moses* was learned, is ascribed by divers unto *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Triptolemus*; of whom yet, either as to his Person or time, nothing certainly can be affirmed. *Cotta* in *Cicero*, reckoneth up five, who have born the name of *Mercury*. The first, begotten by the *Heaven*, or the *Day*; the second, Son to *Valens* and *Pheron*, who liveth under the Earth, called also *Triphonus*; the third, begotten by *Jupiter*, on *Maia*; the fourth, Son to the *Nile*, whom the *Egyptians* feared to name for Reverence sake; the fifth and last, whom the *Phoenicians* worship, who flew *Argus*, and flying thereupon, was set over *Egypt*; to the Inhabitants whereof he gave Laws and Literature, and was by them named *Theul*. But others attribute the Finding out of Letters, not to the *last*, but the *fifth Mercury* truly called *Theul*, *Theoth*, *Thot*, and *Tautus*; it being utterly against all Antiquity, that any should out of *Greece* transport Learning into *Egypt*. Others account two of this name natural *Egyptians*, of whom the latter was Nephew, or Grand-son, to the former. Some think *Joseph*, some think *Moses* the true *Mercury*. Whatever he was, his Works lost and * those yet extant, shew him to have been a man very well

Amnistus
Marcell. l. 17.
De Hieroglyph.
Oida Job. Hieron.
Valentinus
et alii.

Diodorus l. 1.
p. 60, 61, 62.

Lamius Jan.
Mian.

* Translated
by Francis
Aquilino.

well skilled in true Divinity, and have gained him the Credit to be numbered amongst the Prophets, and Sibyls, for that he wrote many things of God, worthy of Admiration; may also, it's believed, of the coming of Christ, of the Trinity, and the last Judgment. Of the Learning of the *Egyptians* he is said to have written 36525 Books, if Pages be not rather meant hereby: And one telleth us, that in his time were extant 36 of his Books, viz. of the Wisdom of the *Egyptians* sixteen, of Physics six, of the Orders of Priests ten, and four of Astrology.

35. The most ancient Government of *Egypt*, though Monarchical, yet left not Princes to the Liberty of their own Wills, which were restrained by the Laws and Customs that had such Authority over their private and domestic Actions, that they could not exceed the Bounds of Temperance and Moderation prescribed to them thereby. For no Slaves were they suffered to entertain, which might prove Instruments for Debauchery, but were attended by the Sons of the most noble Priests, excellently educated. Their Hours, both Night and Day, were defined and set over to particular Business. In the Morning when first awake, Letters were brought in to them; that, having perfect Intelligence, they might be better able to provide for the publick Safety. When washed and royally apparelled they sacrificed; during which Devotion the chief Priests prayed for them, and their Subjects extolled their Virtues, cursing at last their Sins of Ignorance, committed without their Faults, and reflecting upon their Advisors and Counsellors. Then did the Priests read out of the Records, famous Preficients of Council, or Action performed by their most illustrious Predecessors, which were to them propoed as Copies to take out. Their time was prescribed, not only of speaking to the People, and distributing Justice, but also of walking, walling, and other more secret Employments. Their Diet was very moderate: usually Veal and Goose, with a moderate Quantity of Wine, as if ordered by an exact Physician. No Liberty was there of punishing any man in Passion, or choler, either of acting any otherwise unjustly; every Case being determined by the Laws. Yet neither did they hereby account themselves straitened of true Liberty, but rather happy in that they indulged not their Appetites like other men. Hereby obtained they the Love of their Subjects, who held them more dear, alive, or dead, than their own Relations, and the Government continued for many Generations, as long as they submitted to those Rules and Orders.

36. *Sesoosis*, or *Sesostris*, divided *Egypt* into 36 *Nomis*, which word, whether *Greek* or *Egyptian*, signified several Cities with certain Villages and Grounds there to belonging. Of these, 10 belonged to the Province of *Thebes*, or to *Thebais*, other ten to *Delta*, and the rest to the *Midland Countries* lying betwixt them; all which had their several *Nomarches*, or Governours, who ruled them, and took Care of the Kings Tributes. The Lands were divided into three Portions, whereof the first belonged to the Priests, who were in great Authority, and high Esteem with the People. Of their Revenues they maintained Sacrifices throughout the Land, and their own Families; being exempted from all Burthens and Impositions. They were chief Counsellors to the Kings, always assisting with their Advice, judging of things out of their deep Skill in Astrology, and suggesting useful matter out of the Records; their Function hereditarily descended upon their Children. The second Portion of Land belonged to the Kings, by which they maintained their State, waged War, rewarded deserving Persons, and which affording them sufficient Treasure, they burthened not their Subjects by any Taxes. The third Portion belonged to the Souldiers, who were at all Occasions ready for the War; it seeming reasonable that such as ventured their Lives for the Safety of their Country should be well rewarded; and good Policy not to commit the Safeguard thereof to any that had nothing dear, or precious in it: and hereby they were encouraged to be careful in Behoof of their Posterity, which succeeded them in their Possessions. As for the rest of the People, they were divided into three Ranks, or Orders, viz. *Shepherds*, *Husbandmen*, (that farmed the Grounds,) and *Artificers*; who all attending their Business, and not meddling with State-Affairs, neither having any Right to Offices, thereby the more improved their Arts, and saved the Commonwealth harmless from such Distempers, as are bred by the Violence of an heady, and ignorant Multitude.

37. Their Courts of Justice were furnished with the most upright, and able men that could be procured. Thirty Judges were chosen from *Heliopolis* (or *On*), *Thebes* and *Memphis*, each of them 10. Which Assembly would not give place, either to that of the *Areopagites* at *Athens*, or the Senate at *Lacedaemon*. One of these thirty being chosen President, the City for which he served made choice of another to sit in his Place. All had Maintenance from the King; but the President in larger Proportion;

The ancient
Government
of Egypt.

The Divisions
of the Land,
and its Inhab-
itants.

The Courts of
Justice.

Isidorus
Clement. Strabo
Mat. l. 2.

Diodorus lib.
1. p. 35, 36.
Strabo l. 17.
Ariston. Oec.
lib. 2.
Diodorus.

The Egyptian
Hierogly-
phicks.

Greek Poets
and Philoso-
phers that bor-
rowed their
Knowledge of
the Egyptian.

Hermes or Mer-
curius Triptole-
mus.

portion : who also wore about his neck, in a Chain of Gold, an image of *Truth* made of precious stones, as a badge of his Office. When they were fate, and the Codes, wherein the Laws were contained, laid before them ; then the Plaintiff exhibited his Bill of the Crime, the Manner of it, and the Estimate of the damage. The Defendant having a Copy of the Bill, answered particularly to it, either that he did not the thing, committed no Crime in doing it, or else had not deserved to great a Punishment. The Plaintiff had liberty to reply, and the other to rejoin his Answer ; but after this, the 30 proceeded to Judgment, and the President set the Image of Truth towards one of the Parties. No Lawyers were suffered to plead, as being thought rather to cast a mist upon the Cause, and darken the Evidence.

38. As for particular Laws ; Perjury was punished with Death, as a great Offence, both against God and man. If one man suffered another to be murdered in the High-way, or undergo any other Violence, without giving his Assistance, he was to dye for it ; and if he could give him no help, he was bound to discover the Robber, and follow the Law against him, under pain of enduring a certain number of strokes, and being deprived of all sustenance for three days. False Accusers underwent the Punishment due to that Fault they accused of. Every one was bound to give in an account to the Magistrate how he lived, under pain of Death ; which Law was made by *Amasis*. Wilful Murder, either of Bond or Free, was Death ; and only this Law took no hold on Parents ; but such were constrained to continue three days embracing the Carkasses. Against Children who killed their Parents, most exquisite Punishment was devised : For, having first their Flesh all cut and flathed, and then being laid upon Thorns, they were burnt quick. Women condemned were not executed before their Delivery. For other Laws not-Capital, it was enacted that Souldiers running away from their Colours, or disobeying their Officers, should not dye, but be branded with Infamy, as a means to excite them to regain their former credit. If any held Intelligence with the Enemy, his Tongue was to be cut out of his head. They that imbased the Coin, used new weights, counterfeited Seals ; Clerks that falsified and forged Records, were to lose their hands. Ravishment of a Free-woman was punished with the loss of the Members. Adultery of the man, with a thousand strokes with a Rod ; of the Woman, with the loss of her Nole.

39. *Bocchoris* enacted, that he who denied the borrowing of any money, should be absolved upon his Oath ; which was accounted as a sufficient Purgation ; a mans Credit being so much therein concerned. Usury upon Bond was not to exceed the double of the Principal ; for which it was lawful to distrain the Goods, but in no wife to meddle with the Person of the Debtor, that was owing to his Countrey, and not due to his Creditor ; especially if a Souldier, the common Safety suffering in him. Upon this account, they were wont to scoff at the Law-givers of Greece, who forbade the seizing upon Plows, Weapons, and other things, but suffered those that should use them to be carried away, and imprisoned. For stealing, they had a peculiar Law : Every Thief entred his name with the Chief of that Myttery ; and when he had stoln any thing, carried it streight to him, where, if any one could tell the time and place, and prove it by certain tokens to be his, he was to pay the fourth part of the value, and receive it again ; the Law-giver thinking this the best remedy against what otherwife could not be prevented.

40. The first man that gave Laws to the *Egyptians*, was *Mnevis*, perswading the People to receive them, because they were communicated to him by *Mercury*. The second was *Sesyches*, who, amongst other Laws, instituted those concerning Religion ; and, being a man of great Learning, taught Geometry and Astronomy. 3. *Sesoftris*, who, as he excelled all others in Military glory, so he made Laws for the Discipline of War. 4. *Bocchoris*, a wife and prudent man, several of whose Apothegms were a long time preferred in the memories of men. 5. *Amasis*, who much amended the whole Policy of *Egypt*, his rare Wisdom having preferred him to that high Dignity, for which also being admired abroad as well as at home, he was referred to by some out of Greece, as an Oracle. Lastly, *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, King of *Persia*.

41. As for particular Customs. The *Egyptians* married as many Wives as they pleased (Posterity being with them a thing of great effect consequence) except the Priests, who were allowed but one apiece. Children born of Bond-women, and Free, were alike respected, and equally legitimate, the Father by them being only accounted the Author of Generation, the Mother affording but Place and Nourishment to the Child ; in which respect also, contrary to the Custom of other Nations, those Trees that bare Fruit they accounted Males, and the barren ones Females. Their Chil-

Particular
Laws.

The Law-giv-
ers of *Egypt*.

Particular Cu-
stoms of the
Egyptians.

Children they educated exceeding hardly, the Expence of bringing one up not exceeding twenty Drachms. Each Child succeeded his Father in his Trade, or Course of Life. All sorts had some kind of Learning, especially such as conducted to their Callings. Musick was neglected by them, as rendering men effeminate. Once a Month they used to purge, or use some medicinal Course for their Health. With them no Physician was found (as *Hierodorus* writeth) who professed the Art of curing the whole Body ; but one was for the Head alone, another for the Eyes, and so for the other Parts : all which yet, as *Diadorus* hath it, were maintained of the publick, and bound to observe Methods, and Medicines prescribed them in Books ; which if they altered or changed, upon the Mis carriage of the Patient they forfeited their Lives, together with their Credit.

42. Such was the Constitution of the *Egyptian* Commonwealth, as they themselves related, which from some gaineth little Credit, this Constitution of Policy hardly agreeing with the manners of those Kings that built the Pyramids ; so that to them this excellent Model of Government seemeth to be of the same Nature, and Credit with the * *Cyropædia* of *Xenophon*. This is observable, that according to this Constitution the Propriety in Land was varied from that Form wherein it was left by *Joseph*, who purchased all the Land (except that of the Priests) for *Pharaoh*, and possessed this People above others taketh off much from its Reputation. The fardid and degenerate Humour of confecting, with such blind Earnestness, Bulls, Sheep, Dogs, Cats, Ichneumon, Ibis, Goshawks, Eagles, Goats, Wolves, Crocodiles, * Plants that grew in their Gardens, and other things, is so abominable at the first Sight, as none of their Prerences can give thereto the least Shew of Reason, in the Opinion of a man but ordinarily qualified with the Light of Nature.

Their ridicu-
lous Supersti-
tions.

Sept. 1.

CHAP. V.

The most ancient State, and Condition of Greece, during the Babylonian Empire, with a Description of its Kingdoms and Commonwealth.

SECT. I.

The State of Greece in General.

THE most ancient common name of the Inhabitants of this Country is more agreeable to the Roman Appellations of *Græci*, *Græci*, and *Græci*, than that whereby they have rather chosen to call themselves, *Hellenes*. For, till * such time as *Hellen*, the Son of *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessaly*, which hapned some years after the *Deucalionian Deluge*, no such name as the latter was known. From him his Subjects, who inhabited that part of *Thessaly*, lying betwixt the two Rivers * *Peneus* and *Alpheus*, were first called *Hellenes*, being formerly known by the name of *Græci* ; and the Country it self *Hellæ*, afterwards named *Phthiotis*. *Homer* owneth none by the name of *Hellenes*, but those, who with the *Myrmidones*, amongst others, followed *Achilles* to the Siege of *Troy*, neither any Place callèd *in Hellas*, but only one in *Thessaly*, mentioned by *Strabo*, who knoweth not whether it be a Town or Country, though he would gladly prove, that, by *Hellæ*, *Homer* understood the whole Nation. *Strabo* is in no wife to be heard against *Thucydides*, and *Apollodorus*, whereof the former witnesseth, that the Poet no where mentioneth the *Barbarians*, because all the *Hellenes* were not yet known by one common Name, whom he might oppose against them ; and the latter expressly saith, that he only callèd those in *Thessaly* by the name of

Whence the
Græks were
called *Hellenes*.

Vide *Apollod.*
lib. 1. c. 21.
Thucyd. l. 1. c. 10.
de *Historia* l. 1.
Strabo l. 8.
p. 385. de
Phthiotis.

Vide *Strabo*.
lib. 8. p. 370. d.

SECT. 1. *Hellenes.* But though in *Homer's* time the whole Nation might begin to be called *Hellenes*, and the Country *Hellas*; yet clear it is from many Witnesses, that these names came out of *Theffalie*, and were thence transferred to signify the whole Nation, and their Colonies placed elsewhere; inasmuch, that priding themselves, as it were, in it, they wholly rejected the other of *Greece* (which, signifying *ancient*, as *feemeth*, they had also out of *Theffalie* from the same People) who were afterwards called *Hellenes*; though the Poets despite it not, as *Calimachus*, *Sophocles*, and others; and the *Latins* still retain it, taking no notice of the other in their Language, whence these words *Greece* and *Græcians* are derived.

The most ancient Greek lived in an unequal Condition, greying one upon another.

Nothing considerable done by them as broad till the Trojan War.

Cities begin to be built upon the Sea-Coasts.

The *Græcians* maintained themselves by Tillage, and Plunder at the Wars of *Troy*.

Great Changes caused at home by their long Absence.

The *Corinthians* first eminent at Sea.

The *Ionians*.

Pyrrhus and others.

2. *Greece* was not anciently inhabited in any settled or established way, though in after Ages it became so famous in its flourishing Commonwealths. Seats and Habitations were often changed, according to the Power and Strength of such as were not satisfied with their own Fortune. No Commerce was there amongst them, being in continual Fear one of another: they lived only from Hand to Mouth, not regarding Money, or the Improvement of their Grounds, knowing not how long they should enjoy any thing in present Possessions; so that no considerable City was there, or any Fortifications of Value. *Attica* indeed was something privileged by its Barrenness, and secured from such violent Attempts as other parts were obnoxious to; whence such as were disturbed elsewhere, flocked thither, and it grew so populous, that not able to maintain the great Numbers, under which it groaned, it poured out Colonies into *Affa* the Isles, which made up the Body of *Ionians*. Before the *Trojan War*, nothing considerable was done abroad by the *Græcians*; but at that time having got some Power at Sea, they were rendered capable of that Expedition. For *Minos* King of *Crete*, (whom *Thucydides* would make to have had the first and most ancient Fleet of all others) had not long before obtained the Dominion of the greatest part of the *Greek Sea*, and making himself Master of the Islands *Cyclades*, cast them the *Carians*, and placed Colonies of his own therein, over which he made his Sons Princes. And to increase his Customs, he scourged the Seas of *Pyrras*; it being then the Trade of those that lived upon the Coasts, to pass over and make Prey one of another; which to the last could not be left by some, as the *Ætoliens* and *Acarnanians* amongst others.

3. The Sea being cleared, Cities began to be built upon the Coast both for Trade and Security, whereas the most ancient Towns stood at a good Distance from the Sea, both in the Continent and Islands. Then came it to pass, that the weaker submitting themselves to the more powerful for matter of Profit, or the stronger hand procuring it from them, some new and considerable Principalities were erected, which rendered them fit for the Expedition against *Troy*; wherein *Agamemnon* presided, as the most powerful Prince then reigning, especially at Sea. Yet was there still such Scarcity of Money and of Provisions, that only so many Forces did they carry over, as they hoped the War might maintain, and used those not all together, and at the same time, but employed them in tilling the *Cherroneus*, and in Depredations; whereby being thus dispersed, the *Trojans* were the longer able to resist them; which they could not have done, had they been sufficiently furnished with Necessaries, and incontinently with all their Strength, fallen upon the City. Ten years being consumed in this War, great Alterations were thereby produced in *Greece*. For through their Absence so long abroad, Seditions and Tumults arose at Home; whence many at their Return, or afterwards, were forced to seek out new Habitations. A long time it was, ere the Country returned to Quietness and Settlement; but at Length, it was enabled to send out Colonies, as the *Athenians* into *Ionian* and the Islands of the *Greek Sea*, the *Peloponnesians*, and some other Cities into *Italy*, and *Sicily*. The Nation now growing stronger and wealthier daily, Tyrannies or petty Kingdoms were erected in every place, there being now a Possibility of raising Revenues; and as any exceeded others in Power and Cunning, they invaded the Governments of others, which they made arbitrary; whereas before Kingdoms were hereditary, with a constant limited Power, that they seldom exceeded.

4. The *Corinthians* first began to be famous at Sea, being the first that used that sort of Gallies named *Triremes*, and fought a Battle with the *Corycians*, 220 years before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*. For being seated in the *Isthmus*, they enjoyed thereby a constant Mart, which filled them with Wealth, especially after the Sea was cleared of *Pyrras*, and Traffick increased. Long after, the *Ionians* got the Start of the rest in Naval Glory, making good Progress therein, and had gone still further, but that *Cyrus* having broken in pieces the Power of *Cresus*, and subdued all as far as the River *Haly*, forced them also, after some struggling, to submit themselves unto the Yoke: After them, *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, the

Thasians.

A. M. 2772.

A. M. 2824.

A. M. 3359.
D. C. 102.
Marcell. 50.

A. M. 3462.

A. 3473.

Mossians

No War by Land.

No written Laws.

The *Sigilian* I. Kingdom most ancient.

Ægialius the first King.
A. M. 1915.

Europus.
Thelchines.
Apis.

Thelchines.

Ægyptus.
Thurimachus.
Leucippus.
Peratus.
Pleemæus.
Orthopolis.

Corax.
Corax.
Epopeus.

Mossians and *Corycians* obtained the greatest Power at Sea; the *Ægineans* and *Athenians*, with the rest, being inconsiderable therein, till these two States falling out, *Themistocles* procured the *Athenians* to apply themselves more to Sea-matters, when they now also expected the Coming of the *Persian King*. Great Commodity all these obtained by the Power of their Navies, either in getting Money, or new Possessions; for they subdued the Islands, such especially labouring herein, whose native Soils afforded least Advantage. By Land no War arose that gave any sufficient Advantage of enlarging their Dominions further, than to the Disturbance of their next Neighbours; they stirred not abroad nor gave their Minds to any new Conquests. Those that were Subjects, were patient under the Yoke, and Equals in Power made no considerable Quarrels, till all *Greece* came to be divided in the old War, betwixt the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*. Then, to hinder them from growing great, the Affairs of the *Persians* were advanced; till having cast out their Tyrants, (who all this while contenting themselves with the private Power they had over particular Places, stirred not) they got Ground by little and little of the Eastern Empire. Almost during this whole Period had they no written Laws, *Homer* being witness, who never used the word *Law* throughout his Writings. They were not generally governed but by indefinite Sentences and Precepts of their Kings, remaining a long time without any written Precepts, and referring all to the Event, according to which Judgment infused. Such was the most ancient Condition of *Greece* in General. Now a particular Account is to be given of the several Kingdoms and States, that were most considerable and contemporary with the *Babylonian Empire*.

Josephus contra Apion. l. 2.

SECT. II.

The Sicyonian Kingdom.

THE Affairs of the *Sicyonian* have the first place allotted to them in Antiquity, who inhabited a City situated upon the Bay of *Corinth*, and the Confines of *Achaia*. Here *Ægialius* began a Kingdom about 270 years after the universal Deluge, 232 before the beginning of *Inachus*, 1313 before the first *Olympiad*, the year of the World 1915, according to the Vulgar way of Computation, without taking in the 100 years formerly mentioned in the History of the *Judges*, and 859 year of *Noah* whilst *Ninus* reigned in *Assyria*. From him the City was first called *Ægialia*, and part of the Peninsula it felt, according to some; which afterwards was from *Pelopon* named *Peloponnesus*. He left his Kingdom to *Europus* his Son, after he had reigned 52 years, and *Europus* having reigned 45, was succeeded by *Thelchines*. He governed 20, and was followed by *Apis*, who was so great, that all within the *Isthmus* was from him called *Apia*. When he had continued 25 years, his Son *Thelchines* succeeded him; during whose Reign, all things were so prosperous and happy, that being dead, they worshipped him for a God by Sacrifices, and solemnizing Games, which (as they say) were first invented for his Sake. Him followed *Ægyptus*, after he had reigned 52 years. *Ægyptus* or *Ægyptus*, reigned 33; *Thurimachus* 54; *Leucippus* 43; who had only a Daughter named *Calchinia*, on which *Neptune* (or rather *Melampus*) begat *Peratus*, who was heir to his Grand-father, and governed forty seven years. After *Peratus* followed *Pleemæus*, whose Children all died as soon as they were born, till *Cresus* came in the Likeness of a Woman, and brought up *Orthopolis*, who succeeded his Father, having reigned 48 years.

2. *Orthopolis* the twelfth King of *Ægialia*, had a Daughter named *Chrysorthe*, on which *Apollo* is supposed to have begot *Coronus* his Successor. *Coronus* left two Sons *Corax* and *Lamedon*. *Corax* after he had reigned 30 years, died without Issue, and *Epopeus* a *Theffalian* seized on his Kingdom, *Epopeus* stole *Antiope* the Daughter of *Nycteus* King of *Thebes*, for which Injury he was prosecuted with War by the *Thebans*. A Battle being fought, he had the better, but both the Kings were mortally wounded. *Nycteus* presently died after he was carried Home, but left the Tuition of *Lamedon* the Son of *Polydorus* and Nephew to *Cadmus*, (whose Guardian he had been) to his Brother *Lycus*, requesting of him to lead down another Army into *Ægialia*, to revenge him upon *Epopeus*, and to punish *Antiope*, if he could take her; but in the mean time *Epopeus* died also of his Wounds.

Ætoliæ is *Cynæide*.
August. de Civ. Div. l. 18.
Pausan. de Corinthiacis.
P. 49. *Ætoli*.
Græc. Fræncfort. 1589.

Scd. 3.
Lamedon.

Wounds, being neglected, and Lamedon the Son of Coronus obtained his Fathers Kingdom, gave up Antiope to Lycus, as *Pausanias* writeth, though *Apollodorus* saith, that Lycus took *Hegialea* and slew *Egeus*. Antiope in the way to *Thebes* fell in Travel, and brought forth *Amphion* and *Zethus*, who being found and nourished by an Herdman, the former gave himself to Mufick, and the latter to nourishing of Cattel, and both afterwards revenged their Mother upon Lycus and his Wife *Diree*, from whose hard Usage she had escaped, and came to them.

Sicyon, from whom the City was named.

Polybus.

Adrastus.

Janifus.

Phelus.

Zenippus.

Hippolytus.

Polyphides.

Polyphides.

The Priests of Apollo Carinus.

Lacedæus.

Phalaris Rhexich upon Sicyon.

3. Lamedon married *Phenon* the Daughter of *Clytius* an *Athenian*, and undertaking War against *Archander* and *Architeles* the *Acheans*, sent for *Sicyon* the Son of *Metion* and Nephew of *Erechtheus*, out of *Attica* to assist him, to whom giving his Daughter *Zeuxippe* in Marriage, he left him also his Successor. From *Sicyon* the City was named *Sicyon*, and the Country *Sicyonia*. He had a Daughter named *Chthonophyle*, on which *Mercury* begot *Polybus*; after whose Birth she was married to *Pelias* the Son of *Dionysus*, and to him bore *Andromachus*. *Polybus* succeeding his Grand-father, left also his Grand-Son *Adrastus* (by his Daughter, married to *Talaus* King of *Argos*) his Heir, who being expelled his own City, had fled to him. But he making his Peace at home returned, and after his Departure *Janifus* or *Inachus* the Nephew of that *Clyti* whose Daughter married with Lamedon, came out of *Attica* and obtained the Kingdom. After *Janifus* had reigned 42 years, he gave way by Death to *Phelus*, one vulgarly accounted the Son of *Hercules*, who after eight years, by the Direction of an Oracle, went over into *Crete*, where he built a City of his own Name.

4. After his Departure *Zeuxippus* the Son of *Apollo* by the Nymph *Sylla*, was King of *Sicyon*; but reigned not long. *Hippolytus* Nephew to *Phelus* by his Son *Rhopalus*, obtained his Grand-fathers Seat. Against him *Agamemnon* King of *Mycenæ* made War, till he forced him to submit. After four years succeeded *Polyphides*, and continued 31, then *Pelagus* 20, and after this * *Eusebius* would have *Zeuxippus* * *Ex. Culture Rhodius Chronogr. 672th*. to have begun his Reign, which after 32 years ended with the Kingdom. It having now continued the space of 962 years, the Priests of *Apollo Carinus* obtained the Sovereignty, and held it 32. But *Pausanias* writeth, that when *Lacedæus*, the Son of *Hippolytus* reigned at *Sicyon*, *Phalaris* the Son of *Temenus* (who had been King of *Argos*) seized upon it with the *Dores* in the Night time; but, for that both of them were descended of *Hercules*, dealt not roughly with him, but admitted him to Partnership in the Kingdom. So, from thenceforth the *Sicyonians* became *Dores*, and were reckoned amongst the *Argives*. This fell out 87 years after the Destruction of *Troy*, 120 before the first *Olympiad*, A. M. 2908.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of Argos.

The Kingdom of Argos hath the second place, if not the first.

Perseus.
Phoroneus.

THE (a) second Place in Antiquity belongeth to this Kingdom, for which (b) some have not been wanting to challenge the first, affirming that many years after the Establishment of this, *Hegialea* began that of the *Sicyonians*; and certainly though *Argos* missed something of *Sicyon* in years; yet in Fame, Dignity, Power, and Riches, it exceeded it. *Inachus* first here began a Kingdom, about 244 years after the Beginning of the *Sicyonian*, the 142 of the Life of *Abraham*, 676 before the Destruction of *Troy*, and 1082 before the Beginning of the *Olympiads*. From the Antiquity of *Inachus* came that Proverb of *Inacho antiquior*, concerning which *Erasmus* is to be consulted in his *Adages*. On his Sister *Melissa* he begot *Phoroneus* and a Daughter named *Io*, which must not be confounded with the Daughter of *Jafus* of a later Date, as she is wont to be by *Mythologists*. After fifty years Reign, he left his Kingdom to his Son *Phoroneus*, who by some was thought the first man, as the Son of a River in that Place, called *Inachus*, and consequently the Father of Mortals, and Author of Mankind. He is said to have built the first Altar unto *Juno*. Against him and the *Parthians*, the *Telchines* and *Caryates* made War, but being overcome betook themselves to the Mercy of Wind and Sea, and at length arrived in *Crete*, as some, or *Rhodes*, as others say. He obtained the Dominion of the whole *Peninsula*, and of the Nymph *Laodice*, begot a Son called *Apis*, and a Daughter named *Niobe*, which *Jupiter* loved the first of all

(a) Esch. in Cronicis.
(b) Vidi Ladur. Vitem in Agellum de Civitate. Dicit lib. 10. cap. 3. A. M. 2149.

Pausan. in Argolica p. 58. Cimonis Sire, mat. l. 1. Naxos.

Oribas. l. 1. cap. 7.

Apis.

Argos.

Several particular men known to have had the name Jupiter.

women, and on her begot *Argus*; *Phoroneus*, after he had reigned sixty years, died, and left his Kingdom to his Son *Apis*.

2. *Apis* turning Tyrant, commanded the *Peninsula* to be called after himself, *Apion*, and being circumvented by the wiles of *Telchion*, and *Telchin*, died without Issue, after he had reigned 34 years. *Apollodorus* saith, he was killed for his Tyranny in *Greece*, though some make him to have gone into *Egypt*, and there dying to have been taken for a God, and called *Serapis*; but there being two Kings of this name besides him, viz. one of *Sicyon*, and another of *Egypt*, most *Mythologists* confound them, and attribute what was done by all unto one; which thing is usual with the *Greeks*. *Apis* dying after he had reigned 34 years, left for his Successor *Argus*, his Sisters Son by *Jupiter* the King of *Crete*, who lived about this time. In that Island first reigned *Cres*, who gave name to it, and was one of those *Curetes* that were said to have hid *Jupiter* from his Father *Saturn*, who would have devoured his youngest Son after the other, and nourished him; as also to have built the City *Cnosus*, and the Temple of *Cybele*. With this man, many others are confounded, according to the custom of Poets, who have observed no distinction in ascribing to one what many did, and fathering things of their own Invention upon the common name of *Jupiter*.

3. The first man known to have had this name, was *Ham*, the youngest Son of *Noah*, who was worshipped for a God, under the title of *Jupiter Hammon*. His Nephew *Nimrod*, the first King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, was named *Belus*, and often called *Jupiter Belas*. In *Crete* lived (a) one very ancient, that hath gone under this name; although as many places have challenged him for their Native, as (b) contended for the Birth of *Homer*. Some think, that he who is reported to have been preferred, and nourished by the *Curetes*, or the *Idæi Daedyl*, was more ancient than *Niobe*, and therefore make a second *Jupiter* to have lived in *Crete* about 150 years after; who because he was the first of this name known to have been extravagant towards Women; thence arose that saying, That *Niobe* was the first Woman beloved by *Jupiter*. *Holus* the Son of *Hellen*, and Nephew of *Deucalion*, who lived about *Thebais*, and gave name to the *Holæ*, became so famous with Posterity, that they gave him the name of (c) *Jupiter* and *Nepitune*. *Picus*, King of the *Aborigines* in *Italy*, Father to *Faunus*, and supposed to be begotten by *Saturn*, after he had fled p. 154-21. into *Latium* from his Son *Jupiter*, is also called *Jupiter* by (d) one, and *Eneæus Jupiter* by the *Romans*. These are such particular men as are known to have had this name, which hath been so far advanced as to signify the best, and chiefest Being, whilst such as at first were revered for their Virtue or Power, at length were forgotten to have been Mortals.

4. Each Nation of old had its Native *Jupiter*, who was either the Founder thereof, or, living in remote times, was by that Veneration, which attributeth immortality to Antiquity, elevated into a Deity. Here is to be considered what *Arrianus* his *Xenophon* wrote in his Treatise of *Hæquivocals*, as he calleth them. The most ancient King of any Great and Illustrious Family, was wont to be called *Saturn*, the eldest Son *Jupiter*, and the most Valiant amongst the Nephews, or Grand-sons, *Hercules*. *Jupiter* the ancient King of *Crete*, or some other, by his great Exploits, and well-deserving of that Age, might gain this credit to his Name; or the word *Zens* in the Greek Tongue signifying what *Ham* doth import in the other Language, the Original of this name may better agree with the Name, Place, and Condition of the Son of *Noah*. As for *Jupiter* the younger, who is supposed to have begotten *Hercules* on *Alcmena*, the Wife of *Amphitru*, appeareth a meer Fiction; so Valiant a Person as that Child proved, enhancing the repute of his Generation: or if this *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitru*, but begotten by some other man, then was the name of *Jupiter* given to his Father, to take away the *Odium* of *Baltardy*; it being an ordinary thing for such as were Base-begotten to be fathered upon *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or *Apollo*.

5. From *Argos* the City was named (e) *Argos*, before called *Phoroneum*, from *Phoroneus*, who first gathered the People into it, being before that dispersed; and then made them Laws for Government. From him also his Subjects took the name of *Argi* and *Argivæ*, and the whole * *Peninsula*, named *Apia* before; he would have called after himself, *Argos*. In (f) his time *Greece* began to be full of Corn, which being ascribed to his Care and Industry, he was honoured after his death with a Temple and Sacrifice, which Worship was before given to one *Homogrus*, killed by a Thunder-bolt, for that he had first yoked Oxen in the Plow. His Brother was (g) *Pelagus*, (said also to have been begotten by *Jupiter* on *Niobe*) the Father of *Lycaon*, and who gave name to the *Pelagæi*, a People that first inhabited

Scd. 3.
A. M. 2160.

(a) Esch. in Cronicis.
(b) Vidi Ladur. Vitem in Agellum de Civitate. Dicit lib. 10. cap. 3. A. M. 2149.

(c) Idem ibid. p. 154-21.
(d) Apud Suidam.

(e) Vidi Ladur.

(f) Idem ibid. p. 154-21.
(g) Apud Suidam.

(a) Apollodorus lib. 2. in. inhabited

Scd. 3.
Criasus.

inhabited *Arcadia*, (hence called *Pelagis* and *Pelagias*) afterwards spread themselves throughout *Greece*, and sent Colonies into *Latium*. *Argus*, on his Wife *Eoadne*, the Daughter of *Strymon* begat *Jafus*, *Peiranthus*, *Epidauros*, and *Criasus*. *Jafus* begat *Agenor*, the Father of that *Argus* whom the Poets make all Eyes, though some report him the Son of *Arestor*. *Criasus* succeeded his Father, after he had reigned seventy years, and governed the *Argives* 54. Two of his Brothers are added by *Pausanias*, viz. *Pirafus* the same with *Peiranthus*, and *Phorbas*. *Peiranthus* first built a Temple to *Juno* at *Argos*, wherein he placed her Image made of a wild Pear-Tree, and made his Daughter *Callithya* called also *Callirhoe* and *Io*, a Priest thereof: which Superstition being continued for many Ages, all Instruments public and private were dated from such or such a year of her Successors, as the Custom hath been from those of the Kings, or Magistrates in other Places.

Pirafus.
Phorbas.
Triopas.

6. That this *Peiranthus* reigned, appeareth no where but in *Pausanias*, who seemeth to make him the immediate Successor of *Argus*, by the name of *Pirafus*. But *Phorbas* succeeded *Criasus*, and reigned 35 years; after him *Triopas* 46. whose Son *Xanthus* being Prince of some of the *Pelagi*, who went out from *Argos*, seized first upon part of *Lycia*, and there seated himself: afterwards he passed over into the Island *Ili*, then void of Inhabitants, which dividing amongst his Followers he named *Pelagias*, in Process of time called *Lesbos*. *Pausanias* maketh *Jafus* and *Agenor* the Sons of *Triopas*, and *Jafus* to have reigned at *Argos*, though by *Eusebius* he be not reckoned amongst the Kings. His Daughter was the famous *Io*, which being got with Child by *Jupiter*, and thereupon, through the Displeasure of *Juno* turned out of her Wits, or into a Cow, as the Poets sing, passed over the Straits of *Thrace*, to which, upon this Occasion of her Metamorphosis, was given the name of *Bosphorus*. Then went she down into *Egypt*, where, restored to humane Shape, she brought forth her Son *Epaphus*, the Builder of *Memphis*, and was afterwards taken for a Goddess, and called *Isis*. *Herodotus* leading us out of the Labyrinth of Fables, relateth that the *Plenicians*, after their Removal from the *Red-Sea*, (where he thinketh them once to have inhabited) to the *Mediterranean*, applied themselves unto Sailing, and Traffick from *Affrica* and *Egypt* unto other Places. On a time coming to *Argos* (which then excelled all *Greek* Cities,) on the fifth or sixth day after they had exposed their Merchandize to Sale, many Women came to their Ships to buy what liked them, and amongst the rest this *Io*, the Kings Daughter. The *Plenicians* encouraging one another laid hands on those they could catch, and taking her with some others, carried them into *Egypt*. This by *Herodotus* is made one of the first Grounds of Envy, betwixt the *Africks* and *Greeks*; though he confoundeth her with the Daughter of *Inachus*, (which is usual;) and the *Greeks*, as *Pausanias* hinteth, gave another Account of her Deportation.

Crotopus.

7. As *Pausanias* reckoneth *Jafus* amongst the Kings of *Argos* (which after him was, without Doubt, called *Jafus* and the Citizens *Jafus*;) so he nameth *Crotopus*, *Stephanus*, his Brother *Agenor*'s Son, for his Successor, whom *Eusebius* will have to have succeeded his Grand-father *Triopas*. His Daughter *Plamathe* being with Child by *Apollo*, 40, after her Delivery exposed the Infant, which the named *Linus*. It chanced to be devoured by wild Beasts; whereat the was so troubled, that her Father perceiving it, got out the matter, and put her to Death, for which *Apollo* brought a Plague upon the *Argives*, who, to pacifie him, made great and solemn Lamentation for the Child, which is not to be confounded with the Poet *Linus*, as some fo order the matter. *Crotopus* having reigned 21 years was followed by *Stenelas* his Son, who held the Kingdom for 11. and then left it to his Son *Galenor*. In his time, *Danaus*, the Brother of *Egyptus*, King of that Country, having 50 Daughters, refused to marry them to his Brother's 50 Sons, because he was bidden by an Oracle to beware of a Son in Law, and therefore taking them away with him, sailed to *Rhodes*, wherein he built a Temple to *Minerva Lindias*; and thence came to *Argos*, where he moved a Contest with *Galenor* for the Kingdom, as descended of *Epaphus*, the Son of *Io*. Both pleading hard before the People, the Cause, as doubtful, was put off till the day following; at what time there came a Wolf and killed an Ox, which was feeding by the Walls. The People took the Wolf to signify *Danaus*, because a Stranger; and, making this Contest of the Beasts a leading Case, decreed the Kingdom to the *Egyptian*.

Danaus.

8. *Danaus* having obtained the Kingdom; his Brother *Egyptus* feared left by the Marriage of his Daughters he might get too great Alliance and Strength, and therefore sent down his 50 Sons to *Argos* with an Army, and command, either to marry them, or destroy him. They persuaded their Uncle by fair Means to receive them as Sons in Law; but he commanded his Daughters that each of them should the first Night

Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. 1.

Argel. p. 58. 17.
Euseb. prep. l. 1.
Evangel. lib. 3.

Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. pag. 239. in Argentinat. 2.

Lib. 1. ad ista lib. 5.

Acritus and Pratus.

Danae.

Mother to Perseus.

Perseus killed Acritus.
The General Council of the Amphictyons.

Night kill her Bridegroom, and gave them Poniards for that Purpose. They all obeyed him, except *Hypemestras*, (and some add *Bebrico*;) which diffusing *Lyneceus*, with advice to shift for himself, was by her Father accused, and brought to Judgment; but acquitted by the *Argives*, and afterwards had Leave from him, to receive again *Lyneceus*, now reconciled to him. As for the rest of the Sisters, they were bestowed upon such, as in trial of Malteries got the better; and became so infamous, that it was believed they were condemned in Hell, to fill with Water a Barrel, which having an hole in it, let out as much as it received in.

9. From *Danaus*, those who had formerly had the name of *Pelagiotas*, were called *Danai*. He built the Castle, and his Daughters are said to have supplied the City with Water, by digging of Wells; although (a) *Strabo* proveth, that by reason of its Situation, it could never want the commodity of that Element. Having reigned (b) 50 years, he died, and was succeeded by *Lyneceus*, who governed 41, and on *Hypemestras* begat *Abas* his Successor. *Abas* ruled 23 years, and begat on his Wife *Oceade*, the Daughter of *Mantineus*, *Acritus* and *Pratus*, Twins. They are said to have struggled in the Womb, and did it to purpose afterwards for the Kingdom. *Pratus* first obtained, and held it seventeen years, but then was driven from *Argos* by *Acritus*, and forced to fly into *Lycia*, to *Iobas* his Father-in-law, King of that Country. From him he returned with armed hand, seized upon *Tyrinthe*, and afterwards joyned Battel with his Brother, wherein they two are reported, first of all others, to have used Targets. The Battel ending with equal success, they came to an accommodation, and divided the Kingdom. *Acritus* was to stay at *Argos*, and *Pratus* to enjoy *Heræus*, *Midea*, *Tyrinthe*, and the Maritime Parts. *Pratus* had by his Wife *Sthenobea*, a Son named *Megapenthes*, and three Daughters, which being taken with the Fury of *Bacchus*, *Melampus* the Poet is said to have cured. *Acritus* on *Euclid* begat a Daughter named *Danae*, and consulting the Oracle about Issue Male, was answered, that he should have no Son, but a Nephew, by his Daughter, that should procure her Death. Hereupon, he shut up *Danae* with her Nurse in the Ground; but *Jupiter* turning himself into a Golden shower, thereby got to her, and begat *Perseus*. Both Mother and Son were put into an Ark, and cast into the Sea, which drove them ashore on the Island *Seriphus*, where *Dictys*, Brother to *Polydectes* the King, educated the Boy. Being grown up, he made an Expedition into *Africk*, where he slew the Gorgon *Medusa*, being sent, as the Fable goeth, by *Polydectes*, who sought to be revenged on him, for hindering him from the Marriage of his Mother; but *Pausanias*, not at all regarding the Fable, writeth, that this *Medusa* was the Daughter of *Phorbus*, and succeeded him in his Kingdom, which lay upon the Lake *Trionis*; that she was wont to go out and fight with the *Africans*, over which she reigned; but *Perseus* coming against her with choice Forces out of *Peloponnesus* (so that this Voyage must have been after his Return thither, and his Grand-Father's death) she was entrapped by him, and slain in the Night. He admiring her Beauty, cut off her Head, and carried it into *Greece* for a Spectacle.

10. *Perseus*, after this, married *Andromeda*, (Daughter to *Cepheus*, by *Calisto*peia, who reigned at *Joppa*, a Maritime Town of *Phœnicia*;) having first saved her from being devoured by a Whale. This by one is thus interpreted; That *Phœnix*, by her Father's consent, took her away by Force, and carrying her in a Ship called the Whale, *Perseus* sailing that way, and hearing her Lamentations, boarded the Ship, and delivering her out of his hands, married her. After this, he returned to *Seriphus*, where he revenged upon *Polydectes*, the Violence offered to his Mother; and then, with her and his Wife, went to *Argos* to see his Grand-Father, who being afraid because of the Oracle, departed into *Pelagias* (or *Thebais*) so called from the *Pelagi*, who were now removed thither out of *Peloponnesus*, being a vagabond People, and taying in no place; where, when *Toutamias*, King of the *Larissians*, made Games in honour of his deceased Father, thither also came *Perseus*, amongst other lufy and active young Men, and slew his Grand-Father at unawares in the Game, by a stroke of a Quoit upon his Foot, after he had reigned thirty years.

11. Some (c) think, that rather to *Acritus*, than to *Amphyzion* the Son of *Demalion* (who 182 years before, began his Reign at *Athen*;) the Founding of the Famous Council of the *Amphyctyones* is to be ascribed. It seemeth probable, that *Amphyzion* first of all assembled it in *Thebais*, near the Straights of *Thermodon*, (*Pausanias* writeth to have been the common opinion;) and that *Acritus* thence transferred it to *Delphos* in *Phœcie*, where it for the most part assembled; this Place being the middle of *Greece*, and, as the *Greeks* thought, of the World it self, where was also the famed Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*. For, these Cities, which at first had only Right to send their Deputies to the Council, were such as either were seated in *Thebais*, or

Scd. 3.

(a) vide lib. 2. p. 376. 377. (b) Euseb. Apollod.

Pausan. in Arc. Kingd.

Caes. apud Phœnicum in insulæ.

Apollod. lib. 3.

Leg. Strabon. lib. 9. p. 419.

420.

Leg. Pausan. in Phœcie.

or

or near unto it. This was the chief Tribunal of all Greece, for deciding of Publick and most weighty Causes, betwixt the several Cities, and Common-wealths. The authority thereof was very great; inasmuch as its Decrees have sometimes been executed by the Sword, with the great Motions of several States, some or other scarce ever being wanting to undertake the work. It used to meet twice a year, (and oftener if necessity required) in the beginning of Spring and Autumn; the Cities sending their Deputies, three, two, or one, according to their bigness. These were called *Pylagora*, because they met at *Pyle*, a place near to the Temple, of which they also had the oversight, and presided over the Games made in honour of *Apollo Pythius* every other year. This Court continued for many Ages without change, until the time of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, who overthrowing the *Phocians* in the *Sacred War*, for their Sacrilege outed them, and the *Lacedaemonians* their Assiliants, of their Privileges of Voting therein, and transferred the Right to his own Kingdom. Long after, *Augustus Cæsar* innovated again, by removing the *Magnesian Malcons*, and others, from their Interest herein, and making *Nicopolis* (a City built by him in memory of his Victory at *Actium*) free of that Society, as *Pausanias* telleth us, who hath also recorded, that in his time, (which fell in with the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* the Roman Emperor) this Council was still maintained and kept up, consisting of thirty Persons.

The Kingdom of Argos divided.

Hercules.

How many of that name.

12. *Perseus*, after that Disaster, which happened to his Grand-father, was affianced to return to *Argos*, his Inheritance, and therefore went to *Tryphæ*, and changed Kingdoms with his Cousin *Megapenthes*. He built *Mycene* (so called from his Sword's * *Scabbard*), that fell from him in this place, which thing he took as a sign, that here he should build a City) and making it his Seat, therein reigned fifty eight years. About this time this Kingdom of *Argos*, that had now continued about 544 years, came to be divided into three parts. For *Anaxagoras* the Son of *Megapenthes* contenting himself with a third of his half, gave the other two to *Melampus* the Son of *Amphybaon*, and his Brother *Bias*; either for that he (who is said to have found out the way of Purging) had cured the Daughters of *Proetus* (Aunts to *Anaxagoras*) of their madnes, as was told before, or (a) invented a Remedy for that Distemper, which had seized epidemically upon the Women of those Parts. But *Perseus* begat of *Andromeda* five Sons, *Perseus*, *Alcaeus*, *Sibencelus*, *Electryon*, and *Meslor*. Here of *Perseus* the first, as the Greeks believed, gave Origin al to the *Perfians*, *Alcaeus* was Father to *Amphytrion*, *Sibencelus* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Mycene*, and *Electryon* begat *Alcmena*, Wife to *Amphytrion*. *Sibencelus*, on a Daughter of *Pelops*, begat *Eurytheus*, his Successor, seven Months after whose Birth, *Hercules* the Son of *Amphytrion* and *Alcmena* was born. *Iphicles* their other Son coming into the World after *Hercules* (for they were Twins) *Amphytrion* was accounted the Father of him, and *Jupiter* of *Hercules*, whereupon, *Juno* is said to have ever hated him, and by the help of *Ilythia*, (*Lucina* or the Moon) to have hindered his Birth, and kept his Mother in Travel for seven days. The Boy was first named *Alcaeus*, after his Grand-father; but afterwards, for his great Achievements called *Hercules*, and ascribed to no less a Father than *Jupiter*, who made the Night wherein he begat him as long as three, that his Strength might be the greater. That this Person was eminent in his time, is easie to be granted; but incredible things contained in twelve Labours, being reported to be done by him, are either meant of the passing of the Sun through the twelve Signs of the *Zodiac*, or what things were performed by several others that lived elsewhere, have been by his Country-men attributed to him, whose Epithete of *Hercules* (signifying Fame and Glory spread abroad in the Air) came also to be given to them, if the Word be of no other than *Grecks* Original.

13. *Cicero* reckoneth up six who had the name of *Hercules*. The first and most ancient, he maketh begotten by the ancientest *Jupiter*, on *Lipitus*, and to have striven with *Apollo* about the *Tripod*. The second was an *Ægyptian*, Son to *Nile*, who despoiled the *Phrygian* Letters. The third, a Native of *Crete*, and one of the *Læi Daëtyli*, who first found out the making of Iron, by taking notice of the melting of that Metal in the Hill *Ida* when it burned, and being five in number, had the name of *Daëtyli* from the Fingers, in number so many on each hand. The fourth was Son to *Asteria*, the Sister of *Latona*, and Father to *Carthage*, being worshipped by the *Tyrrians*. *Belus* in *India* is reckoned for the fifth; and then in the sixth place cometh this Son of *Alcmena*. The *Ægyptian Hercules* is said to have aided the Gods in their War against the *Gyants*, which being the off-spring of the Earth, *Dionodorus* acknowledgeth that this cannot agree with the time of the *Græcian Hercules*, who lived

A. M. 2693.

(a) Apollod. lib. 2.
(b) Pausan. in Argol. Diad. lib. 4. p. 128.

A. M. 2724.

lived but one Age before the *Trojan War*; but rather happened at the Original of Mankind.

14. *Hercules* the *Tyrian* is believed to have been the Captain of that Expedition which the *Phœnicians* made into *Spain* and *Gader*, which, though the *Grecians* attribute to theirs, yet this convinceth their assertion of Falshood, That in the Island *Gader*, was a most ancient Temple, wherein *Hercules* was worshipped, not after the *Græcian* manner, but according to the Rites of *Phœnicia*. This was he, who erected his Pillars at the Bound or utmost Limit of the World, and that over-ran *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*. *Sanchoniathon* a *Phœnician* Author of great Antiquity, wrote, that he was the Son of *Damascus*, and that his Proper Name was *Melcarthus* (which signified the King of the City) by the *Greeks* called *Meliceretes* and *Palemon*. He was also called *Diodas* * by *Eusebius* (for which *Desjaneus* is thought to be corrupted written in *Hierem's* Translation) which *Phœnician* name he seemeth to have had, because he was invoked by Lovers; their happy Success being supposed to depend on him. Some think this *Tyrian Hercules* was the same with the *Ægyptian* or *Libian*, by *Pausanias* named *Maceris*, who undertook a Journey to *Delphos*, and whose Son *Sardus* leading a Colony into the Island *Ichnusa*, changed its name into *Sardinia*. *Tacitus* * writeth, that the *Libians* would have the most ancient *Hercules* * a Native of their Country, and that such as came near him in Valour and Renown were named after him. *Dionodorus Siculus*, and *Eusebius* mention three of this name; (though the former attributeth all their Actions to the youngest, or the Son of *Alcmena*) *Serouus* 4, and *Varro* 44. And here must be remembered what was before noted; that it was the Custom of old, to call the most ancient Kings by the name of *Saturn*, their Sons by that of *Jupiter*, and their most Valiant and active Nephews, by this of *Hercules*.

The Story of Hercules the Son of Alcmena.

The Argonauts.

15. This *Heroe* being so much written and talked of, it concerneth Beginners to have some account of his Actions, and the rather, because they include the Labours of many. *Amphytrion*, his Father, as it seemeth, was Prince of *Tyrimbos*, but thence was forced to fly to *Thebes*, having at unawares killed *Electryon* his Uncle and Father-in-Law, where *Hercules* being educated, slew *Linus* his Mulick-Master with an Harp as he taught him. His Father seeing his Disposition, and fearing some such like Accident might fall out again, sent him amongst the Herdmen, where, not yet eighteen years old, he slew a Lyon. For his extraordinary Strength and Courage he was taken notice of by *Thestius*, (or *Thestius*) Prince of the *Thestians*, for he made him lye with his fifty Daughters, of which begetting so many Sons, these afterwards passed over into the Island *Sardinia*, with the name of *Thestiades*. A little after this, he delivered *Thebes* from the Tyranny of *Erginus*, King of the *Minyans*, who exacted an Annual Tribute of 100 Oxen. He destroyed *Ochoneus*, with his Palace therein, and for this was rewarded with *Megara*, Daughter to *Creon* Prince of *Thebes*. When he was about twenty years old, he sailed with *Jafon*, amongst others to *Colchis*, to fetch thence the Golden Fleece, so much celebrated by Poets, and variously interpreted by Expositors of Mythology.

16. This *Jafon* was the Son of *Æolon*, and the fourth in Descent from *Æolus*, being born at *Ioleus*, which Place, *Pelias*, King thereof, unjustly detained from his Father. He considering with himself what glory *Perseus* and others of late had gotten, fought how he might accomplish some notable Enterprize for the eternizing of his Name; and having at length resolved on this Design, published his intentions throughout *Greece*, by a Crier. The young and active Spirits of that time were much taken therewith, and fifty three of the Flower of *Greece* gave their Names to the Expedition, of whom the most Eminent, besides *Hercules*, were *Orpheus*, (Scholar to *Linus*) *Oileus*, *Telamon*, and *Peleus*, the Sons of *Æacus*, *Pollux* and *Cæstor*, Sons to *Tindareus* King of *Sparta*, *Meleager* and *Argus*, who built the Ship, named after *Argo*, wherein they sailed, and thence were afterwards called *Argonautæ*. Having all things in readines, (*Pelias* supplying *Jafon* with all Necessaries, to be rid of him, fearing he should call him to account for the Kingdom) they set sail from *Ioleus*, and came to *Lemnos*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, whence they failed to the Country of the *Doionians*, by whose King *Cyzicus* they were honourably received; but thence lanching out by Night, were driven back by Tempest, and being taken by him for the *Pelægi*, with whom he was at feud, he fell upon them, and lost his Life in the Fight, with many of his Followers; but his Error once understood, was magnificently buried by them. From *Cyzicus* they came into *Mysia*, where *Hercules*, for want of skill in rowing, brake his Oar, and going into the Woods to provide another, whilst his Companions rested themselves on the Shoar, it happened that *Hylas* his Boy drinking at a Fountain, was intercepted by the Nymphs, as the Story goeth. Crying

Señt. 3.

* Consult Bæchari Conach lib. 1. cap. 24.

* Annot. lib. 2.

Apollodorus & Diad.

Apollonius Rhod. lib. 1.

Leg. Simplician in Chronol. ad A. M. 2743.

Sect. 3. out, *Polyphemus*, the Son of *Elatus*, who had married *Laonome*, the Sister of *Hercules*, ran out to rescue him, and meeting with *Hercules*, went up and down seeking him in great perplexity; so that they were left behind by their Companions, whom *Hercules* followed on foot to *Colchus*.

*Hercules in
Egip.*

17. *Jafon* with the rest failed to *Colchus*, and by the treachery of *Medea*, Daughter to *Etter* the King, that fell in love with him, became Master of the Golden Fleece, and returned home with her, having finished his Journey in four Months. They lived happily at *Corinth* for ten years, till *Creon*, King of that City, betrothing his Daughter *Glauce* to him, *Medea* was commanded to quit the Place; whereupon, mad with anger, she set the Palace on fire, and slew her own three Sons which she had by *Jafon*, as *Euripides* relateth the Story; who, as it's probable, too much indulgeth his Poetick liberty, the *Corinthians* having corrupted him with five Talents; as an ancient (a) Historian hath discovered. (b) *Herodotus* writeth, that a Messenger was sent from *Colchus* to demand *Medea*, but he was put off with this Answer, that they of *Affa* had formerly stoln away *Io* from *Argos*. As the *Argonautæ* failed by *Athos* and *Samoethracia*, they were driven by Tempest upon *Sigeum*, a Promontory of *Troas*, (c) where they found *Hefione*, Daughter to *Laomedon* King of *Troy*, bound upon the Shoar, that she might become a Prey to a Whale. This Whale had been sent by *Neptune* to devour Passengers upon the Coast, because (d) *Laomedon*, with Money taken out of the Temple of *Neptune*, and *Apollo*, had built the Walls of the City, and made no Restitution. *Apollo* had answered, that no way could they be quit of the Whale, but by the devouring of some one chosen out by lot, which fell upon the King's own Daughter. But *Hercules* moved with pity, upon promise to have the Maid, and certain Horses that never were handled, undertook to kill the Whale, which readily performing, he trusted *Laomedon* with his Wages, till his return from *Colchus*. Then he demanded them (e) by *Iphicles*, his Brother, and *Tela-* (f) *mon*, whom he sent into the City, but the King, instead of restoring what he formerly detained, imprisoned the Messengers, and plotted the destruction of the whole Company. *Priamus*, of all his Sons, was only against this Treachery, and when he could not otherwise prevail, sent in two Swords to the Prisoners, where-with they dispatching their Keepers, got out to their Companions. In revenge for this afterward, *Hercules* took the City, slew *Laomedon*, and preferred *Priamus* for his Integrity to the Kingdom.

18. The *Argonautæ* being returned into *Greece*, *Hercules* (f) took an Oath of them mutually to aid one another, as also to chuse out some certain place, wherein to meet and celebrate Games in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*. This matter being left to his Care and Management, he pitched on the Plains of the *Eleaps*, lying upon the River *Alpheus*, where he ordained Exercises, both to be performed on Foot, and Horse-back, appointed Rewards to the Victors, and sent abroad to give notice thereof to the several Cities, which were all hereby wonderfully affectionated towards him. But after *Euryftheus* had succeeded *Sthenelus* his Father, in the Kingdom of *Mycene*, he began to grow jealous of the Strength and Prosperity of *Hercules*, and ceased not to press him forwards into dangerous, though glorious Attempts. He at first refusing, went and consulted the Oracle at *Delphos*, which is said to have acquainted him with the Pleasure of the Gods, that at the appointment of *Euryftheus*, he should finish twelve Labours, and so attain to Immortality. Hereat he grew exceeding melancholy, taking it in great Disdain to be commanded by him, which Discontent arose to a Phrensie, and in this Distemper he killed the Children that he had by *Megara*, and put her away; but afterwards coming to his right mind, resolved to venture himself, and returned to *Euryftheus* for his Orders.

The first Task imposed on him, was to kill a Lion in *Nemea*, a Wood of *Achaia*, whom no Sword nor any other Weapon could pierce; being only to be mastered by the Hand, he caught and strangled him, then taking off his Skin, thenceforth wore it as a Garment. The second thing enjoyned him, was to kill an *Hydra* with an hundred Heads, like Snakes, whereof when one was cut off, two others sprung up in its room. The third was, to bring home alive the *Erymanthian* Boar, at the sight of which Beast upon his shoulders, *Euryftheus* was so frightened, that he ran for fear into a brazen Hoghead; and in this Expedition he also overcame the *Centauree*. The next thing commanded him, was to catch an Hart of marvellous swiftness, with Golden Horns, which he effected, but in what manner is not agreed on. After this, he drave away innumerable companies of Birds from the *Symphalian* Fens, which there, and in other places devoured the Corn. Then cleansed he *Augas* his Stable; not by carrying the Dung out upon his shoulders, (which Indignity was intended him by *Euryftheus*) but by the Current of the River *Peneus*, which he brought

Olympick
Games instituted by
Hercules.

His twelve
Labours.

* *Diodorus* l. 4.
p. 219. B.

brought down thither for that purpose. The seventh thing commanded him, was to fetch a wild Bull out of the Island *Crete*, with which *Pasiphae* is said to have lain in love; and bewixt this and the next Labour, he helped the Gods against the Gyants, and pacifying *Jupiter* towards *Prometheus*, loosed this man from the place, where an Eagle continually fed upon his Liver, for his communicating to men the knowledge of Fire. The eighth Task was to fetch the Mares of *Diomedes* out of *Thrace*, which had brazen Mangers, were tied with Iron chains, and fed not on any other Fodder but the flesh of Strangers coming that way; But *Hercules* first gave them their Master's flesh, and then brought them to *Euryftheus*, who dedicated them to *Juno*, and their Breed is said to have continued to the time of *Alexander* the Great.

20. After this it is, that *Diodorus* maketh him to have failed amongst the *Argonautæ* to *Colchus*. Then, at the Command of *Euryftheus* he warred against the *Amazons* in *Africk*, and brought to him the Girdle of *Hippolyta* their Queen. The tenth Labour was to fetch the Oxen of *Geryon* out of *Iberia*, or *Spain*, as the Fable goeth; whereas *Geryon* reigned not there, but in that part of *Epirus* which lieth about *Ambracia* and *Amphilochus*, as (a) *Arrianus* witnesseth, from the Pen of *Heateus*, a most ancient Historian, (b) and others do testifie. There were afterwards in *Epirus* a very large sort of Oxen, called *Larini*, thought to be of that Kind which *Hercules* drove away, and to have had this name from *Larinus* his Herdman. Seeing then that this occasion of invading *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, is taken away from this *Hercules*, that Expedition is to be left to the *Phoenician*, to whom formerly we ascribed it. But *Hercules* is farther said in this Journey to have slain *Anteus*, to have gone down into *Egypt*, and made an end there of *Bustri* that cruel Tyrant, and erected his Pillars in the utmost Bounds of the World. Within eight years and one month he finished these his ten Labours. After his return, he was enjoyned to fetch *Cerberus* out of *Hell*; which having accomplished, the twelfth was the fetching of the golden *Hesperian* Apples; which, whether they were such, and were kept by a terrible Dragon, or by them were to be understood Herds of Cattel, defended by some strong and valiant man, he also brought out of *Africk* to *Euryftheus*. These are his twelve Labours, as *Diodorus* describeth, and ranketh them.

His other
Acts.

21. Having served *Euryftheus* twelve years, he returned to *Teles*, and there gave *Megara*, whom he had put away, to *Iolauus*, the Son of his Brother *Iphicles*. He had now no Legitimate Issue, and therefore married *Dejanira*, Daughter to *Oed-* (a) *Diodorus* l. 4.
p. 219. B.
Apollodorus.
meus, King of the *Calydonians*, to pleasure whom, he derived the River *Achelous* into another Channel, and thereby rendered the Countrey more fertile; whence the Fable arose, that he fought with *Achelous*, turned into a Bull, and cutting off one of his Horns, gave it to the *Aetolians*, (part of whom the *Calydonians* were) called the Horn of *Amalthea*, wherein was plenty of all Fruits. Before this, he had won *Iole*, the Daughter of *Eurytus*, Prince of *Oechalia*, by shooting, which Exercise his Father had proposed to all Comers, against himself and his Son. Yet was he denied her; whereupon, to be revenged on *Eurytus*, he drove away his Horses, and carrying his Son *Iphitus*, who was sent to seek them, up into a Tower, to see if he could make any discovery of them, when he could not espy them, as if he had wrongfully accused them of Theft, he threw him down headlong. For this, he was struck with a Dis ease, and had answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, that if he would be freed from it, he must be bold, and the price given to the Children of *Iphitus*. He then passing over into *Affa*, willingly permitted one of his Friends to sell him, and was bought by *Omphale*, Queen of the *Maonians*, to whom her Husband *Troilus* had left the Kingdom. Being freed from his Dis ease, he did his Mistress great Service, killing many of the famous Robbers, called *Cercopes*, and bringing some of them alive unto her. *Omphale* admiring his Acts, after the knew who he was, gave him his liberty, and took him to her Bed. Of her he begat *Laonius*, having already a Son by his fellow slave, named *Cholauus*; he served her three years, and then returning into *Peloponnesus*, went against *Laomedon* King of *Ilium*, as some rank the Series of his Actions.

22. Some years after, having subdued several Persons, and Cities in *Greece*, he joyued the *Arcadians* and others to him, and went with an Army against *Eurytus*, whom he slew, with his three Sons, and taking away *Iole*, came to *Cenaeum*, a Promontory of *Euboea*. Here, being about to sacrifice, he sent *Lichas* his Servant to *Trachine* for his Shirt and Coat, wherein he was wont to perform that Religious Work. From *Lichas* *Dejanira* learning how *Iole* was taken, and fearing to be robbed by her of her Husband's Affections, anointed his Shirt with a Poyson given her by *Nessus* the *Centaure*, as he was dying (who would have ravished her, and for that

Diodorus l. 4.
p. 219. B.
Apollodorus.

was

Scet. 3.
His end.

was killed by *Hercules* perfwading her, that it was an Ointment Efficacious to procure Love. As ſoon as the Shirt touched his Body, the Venom alfo feized on it, wherewith being grievouſly tormented, he difmiſſed his Army, and returned to *Trachines*, where the Diſeaſe increaſing, he ſent to enquire of *Apollo* about a Remedy. It was answered, he ſhould be carried up to the Mountain *Oeta*, where a great pile of Wood being reared, *Jupiter* would take care for the reſt. This done, and all hope of Recovery paſt, *Hercules*, in his Warlike Habit, caſt himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the Standers by to put Fire to it; which, when all his Relations reſuſed to do, *Peas*, who ſeeking his Cattel came that way, as *Apollodorus* writeth, or his Son *Philoctetes*, as moſt deliver, (to whom *Hercules* gave for a reward his Bow and Arrows) ſet fire to it, which alſo being kindled with Lightning, was preſently reduced to aſhes, with the Body, into *Aſhes*. *Iolaus* finding one of his Bones, a perſwaſion aroſe, that he paſſed from amongst Mortals to the Gods, as the Oracle had formerly ſworn. He commanded, that *Hyllus* his Son, when he came at Age, ſhould marry *Iole*. As for *Dejanaira*, ſhe, ſeeing what was brought upon her Husband, out of vexation hanged her ſelf. Thus perished *Alcaeus*, ſirnamed *Hercules*, the Son of *Amphytrion* and *Almena*, at the Age of 52 years, having in a fit of Phrenſie, as it's thought, burnt himſelf. And theſe are the moſt remarkable things that are written of him, who lived (according to the Chronology, which taketh not in the hundred years formerly mentioned) in the days of *Tholab* the Judge of *Iſrael*.

A. M. 2775.

What happened to his Children.

23. *Hercules* being dead, his Children for ſome time ſtayed at *Trachine*, with *Ceyce* the King, till *Hyllus* and others of them were grown up. Then *Euryſtheus* began to fear them, and therefore reſolving to baniſh them all out of (a) Greece (or rather *Peloponneſus*) ſent to *Ceyce*, commanding him, upon pain of his Diſpleaſure, to remove them together with *Iolaus*, and the reſt of their Friends. They being unable to make reſiſtance, voluntarily quitted the Place, and ſent about to the Principal Cities to beg harbour, which none would afford them except the *Athenians*, who placed them in *Tricorimb*, one of the four Parts of their City. After ſome time, when they were come to ripeneſs of Age, and now bare themſelves high upon the glory of their Father, *Euryſtheus* much more ſuſpecting their growth, led down a great Army againſt them; but, aſſiſted by the *Athenians*, under Conduct of their Couſin *Iolaus* and *Theſeus*, they overthrew and ſlew (b) him with all his Sons, and then invaded *Peloponneſus*. Now a Plague ſeized on the Country, and the Oracle answered, that it was, becauſe they returned thither before their time; whereupon *Hyllus* returned, as ſome ſay, and went to *Epaphus*, King of the *Dorians*; by whom he was (c) adopted, becauſe, by *Hercules* his means, *Agamemnon* had formerly recovered his Kingdom; and thenceforth the *Heracleids* became embodied with the *Dorians*. *Diodorus* writeth, that *Hyllus*, provoking ſome one of his Enemies to a ſingle Combat, upon this condition, that if he overcame, then were the *Heracleids* to be Maſters of *Mycene*, if not, they ſhould depart for fifty years, were ſlain; and ſo they accordingly returned, and kept themſelves quiet for that time.

(a) Diodor. l. 4. p. 182.

(b) Strabo. l. 8. p. 377.

(c) Idem lik. p. 427. G.

Atreus the Son of Pelops.

24. *Euryſtheus* being ſlain, after he had reigned at *Mycene* forty three years, (a) *Atreus* the Son of *Pelops* ſucceeded him, who alſo at this time had the Sovereignty of *Argos*. This *Pelops*, above an hundred years before (or fo famous a Man muſt not be omitted) being the Son of *Tantalus* Prince of *Phrygia*, had made War upon *Ilium*, where, after he was put to the worſt by *Ilus* the King, he was forced to fly into *Greece*, and coming to *Piſa*, fell in love with (c) *Hippodamia*, Daughter of *Oenomaus*, Prince of that City, who, being warned by the Oracle to take heed to himſelf when he ſhould take an Husband, had condemned her in his Reſolutions, to perpetual Virginity. Therefore he admitted no Suiter, but on this condition, to run a Race with him in the Chariot, and if he won her not, to ſuffer Death, to which he brought many, through the ſwiftness of his Horſes, till *Pelops* (or *Hippodamia* for him) corrupting the Chariot-driver, obtained the Prize, for grief of which, the old man thinking now the Oracle to be fulfilled, hanged himſelf. *Pelops* then obtained *Hippodamia*, and *Piſa* with her, after which, by little and little, he got moſt of the *Peninſula* into his poſſeſſion, called after him *Peloponneſus*, wherein he reigned fifty eight years. Of *Hippodamia* he begot many children, by which he promoted his Affairs more than Power; for by the marriage of them, he inſinuated into the Principalities of moſt of the Cities. Amongſt his Sons the moſt eminent were, *Atreus*, *Thyſtes*, and *Pleſthenes*. The two former he left his Succeſſors, and *Pleſthenes* dying young, left two Boyes to *Atreus*, to be brought up, called *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*. *Atreus* married their Mother, by name *Aerope*, the Daughter of *Minos* King of *Crete*, with whom his Brother *Thyſtes* com-

Pelops obtained Piſa, with moſt of the Peninſula.

(a) Eufib.

(c) Diodor. lib. 4. p. 194.

mitting Adultery, he fiſt baniſhed, and after recalling him, ſeaſted him with the Sect. 3.
Fleſh of his own Sons.

25. Some will have *Atreus* to have out-lived *Thyſtes*; others ſay, he died before him, and, being reconciled, left him the Kingdom at his Death, on this condition, to reſtore it to *Agamemnon* when he ſhould come to Age. After *Euryſtheus* his death, it ſeemeth, that he became Maſter of all *Peloponneſus*, and oppoſed *Hyllus*, who challenging any in his Army, as was ſaid, to a ſingle Combat, *Euryſtheus* King of the *Tegae* in *Arcadia*, accepted the Challenge, and ſlew him. He was very ſkillful in *Aſtrology*, being by ſome reputed the fiſt that diſcovered the Motion of the Sun to be contrary to that of the Starry Heaven, (a) and that obſerved (c) the Eclypſe of that Luminary. He adopted his two Nephews *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, who ſucceeded him (b) ſeventeen years before the beginning of the Trojan War. *Agamemnon*, a Man of Prudence and Courage, obtained not only *Mycene*, but *Argos* alſo, with all as far as (c) *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, and that Country then called *Ionia* and *Regalea*, afterwards *Achaia*. *Menelaus* got *Lacedaemon*, and there reigned at *Lacedaemon*. For *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the Sons of *Tyndareus* the King, (d) dying before their Father, he ſent for him to *Sparta*, and delivered up his Kingdom to him, having fiſt given him his Daughter *Helena*, whom *Paris* the ſecond Son of *Priamus* King of *Troy* (by his Wiſe *Hebe*) ſtealing away, gave occaſion to the famous ten years War, and the ruine of that City; concerning which ſomething is to be ſpoken.

Agamemnon and Menelaus.

The Trojan War.

The Original of the Trojan War.

Dardanius.

Erichthonius.

Tro.

Iliu.

Laomedon.

Priamus.

26. The fiſt (e) Man reported to have reigned in *Arcadia*, was *Atlas*, who inhabited about the Mountain of *Caucasus*, and had ſeven Daughters, which made up the *Pleiades*, whereof, on *Eleſtra*, *Jupiter* her Husband begot *Jafus* and *Dardanius*. *Jafus* lived unmarried, but *Dardanius* had by his Wiſe *Chryſis*, the Daughter of *Palaeus*, two Sons, *Ideus* and *Dimeus*, who ſucceeded *Atlas* in his Kingdom. Afterwards great Inundations happening in this Country, they were forced to divide the People into two parts, whereof, leaving one with *Dimeus* in *Arcadia*, with the other *Jafus*, *Dardanius* and *Ideus* left *Peloponneſus*, and coaſting by *Europe*, at length came to the Bay of *Melan*, and arrived at a certain Iſland of *Thrace*, called *Samo*, thence, from the Country, and a Man's Name who inhabited it; one *Samon* the Son of *Mercury*, by the Nymph *Rhene*. Here finding no convenient Habitation, the greater part under the Conduct of *Dardanius* (for *Jafus* died in the Iſland, being ſtruck with a Thunder-bolt, becauſe he attempted the Chaſtity of *Ceres*) paſſed into *Aſia*, and landing in the *Helleſpont*, ſeated themſelves in *Phrygia*. *Ideus* with part of the Army, ſetled upon the Mountains, which bore his Name, and *Dardanius* in that part of the Country ſince named *Troas*, built a City of his own Name, having ſome Grounds given him by *Teucer* the King of the place, the Son of *Scamander*, from whom the Country was called *Teucrie*, and whoſe Daughter *Batea* he married. He ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, and changed the name of his Subjects from *Teucri* to *Dardani*, and built the City upon the Sea-ſide, about the 2330th year of the World, in the days of *Silenus* King of *Argos*. On *Batea* he begat his Son and Succeſſor, called *Erichthonius*, reported by (f) *Homer* and others, to have been exceeding Rich and Fortunate, who on *Callisto* the Daughter of *Scamander*, had begot *Troas*, from whom the Country was named. *Troas* ſucceeding him, begot *Iliu*, *Aſtarachus*, and *Ganymedes*. *Iliu* ſucceeded him. From *Aſtarachus* deſcended *Laomedon*, *Ganymedes* for his Beauty was ſtolen by *Tantalus* King of *Phrygia*, and Father to *Pelops*, whence aroſe a War, in which many loſt their Lives, and *Tantalus* (though the Son of *Jupiter* by the Nymph *Plota*) was beaten out of *Paphlagonia*, *Iliu* built the chief City on the Plain, which, though the *Latin* called it *Troja*, and we *Troy* (which Names moſt properly belong to the Country) yet the *Greeks* conſtantly *Ilium* from him. Againſt him and *Pelops* made an Expedition, and miſcarried in the Succels, as was ſaid before. *Laomedon* his Son ſucceeded him, who ſeeking to defraud *Hercules* of his wages for killing the Whale, which ſhould have devoured his Daughter *Heſione*, was outed of his Kingdom and Life; and *Priamus* his Son, for his love to Juſtice, was placed in his Throne.

27. *Podareus* (ſirnamed *Priamus*, as *Apollodorus* writeth) was exceeding rich, and had a large Dominion, extending from *Lexus* and *Tenedos* to the upper *Phrygia*, containing (g) nine Diviſions, and many Towns beſides. He had fifty Sons, (h) whereof ſeventeen were lawfully begotten. His fiſt Wiſe was *Arche* the Daughter of *Metop*, on which he begot *Heſechus*. Diſmiſſing her, he married *Hebe*, the Daughter of *Dymas*, *Ciffens*, or *Sangarius* (all which are mentioned) and by her he had *Heſtor*, *Paris*, *Heleus*, *Deiphobus*, and others. Before ſhe was brought to bed of *Paris*, ſhe dreamed that ſhe was delivered of a Fire-brand, which ſhould con-

(a) Confuted by Strabo. lib. 1. p. 184. (b) Cicero de Senectute. l. 1. (c) Diodor. lib. 4. p. 194. (d) Idem. (e) Idem. (f) Homer. (g) Idem. (h) Idem.

Sect. 3. confume to ashes the whole City. (a) Priamus hereupon caused the Child to be expofed on the Mountain *Ida*, but by the procurement of his Mother, he was educated amongst the Shepherds, whom, becaufe he afflied againft the Robbers, and fhewed himfelf very courageous, he obtained the name of *Alexander*. He (whether out of Defign or no, is uncertain) came to *Sparta*, to the Houfe of *Menelaus* the King, and thence ftole his Wife *Helena*, which (b) report he took away by force, and that after the taking of the City; but (c) others affirm of her, as of all others thus taken away, that it was not without her own liking. Fearing he might be purfued, he carried her fift to *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*, where he married her, and thence to *Troy*; at which City they were fcarce arrived, before all *Greece* was in an uproar, as if the whole Countrey had been over-run. *Agamemnon*, who was much concerned for his Brother, poffeffing almoft all *Peloponnefus*, by his Authority eafily perfwaded other Princes to engage in the Quarrel. He fift afsembled them at (d) *Hegium*, a City of *Achaia*, to confult about the management of the War, where being chofen General, they afterwards met at *Aulis*, a Sea-Town of *Beotia*, with their Ships, and there fware never to return home, till *Troy* fhould be taken.

The Names of the chief amongst the Grec. Warri. Outs.

(a) Appell. (b) Hærod. l. 1. c. 3. (c) Strabo in Virgil. l. 10. (d) Pausan. in Achaia. A. M. 2812.

28. The chiefest of thefe renowned Warriours were *Neflor*, who reigned in *Mefſenia*, *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* Prince of the Ifland *Salaminæ*, *Ajax* the younger, or the Son of *Oileus* King of *Laœri*, over againft *Eubœa*, *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus* by the Goddeſs *Thetis*, whose Principality was *Phthiotæ*, part of that Countrey afterwards called *Thessaly*, *Ulyſſes* the Son of *Laertes* King of *Cephalonia*, *Thoas* the *Æolian*, *Podalirius* and *Machaon*, Sons of the third *Æſculapius*, and *Telemachus* the Son of *Hercules*, who now inhabited the Ifland *Rhodes*. They made up amongst them a Navy of about 1000 Ships, and therein transported an Army of 120000 men. From *Aulis* they failed to *Lemnos*, and thence, miſſing of *Troy*, into *Mylia*, which miſtaking for their Enemies Countrey, they began to make Incurſions into it, and were beaten back by *Telephus* Prince thereof; all but *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, the former whereof fore wounded him: and *Thersander* General of the *Beotians* here loſt his Life, into whose Room, becaufe his Son *Tijſameneus* was but young, they elected *Peneleus*. A Conſtit presently enſued their Arrival at *Troy*, wherein *Proteſſus* was ſlain by a *Dardanian*, as *Homer* calleth him, (either *Hector* or *Æneas*) and then the *Greeks* ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Ambaſſadours, to demand *Helena*. *Priamus* calling a Council to deliberate about the Matter, *Antenor* was for delivering her up, and ſo were the reſt of the grave and ancient Men, though they attributed much to the Beauty of the Woman; but *Antimachus* being corrupted by the Gold of *Paris*, urged the contrary, and not only moved to have the Meſſage rejected, but the Meſſengers killed.

Pausanias in Beotia.

29. *Priamus*, though otherwiſe prudent enough, rejected the Counſel of the old men, and out of Indulgence to his Son, ſent away the Ambaſſadours without any Satisfaction. Then both Parties prepared for the War, and another Engagement followed, wherein the *Greeks* had the better, who then dividing their Forces, left part to continue the Siege, and with the other, *Achilles* (who took with him *Palamedes*) was ſent to haraſſe the Countrey, and cut off Proviſions from the City. This he ſo well performed, as he took 23 Towns, and therein got much Booty, which was divided. Whilſt *Palamedes* was with him carrying on the War in the Ifland *Lesbos*, *Ulyſſes* envying him for his great Wiſdom, wherein he ſeemed to overtop him, circumvented him by Treachery, and by falſe Suggeſtions procured him to be ſent for to the Camp, and ſtoned as a Traitor, though he had exceedingly well deſerved of the Army, being a Perſon of great Courage (which he alſo expreſſed at his Death) and yet ſo moderate and wiſe, that he thereby allayed the too much Heat of *Achilles*. To him ſome attribute the Invention of 16 Letters in the *Greek Alphabet*, others only 4. but withal, the Ordering and ranking of an Army, the watch word, Guards, and Dice to divert the Souldiers. His Death was grievouſly taken by *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, who for ſome time abſented himſelf, but eſpecially by *Achilles*, who took it ſo heinouſly, that for a great while he would not be reconciled, nor brought to Fight, having much more Cauſe to be offended for this thing, than the detaining of a Woman from him by *Agamemnon*, as the Poet ſings, who indolently omitteſt whatſoever reflecteth upon *Ulyſſes*.

Virgil. lib. 11. Æneid. 7. c. 95.

30. *Achilles* determined not to fight till the *Trojans* ſhould pierce as far as his own Ships, which at length happening, he fiſt ſent out *Patroclus* in his Armour, who had deſired it. *Patroclus* with the *Myrmidones* (*Achilles* his Subjects) put the *Trojans* to flight, who now had begun to caſt Fire into the Ships, flew *Pyrrhæus* with his own hand, purſued *Hector*, and ſmote *Sarpedon* King of *Lycia* about the Heart

Læg. Simphon. in Ciceron. Cat. lib. ad A. M. 2810. &c.

Patroclus slain.

Hector slain.

Achilles treacherouſly killed by Paris.

Troy taken.

The Greeks return home.

Heart ſo that he died; but being wounded by *Euphorbus*, who came behind him, he was ſlain by *Hector*, *Euphorbus* endeavoured to get his Body, but was killed by *Menelaus*; and the Soul of theſe *Euphorbus* *Pythagoras* affirmed (according to his Principle of Commiggration) to have paſſed into his own Body. After this, *Achilles* (whose Preference formerly had kept the *Trojans* within their Walls) went out to fight, and taking twelve young men alive, flew them at the Funeral of *Patroclus*. By the River *Scamander* (or *Xanthus*) he killed *Antiphoes*, Captain of the *Peones*, from whom, though he received a Wound in the Arm, yet went he to fight with *Hector*, who expected him without the Walls, and would not be perſwaded to decline his Fury, though it proved his Ruine, being ſlain in this ſingle Combat about the 30th year of his Age. His Body tied to a Chariot, the Conquerour drew in. Triumph about the Walls, but afterwards it was ransomed by *Priamus*. After this he flew *Memnon* the Nephew of *Priamus* by his Brother *Tithonus*, who was ſent out of *Perſia* by the *Aſſyrian* King *Tentamus* to his Aid; then *Trilus* his Son by *Hecluba*, and laſtly *Pentheſſea* one of the *Amazons*, who for Murder had fled her Countrey, and coming to *Troas* after *Hector*'s Death, did good Service againſt the *Greeks*. When dead, *Achilles* is ſaid to have been enamoured of her Body, and with her alſo the Valour of this ſort of Women is believed to have been extinct.

Diomedes l. 2. p. 91.

Strabo.

31. *Achilles*, whom no Art nor Valour of the *Trojans* could overcome, was taken by the Love of a Woman, and ſlain by Treachery. For having a View of *Polyxena*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, from the Wall, he became ſo inflamed to her in his Affections, that he proceeded to a Treaty of Marriage, wherein he was ſhot with a Dart by *Paris*, who hid himſelf behind the Image of *Apollo*, which *Idol* is therefore ſeigned an Aſſiſtant in the Work. Afterwards the *Greeks* had it revealed to them, that except they could take the *Palladium*, or Image of *Pallas* out of the City, till they ſhould get *Hercules* his Arrows, and provide a wooden Horſe, *Troy* could never be taken. *Ulyſſes* therefore, and *Diomedes*, as *Virgil* ſingeth, ſtole away the Image; *Philoctetes*, who had the Arrows, was ſent for from the Ifland *Lemnos*, and with them flew *Paris* the Incendiary, after whose Death *Deiphobus* the Son of *Priamus* obtained *Helena*, as being of beſt Account for Valour, next to his Brother *Hector*. Then was a wooden Horſe prepared by the hands of *Epeus*, which pretending to dedicate to *Minerva*, they left before the City, having indolently made it higher than the Gates, hoping the *Trojans* would pull down part of the Wall to take it in. They left alſo ſome of their choicelt men in the Horſes Belly, and *Sinon* with his hands bound behind him, who under Notion of a Fugitive that had been ill uſed, ſhould perſwade them to receive it into the City; and then giving out that they would raiſe the Siege for ſome time, they withdrew into the Ifland *Tenedos*. The *Trojans* with great Reſolution break down the Wall, and taking in the Horſe placed him in the Cattle; but in the Night *Sinon* giving Warning by Fire, the *Greeks* came from *Tenedos*, and being eaſily let in by their Companions, by reaſon the *Trojans* had drunk themſelves faſt aſleep, the City was taken, ſacked and burnt. *Menelaus* killing *Deiphobus* in his Bed, took away *Helena*, and *Priamus* was ſlain in his own Houſe by *Pyrrhus* (or *Neoptolemus*) the Son of *Achilles*. Of the *Trojans* which eſcaped, *Antenor*, being ſpared by the *Greeks*, came with the *Hæneti* into the *Adriatick* Sea, where he built *Padua*, and *Æneas* the Son of *Anchife*, at length reached *Italy*. This Deſtruction of *Troy* hapned in the 10th year of the Siege, 408 before the fiſt *Olympiad*, 1182 before the *Æra* of Chriſt, of the World 2821. in the days of *Jephthah*, who judged *Iſrahel*.

Idem ad Virgil. Æneid. l. 3.

Æneid. 11.

A. M. 2821.

32. Of the *Greek* Captains which eſcaped, *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* ſtriving with *Ulyſſes* for the Armour of *Achilles*, and overcome by the Judgment of the Army, killed himſelf, or life was circumvented by his Adverſary. *Ajax* the younger, the Son of *Oileus*, having taken Priſoner *Cassandra*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, unwilling to part with her, was driven by the Plots of *Agamemnon* to liſt for himſelf, and putting out to Sea in an unſeaſonable time, miſcarried by Shipwrack. Of thoſe that returned home, moſt encountered with many Difficulties; *Ulyſſes* eſpecially, who for many years wandered about, as it is poetically deſcribed by *Homer*. *Menelaus* is obliged after the Work was done, preſently commanded the *Greeks* to prepare for their Return; but *Agamemnon* being unwilling to depart before he had ſacrificed to *Minerva*, the Fleet was divided, and a Contention aroſe betwixt the Followers of *Menelaus* when they came to *Tenedos*, becauſe ſome would have ſtayed for *Agamemnon* there; inſomuch as *Ulyſſes* then returned back to him. *Neflor* ſet ſail thence before *Menelaus*, but was overtaken by him about the Ifland *Lesbos*, whence they failed together as far as *Attica*, where *Menelaus* ſtaying to bury *Phroner*, the other left him, and came ſafe Home to *Pylos*. *Menelaus* his Ships were moſt of them over-whelmed

Idem in Odyſſ.

Sect. 3.

whelmed in a Tempest about the Promontory of *Malæa*, and the rest with him and *Helenæ* driven into *Ægeæ*, where and in other places he continued till the eighth year. *Agamemnon*, after he had sacrificed, and erected an Altar to the twelve Gods in the Promontory of *Troas*, came home, and was presently murdered by *Ægisthus*, the Son of his Uncle *Thyestes*, with whom *Clytemnestra* his Wife (the Daughter also of *Tyndareus* had lived in Adultery, and now conspired to make him away.

33. He left a Son named *Orestes*, and three Daughters begotten on this Woman. The Boy (for he was but young) was by his Sister *Electra*, and his Nurse, when they perceived his Life was laid at by *Ægisthus* before his Fathers Return, conveyed into *Phocis*, unto *Strophius*, who had married his Father's Sister, whence returned the eighth year after his Death, he killed *Ægisthus* together with his Mother, and recovered the Kingdom. Because of his Mothers Death he was vexed by the Furies, and found some Difficulty in mastering his Fathers Dominions, though *Menelaus* his Uncle, either for that he disapproved of his Mothers Death, or for private Respects, bare him no good Will, and neglected him, which he shewed further in taking from him his Daughter *Hermione* (who had brought him a Son) and giving her to *Pyrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*. Tormented with the Furies he went inquiring to *Arcadia*, and thence to *Athens*, where he was acquitted in the Court of *Areopagus* about his Mother, the Suffrages, for, and against him being equal, in which Case Judgment always passed on the Defendants side. A little after this he is thought to have killed *Pyrhus* as he was sacrificing to his Father at the Temple of *Delphos*, and then resumed his Wife. When *Menelaus* was dead he obtained the Kingdom of *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians* being more willing to receive him as the Grand-son of *Tyndareus* by *Clytemnestra*, than the base Sons of *Menelaus* *Nicofratus* and *Megapenthus* begotten on a Slave. It is probable that he, as his Father before him, was Supreme Lord of *Argos*, and that the Successor of *Melampus* and *Bias*, ever since the Division of the Kingdom, or for a good Space, held their Principalities of his Predecessors and himself. But now being King of *Lacedæmon*, and the greatest part of *Arcadia* lying near to *Argos*, after the Death of *Cylabates*, the Son of *Sthenelus* (who left no Children) and that *Amphilochus* was departed thence to the *Amphilochians* (to whom he gave name) having the *Phocians* constant Friends to him, he easily made himself sole Master of *Argos*, and so this Kingdom was re-united about 140 years after the threefold Division of it. Divers years after, he placed a Colony of the *Æolians* in *Asia* (four Ages before that of the *Ionians*) and shortly after died in *Arcadia*, when he had reigned 70 years.

Tisamenus.

34. He left two Sons: One Legitimate, and named *Tisamenus* (from his revenging his Fathers Death) begotten on *Hermione*; and another born of *Frigone* the Daughter of *Ægisthus*. *Tisamenus* succeeded him according to *Pausanias*, though *Paterculus* writeth that both of them reigned after their Fathers Death. Scarce was *Tisamenus* warm in his Seat, when he was displaced by the *Heracleidæ*, or Posterity of *Hercules*. They had several times attempted their Return into *Peloponnesus*, but were ever frustrated till now; *Hyllus* the Son of *Hercules* once or twice, *Cleodemus* his Son after him, and *Aristomachus* left three Sons, *Temennus*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*, which being grown up consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, concerning their Return, and had the same Answer their Father formerly had, that they should attain their Desire, if they went by the way *Stenyneus*, which Word in the Greek being of an ambiguous Signification, *Aristomachus* thinking by it to be meant the *Isthmus*, as a narrow way, led down his Forces through it, and miscarried. *Temennus* objecting this, the *Pythia*, or woman that delivered the Oracles, answered, that their Ancestors by their Misunderstanding had been Authors of their own Infelicity; for whereas *Hyllus* was told that the third Fruit was to be expected, the third Generation was meant, and not the third Crop or Summer, as he expounded it, and accordingly perished: And as for *Stenyneus*, by it they were to understand the Deep Sea on the right hand as one entrench *Peloponnesus*, and not the narrow *Isthmus*. Having received this Answer, and conceiving all things now to be fulfilled and ripe for their effectual Return, they built Ships in *Ætolia* upon that Sea, the Place wherein they were made thenceforth keeping the name of *Neopædus* from that Occasion. Whilst they were about this Work, a certain Prophet appeared to them, and foretold them several things; but *Hippotes* taking him for a Magician sent on Purpose to delude the Army, killed him. For this a Pestilence was sent amongst them, about which consulting the Oracle they were bidden to banish *Hippotes* for ten years, and use the Conduct of a Captain with three Eyes, for two years space.

35. Seek-

Consult Strabo.
l. 1. p. 37. Or.
Homer. Odyss. 4.

Legt Simfonius
in Chironia.
A. M. 2825.

Paterculus l. 1.

Pausan. in Co-
rinthiacis.

Strabo l. 13.
p. 52.

Wide Pausan.
p. 60.
Apollodorus
l. 2. pag. 129.

The Return
of the Heracleidæ.

35. Seeking out such a man, they met one *Oxylus*, an *Ætolian*, Son to *Thous* that went to the Siege of *Troy*; who being on Horse-back had but one Eye, now returning into his own Country from *Eles* in *Peloponnesus*, whither he had been banished for killing a man. Him they made Captain of the Expedition, bargaining to procure him the Possession of *Elis* as *Pausanias* witnesseth, who reporteth him to have ridden on a Mule that had but one Eye, and therefore to have been taken for the man meant by the Oracle, through the Persuasion of *Cresphontes*. Being ready, they gave out they would march again through the *Isthmus*, and by that Means the *Peloponnesians* attending their Motions there, easily passed over the Sea, and landed at *Molycrium*. Three parts of *Peloponnesus* especially they challenged as their Due: *Argos*, because defended of *Perseus*, whereas *Tisamenus* the present King was of the Posterity of *Pelops*, who had no Right to that Kingdom. *Lacedæmon*, for that *Hercules* killed *Hippocoon*, who had expelled *Tyndareus* thence, and restored the latter to the Kingdom on this Condition, to keep it for his Children. *Messenia*, because having also conquered it, when he destroyed the City *Pilus*, and slew all the Brothers of *Nestor*, he gave it to him of meer Goodness and Compassion, but on the same Condition, as *Lacedæmon* to *Tyndareus*. The Dominion of *Argos* without much ado they got into their hands; after that, taking a certain Village in the Confines thereof, *Temennus* fortified it, and used it for a Place of Retreat for carrying on the War. One *Philonomus* betrayed *Sparta* into their Hands, which they entered with found of Pipes instead of Trumpets, as most effectual by the Tune, to make the Souldier attentive, and keep his Ranks, which Use was constantly observed by the *Lacedæmonians*, together with that of the Harp.

Temennus ob-
tained Argos.

Cijus.

All Regal Pow-
er taken from
his Successors.

36. *Tisamenus* and the *Achaean*s thus expelled these parts, and out of *Messenia* by the *Heracleidæ* and *Dorians* their Associates, sent to the *Ionians* then inhabiting *Peloponnesus*, their Neighbours, desiring Leave to live amongst them. But they being jealous of him, left for his high Birth and Valour, he should be chosen King of the Country, denied their Request. The *Achaean*s then, driven by Necessity and Desperation, attempted to get by Force, what they could not by Intreaty, and though they lost *Tisamenus* in the Fight, drove the *Ionians* out of their Seats, and constrained them to pass into *Attica*, where they were received by the *Athenians*, through the Persuasion of *Melanthus* the King. As for the *Heracleidæ*, when they came to divide what they had won, *Argos* fell to *Temennus*; *Cresphontes*, by Fraud used in the Lot, obtained *Messene*; and *Lacedæmon* became the Portion of *Procles* and *Eurysthenes*, the Sons of *Aristodemus*, who was slain by the Sons of *Pylas*, Kinmen to *Tisamenus*, before they entered *Peloponnesus*: they also, according to their Engagement possessed *Oxylus* of *Elis*.

37. *Temennus* being settled in *Argos*, after some years incurred the Displeasure of his Sons; for marrying his Daughter *Hyrnebo* to *Deiphontes* his Kinman; he so affected them two above his other Children, that he made him his only Counsellor in all Affairs; inasmuch that his Sons fearing he would transfer the Kingdom from themselves to him, made their Father away by one Means or other. And *Cresphontes* his Brother, who had used too much Cunning in getting *Messene*, not long after, seeming to be too Gracious with the People, incurred the Displeasure of the Nobility, and was murdered together with two of his Sons; only *Epius*, then but young, escaped, and killing *Polyphontes* the Usurper, revenged his Father's Death. Recovering thus the Kingdom, he had Successors, *Glaucus*, *Isthmias*, *Doradas*, *Sylotus*, *Phintus*, *Antiochus*, and *Euphaes*, who dying of a Wound, received in a Battle fought with the *Lacedæmonians*, without Issue, *Aristodemus* was elected in his Room, and continued as long as the Kingdom it self lasted, being overturned by Means of the *Spartans*, as will be seen in their Story. *Cijus* the eldest Son of *Temennus* succeeded him, though the People generally inclined to *Deiphontes*, by whose party they were so stirred up and animated, that *Cijus* being dead, they took away from his Successors all Regal Power and Authority, left them nothing but a meer empty Title, and so in Reality, this Kingdom fell, being in Effect turned into a Free-State. Which Change happened about forty years after the Return of the *Heracleidæ*, 690 after the Beginning of *Inachus*. A. M. 2940.

The Kingdom
of the *Inachidæ*
moderate.

38. One (and he a great one) there is, who would gather out of an old Tragedian, that the ancient Government of this Kingdom of the *Inachidæ* was merely absolute, the King being by the Poet called both *People* and *City*, not subject to any *Laws*, but sustained by the Power of his Throne, and acting all things according to his Will and Pleasure. But if Credit may be given to the expels words of *Pausanias*, rather than the Liberty of a Poet, *Emmias* thence concludeth, their Power was but moderate; for the *Argives* sixth *Pausanias*, from the most ancient times were exceeding studious of Liberty. Out of this Principle (being stirred up as it

Sect. 3.

Apollodorus.

Eliat. 1. p. 150.

Pausan. Strabo.
l. 1. p. 37.
A. M. 2901.

Legt Pausan. in
Argivis. Strabo.
l. 1. p. 352. Or.

Strabo. lib. 10.

p. 365.

Pausanias.

Pausan. in A-
chaicis. Diffi-
cultas et Latini-
tis.

idem in Argi-
viciis.

in Aristoteli.

A. M. 2940.

Græciæ et Cæ-
saris in Argi-
viciis, de iure
lib. 1. cap. 3.
in Corinthiacis.
pag. 61.

Sect. 4.

The Govern-
ment made
Democratical.

semet by the Party of *Deiphontes*) they abated the Power of *Cisus* his Successors, leaving them nothing but an empty Name. And this they further shewed, when *Melus* the Son of *Lacidamus*, one of these Kings, not enduring this Abatement, grew as they thought, Diffolute and Imperious in the Government. For, impatient hereof, they deprived him of all Power, took upon them to condemn him to Death, and plucked up all Supremacy by the roots, not suffering any afterwards to reign amongst them. For, though we meet with one afterwards, called *King of Argos*, in *Herodotus*; yet that Name signified no more than it did in the Common-wealths of *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Rome*, where this Title was wont to be given to some sorts of Officers, as this work will shew. The Government was now Democratical, the chief Power lying in the People, divided into three Tribes, to which the Senate was subordinate, chosen every year for the preparing of matters for the whole Body, and the management of the Executive Power, with Authority to Enact things of lesser consequence. There was also a Council of State, consisting of 80 Persons, besides Inferiour Magistrates of the City, and Judges for determining of Causes, all which are mentioned in the League, made betwixt the *Argives*, *Athenians*, and others, described by *Thucydides* in his fifth Book of the *Peloponnesian War*. No further Intelligence have we concerning the constitution of this Common-wealth, which yet flourished downwards for many Ages, and had great Contests with the *Lacedaemonians*, especially about the Territories of *Thrace*, to which both laid claim. Sometimes they fell out about their Confederates, being moved with much emulation and dissimulation at each others Government (the one being a *Democracie*, and the other an *Oligarchy*) which once especially brought the State of *Argos* into great danger. But these things belong to another place.

SECT. IV.

The most ancient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Athens.

Cecrops.

THE Founding of the *Athenian Kingdom* is ascribed to (a) *Cecrops*, who first reigned in *Attica* (then *Ade*) in the days of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, 373 years before the destruction of *Troy*, 780 before the first *Olympiad*, A.M. 2449. The (b) *Egyptians* said he was their Countryman, and brought hither a Colony of the *Saite*, who inhabited upon one of the Mouths of *Nile*. He was fabled to be double-natured, consisting both of a Serpentine and Humane shape, because, coming into *Greece*, he shook off Barbarism, and turned Civil. Besides this Colony, he gathered the People of these Parts into twelve Towns, whereas before that, they lived dispersedly, according to the most ancient custom of *Greece*, and called them *Athens*, after the name of *Minerva* in the *Greek Language*. The Story is (c) told, that when the name came to be given, on a sudden an Olive-tree, and a Fountain of Water appeared, whereto *Cecrops* moved with wonder, sent to enquire of the Oracle what they should mean. It was answered, that the Olive signified *Minerva*, the Water *Neptune*, and that they might name that City from which of these two they pleased. Hereupon, all the Men and Women were gathered together to make the choice: the Men were for *Neptune*, but the Women, being the greater number, carried the name for *Minerva*. *Neptune* angry hereat, drowned their Territories, whom to pacify, they punished the Women several ways. They decreed, that thenceforth they should not have a Voice in any Publick matter; that no Child should bear the Mother's name, and that they should not be called *Athenas*, but *Attica*. Some Women, known by the name of *Minerva*, there have been, though impure Spirits, ambitious to blind men with Superstition and Idolatry, might well act in this matter, as *Augustine* telleth us, under the name of *Neptune*.

Several Mises-
takes.

2. *Cicero* (d) mentioneth five several Women that have had the name of *Minerva*. The first was the Mother of *Apollo* by *Vulcan*. The second born of the River *Nile*, and worshipped by the *Saite*. The third Daughter to *Jupiter Caelus*. The fourth begotten by *Jupiter* on *Ceriphe*, Daughter to the *Ocean*, called *Coria* by the *Arcadians*; which invented the Chariot drawn by four Horses. The fifth was the Daughter of *Pallas*, said to have killed her Father, because he attempted to violate her

(a) *Euphrosia* in
Cicero, ex Co-
lure,
A.M. 2449.
(b) *Diomedes*,
l. 1. p. 17.
(c) *Augustine*,
ex *Parrois*, de
Civitate, Dei,
l. 18. c. 9.
(d) *De nativitate*
Deorum.

and Athens.

Deduction his
Story.

His Office,
which is espe-
cially to be
noted, for a
distinct know-
ledge of the
several forms of
Greece.

The Council
of Areopagus.

CRACRUS.

Virginity. Of these the second must be the that was thus honoured by *Cecrops*, having founded the City *Sais*, near to *Delta*, being by the *Egyptians* called *Neub*. To her he had formerly erected a Statue in *Aegypt*, and he, as they say, first gave the name of *Zeus* to him whom the *Latins* called *Jupiter*. As there were several *Minervaes*, so also more (a) than one City known by the name of *Athens*. From this in *Attica*, the Citizens were by the *Romans* called *Athenienses*; but another there was in *Euboea*, built by *Cecrops* the Son of *Erechtheus*, the Inhabitants of which went by the name of *Athenai*: and a City in *Narbonne*, a Province of *Gaul*, near to *Marzeille*, called *Athenopolis*, and the Citizens *Athenopolitae*. There was also in *Laconia* a Town called by the name of *Athens*.

3. In the days of (b) *Cecrops*, *Deduction* the Son of *Prometheus* reigned in *Theffalia*, whose History being remarkable, must be briefly touched. *Apetus* had three Sons, *Atlas*, *Prometheus*, and *Epimetheus*. For (c) the first, One telleth us, there were three that bore the name of *Atlas*. One a *Moor*, and the greatest of all; another an *Italian*, Father to *Elefira*; the third an *Arcadian*, Father of *Maia*, the Mother of *Mercury*; all which the Antients confound according to their Custom. The first (d) lived near to Mount *Atlas*; to which, for his great Skill in Astrology, is attributed the bearing up of the Heavens; and he is also counted the Father of *Bellona*. *Prometheus* found out the instrument to strike fire, and thereupon is said to have stolen fire from the Gods. *Deduction* his Son married *Pyrrha* the Daughter of his Uncle *Epimetheus*, and in his time (e) happened that great Deluge in part of *Greece*, which is known by the addition of his name; that Country called most antiently and truly *Hellas*, his Seat near to the Mountain *Parnassus* being chiefly afflicted with it, on which Hill he is thought to have saved many men by Boats, and thence the Fable to have risen of his re-peopling the Earth. But (that we may note it altogether) there are three particular Floods which we read to have happened to this Country of *Greece*. The first, under *Ogyges* (called the *Ogygean Deluge*) concerning whom we shall speak in the History of *Thebes*. This fell 248 years before either of the other, and overwhelmed *Attica*, especially so, that as *Perennis* will have it, it remained waste 200 years after. The next was this *Deduction*, which happened 737 years before the first *Olympiad*: and the (f) third fell 86 years after it, in the days of *Dardanus* and *Cadmus*.

4. *Deduction* of *Pyrrha* his Wife begat *Hellen* and *Ambiphion*. *Hellen* gave the name of *Hellenes* to his Subjects before called *Graci*, and of *Hellas* to the Country formerly named *Pelagisa*, from the *Pelagi* (who there inhabited) as *Hemania* from *Hemon*, the Son of *Pelagus*, and *Pyrrha* from *Pyrrha*. He had three Sons, *Xuthus*, *Aeolus*, and *Dorus*. To *Aeolus* he left his Kingdom, and sent the other two abroad to seek out Seats elsewhere. *Aeolus* grew so famous, that the name of *Jupiter* at *Neptune* came to be given him. *Dorus* inhabited the Country *Hysiothis*, about the Mountains *Offa* and *Olympus*. *Xuthus* after his Father's death, was banished *Theffaly* by his other Brothers, for stealing away a great part of his Fathers Treasure, and came to *Athens*, where he married the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, on which he begat *Achaeus* and *Ion*. *Achaeus* getting aid from *Athens* and *Regulus*, went into *Theffaly*, and recovered his Grand-father's Kingdom; but afterwards killing a man by chance, he fled into *Lacomia*, where his Posterity continued till expelled by the *Heracleidae* and *Dorians*, as we shewed in the History of *Tismenus*. *Ion* being exceeding famous at *Athens*, had a numerous Progeny, which, for that *Attica* was now grown too full, was sent out as a Colony into *Peloponnesus*, whence they were thrust out by their Brethren the *Achaens*, after they had denied them harbour (as is formerly said) and returned to *Athens*, from which City they were afterwards led out into *Asia*, by the Sons of *Codrus*. But these things happened in after-times.

5. In *Cecrops* his time (g) one maketh the Council, or Senate of *Areopagus* to have had its Original, though no clear light can we discover concerning the true beginning of it. (h) Some write that it began under *Solon*, but (i) another of a more ancient date signifieth, that it was a Court of Judicature before. (k) One deriveth the word from *Mars*, (in *Greek Aris*) making him to have been first tried there for killing *Halirrhodius*, the Son of *Neptune*, who offered Violence to his Daughter *Alcippe*. Others would fetch a reason from the erecting his Spear there; or from this, that the Court of *Areopagus* took Cognizance of Slaughters, which are usually committed with Swords or other Weapons of *Mars*. Lastly, some think it thence to have been named, for that the *Amazonians*, when they fought against *Theffalus*, made *Mars* his Hill their Fortrefs, and there offered Sacrifice to him. * *Cecrops* died after he had reigned fifty years, and because *Erythron* his Son died before him, *Cracrus* the most powerful man then at *Athens*, succeeded him in the Kingdom. He, after

Sect. 4.

(a) *Varro* de
Aetologia,
lib. 1. c. 1.
(b) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(c) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(d) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(e) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(f) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(g) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(h) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(i) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.

(f) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(g) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.

Strabo lib.
10. c. 1.

Strabo lib.
10. c. 1.
Strabo lib.
10. c. 1.

(a) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(b) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(c) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
(d) *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.

* *Strabo* lib.
10. c. 1.
lib. 10. c. 1.

ter he had reigned some seven years, was thrust out by *Ampylion*, the Son of *Democleion*, and his Son-in-law, the Founder, as some have thought, of the National Council of the *Ampylionians*, of which we have already spoken. He is reported to have given entertainment to *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus*, who, at this time, as they say, came into *Attica*, and when he had reigned ten years, was also expelled by *Erichthonius*.

6. The Father of *Erichthonius* was said to be *Vulcan*, and his Mother, the Earth; because he was found in *Vulcan's* Temple upon the Earth, with a Snake wound about his feet, whence also they feigned that he had feet like Snakes, and invented a Chariot wherein he might ride and hide them. He instituted Games to *Apollo* and *Minerva*, and having reigned fifty years, left his Kingdom to his Son *Pandion*, who also, after forty, gave way to his Son *Erechtheus*. He became a man of great account; and whereas the Subjects of *Athen* were before his time called *Cecropidae*, thenceforth they were named after the Place it self. He made War upon the Inhabitants of *Eleusine*, *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, and his own Grand-son, by his Daughter, being his chief Commander, wherein, after he had slain *Immarthus*, the Son of *Enmolpus* their General, he also lost his Life, when he had reigned fifty years. He left three Sons, *Cecrops*, *Metion*, and *Pandorus*, who falling into contention about the Succession, put it to the Arbitration of *Xuthus*. He adjudged it to the eldest, but yet would they not rest satisfied, which made him leave *Athen*, and go into *Egiale*, where he died. This *Cecrops* the second, some think to have gathered the People into twelve Towns, for that living dispersedly abroad, the *Carians* by Sea, and the *Baotians* (called *Æone*) by Land, harassed the Country, as * *Strabo* writeth. At the end of forty years, his Son, named *Pandion*, succeeded him, who was expelled the Kingdom by the Sons of *Metion* his Uncle, and fled to *Pyla*, the King of *Megara*, his Father-in-law, who left him his Successor. Will't he here reigned, he begat four Sons, *Ægeus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*, who after his death went against the *Metionidae*, and expelled them *Athen*, the Dominions whereof they divided into four parts, according to their Father's injunctions, *Megara* falling to *Nisus*, who reigned there a long time.

7. Though this division was made, yet was *Ægeus* Sovereign in effect, for fear of whom, *Lycus* fled to *Athen*. *Pallas* the other Brother had fifty Sons, which growing up, gave cause enough to *Ægeus* to be jealous of them, having him in contempt because he was childless. For though he married two Wives, yet had he Issue by neither of them, which made him go to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle about Posterity. The answer being obscure, in his return he was entertained by *Pittacus*, the Son of *Pelops*, a man famous for Learning, at *Trezena*, who, either understanding the Oracle, or otherwise induced, made his Daughter *Ælira* to lye with him, after he had caused him to drink good store of Wine. At his departure he put a Sword, and a Knife under a great Stone, bidding her, if she brought forth a Boy, as soon as he could remove the stone, and take those things from under it, to send him with them as Tokens, unto *Athen*, and he would own him for his Son. She accordingly brought forth a Son (called *Theſeus*, from putting the marks under the stone) whom *Pittacus* brought up; and for that he proved exceeding Prudent and Courageous, his Mother at sixteen years of Age brought him to the Stone, acquainting him with his Original, and his Father's Injunctions. He easily removing it, and taking away the Tokens, prepared for his Journey; but they were unwilling to let him go by Land, because all the wayes were full of Robbers, since *Hercules* (who went up and down destroying them) after his killing of *Iphitus*, had quitted those Parts, and was gone into *Lycia*, where for some years he served *Omphale* the Queen. But *Theſeus*, burning with emulation upon hearing continually the Praise of *Hercules* his Kinman (for their Mothers were next Cousins) resolved to take that way to obtain fame Renown in killing those Robbers; and effected his Design upon several of them.

8. Being arrived at *Athen*, he was in danger to be poisoned by his Father, through the pervasion of *Medea*, (who now was fled to him from *Corinth*, and filled his jealous Head with suspicions of this Stranger) till thinking it wisdom to make himself known, rather than let another do it, he threw him the Tokens, which he presently acknowledged, and owning him for his Son, made his Subjects, as such, to take notice of him. But the Sons of *Pallas*, who before had been Seditious, now seeing all hopes of the Kingdom taken from them by him, and disdaining that *Ægeus* should first reign himself, being not of the Blood Royal, but adopted only by *Pandion* (as *Plutarch* writeth) and then leave for his Successor a Stranger, and a Bastard, they took Arms; and the better to accomplish their Design, divided themselves

sefves into two Parties, whereof the one came openly with their Father against *Athen*, and the other lay in ambush. *Theſeus* having notice of the latter fort, surprized, and cut them all off, which fo discouraged the other, as they separated themselves and fled. *Theſeus* after this, to employ himself, and gain the Favour of the People, went, and took the *Marathonian* Bull, fetch'd out of *Crete* by *Hercules*, and brought him quick into the City, after he had infested the Countrey very much. Then failed he to *Crete*, where, as the Fable goeth, he flew the *Minotaur*, a Monster kept by *Minos*, King of that Island.

9. *Minos*, (a) *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon* were the children of *Jupiter* by *Euro-* (a) *Diadus* *pa*, and all adopted by *Asterius* (the Grand-son of *Hellen*, by his Son *Telusmanus*) (a) p. 183. King of that Island, who married their Mother, and was childless. *Minos* was the Law-giver of the *Cretians*; this honour being ascribed to him by the most Authentick of ancient (b) Authors. Yet (c) *Ephorus* in his Book of *European* Common- (b) *Plato* in *Legibus* wealths, wrote, that he was but an Imitator of one *Rhadamanthus* (of the same name with his Brother, who by others is also said to have been employed by *Minos* (c) *Apud* *Strabo* in this work, but more ancient) who first cultivated the Island by Laws, Cities, (c) *Apud* *Strabo* and Commonwealths, feigning that he had from *Jupiter* all the Ordinances which he published. In (d) imitation of him, *Minos* having continued in the Cave of *Ju-* (d) *Enchiridion* *piter* nine years, produced Laws in Writing, and ascribed them to the same Author, as *Homer* also hinteth; which (e) word of *Homer*, though *Strabo* taketh to signifie (e) *Odys.* a continuance for ten years, yet *Plato*, and from him (f) *Valerius Maximus*, inter- (f) *Lib. l. c. 2.* pret it not of nine years continuance, but every ninth year, wherein, as it seemeth, he amended his Laws. Although *Minos* was a King, yet he directed (according to * *Ephorus*) the whole Model of his Laws to the Freedom of his Subjects. This Li- * *Apud* *Strabo* berty he thought to be preserved best by Concord, which would be most establish- (g) *Extor. Excerpt.* ed by the prevention of Avarice and Luxury, the great causes of Disagreement. He would therefore have them all live soberly and frugally, to which purpose he ordained, that Boyes should live together in Companies, called *Ageles*, when they were grown up, and men, in others, called *Syllitia*, from eating together, (which they also named *Andria* from their Manhood) that taking their Meat all in publick, the Poor might live in equal condition with the Rich.

10. After the abdication of Regal Power, the chief Magistracy was exercised by ten *Cosmi*, in Power, though not in Number, like to the *Spartan* *Ephori*, being chosen out of the lowest sort of People as those; yet not out of the whole Body, but of particular Families, which Custom *Aristotle* accounteth worse than the other of *Lacedæmon*. Those *Cosmi* at home Governed the Common-wealth; in War commanded the Army with absolute Authority. There was also a Senate chosen out of those who in this Office had well demeaned themselves, being for life, and not liable to be called to account. There was an Order of *Horse-men*, who were bound to keep Horses for the service of the State, whereas they at *Lacedæmon* had no such tie upon them. In the *Concilio*, or great Assembly, all Members of the Common-wealth had equal Votes, but its Power was not great, confirming only what was propounded by the Senate and *Cosmi*. They had publick Slaves, called *Pericæ*, from their inhabiting up and down the Countrey, who tilled the Grounds, and paid in a constant Revenue. All, when ripe of Age, were commanded to marry, for the propagation of legitimate issue: Yet did they not lead their Wives to their Houses, when newly married, but let them stay till they were fit to govern a Family. The Boyes took their meat altogether on the ground, serving themselves and the elder sort. They were clothed meanly, and alike both Winter and Summer; they used bickerings with one another, both with single Hand and Weapon, on certain days, and had those who exercised them also in Shooting, and a warlike kind of leaping, invented by *Cirex*; moreover, in certain Rhythms, called properly * *Rhythmi Cretici*. The *Cretians* had several commendable Laws, as that which severely restrained Drunkenness; another, commanded by *Plato*, that required an account how publick Corn was distributed and spent. The younger sort were utterly forbidden to make any enquiry into the Equity of the Laws, and if the elder were unsatisfied, without their knowledge, they were to have recourse to the Magistrates, and their own Equals. But, that the Laws might be engraven in their memories, the Boyes were wont when they were taught to read, to get some of them by heart, being put into Verse, together with some Musical Notes.

11. *Lycurgus*, the *Spartan* Law-giver, made this Model the Pattern of his new Common-wealth, having travelled into the Island, where he had converse with *Thales*, a man ennobled for his Laws, and Lyrick Poems; for we must not suppose *Minos* the sole Author of the *Cretian* Customs. As the *Cretians* had their *Cosmi*, so the *Spartans* had their *Agoræ*.

The Acts of
Theſeus.

Plut.

Apollodorus,
l. 3.

L. 9. p. 397.

Pausan. at
p. 11.

A. M. 2723.

Plutarch. in
Theſeus.

Apollod.
A. M. 2725.

Plutarch.

The Form of
the Cretian
Common-
wealth.

* *Polybius*
Historical.

* *Plutarch*
lib. 10.

so p. 482.

Sect. 4.

the Spartans their *Ephori*, though most probable it is, that these were brought in after the death of *Lycurgus*. As they a *Senate*, so these also endowed with the like Immunities. The *Concio*, or Assembly of the People in *Crete*, resolv'd nothing but what was propounded by the *Cosmi* and *Senate*, which was followed by the first Constitution of *Lycurgus*, the *Senate* propounding at *Sparta*. The *Periæti*, and *Holoti* sily agreed, though the *Cretians* received less damage from the former, because, being in an Island, there were no Neighbours to hold correspondence with the Slaves. The *Systitia* of the *Lacedæmonians* were fetched, as *Aristotle* proveth, from *Crete*, and their *Phiditia* taken from the *Andria* of that Place, as also their Education of Children was agreeable to the *Cretian*. *Plato* commendeth much the Commonwealth of *Crete*, and the Legislator for his Wisdom and Prudence, though he abominateth the immodest love of Boyes, and rejecteth his reason for it, which yet *Lycurgus* so approved, as to put it in his Model. *Aristotle* condemneth it, as also, amongst some other things, the Election of the *Cosmi*, and their too great advantage they had of raising Seditions in the State, when they came to be punished. But *Polybius* affirmeth, the two Commonwealths of *Crete* and *Sparta* to have vastly differed, not fearing to blame *Ephorus*, *Xenophon*, *Calisthenes*, and *Plato*, for saying they were very like; because with the *Cretians* it was usual to ingross Land and Money, whence they were avaricious, contentious, seditious, and what not? Moreover, they had annual Magistrates, whereas the other had two Kings for life. They were, he saith, fraudulent and crafty in their private Demeanour, and most unjust in their publick Councils. Though some publick Abuses taxed by *Polybius*, might have crept in in after times, yet it appeareth from the testimony of that Verse of *Epimenides* a *Cretian*, which *St. Paul* citeth and confirmeth,

de iis. Polliti.
lib. 2. cap. 8.

de legibus.
lib. 2.

lib. 4. c. 6.

Proverb. cum
Cretensibus
fors. lib. 8.

Κρήτες αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, καὶ οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, γαστρεὶς ἀργαί,

That the Disposition even of the old *Cretians* (for *Epimenides* is found contemporary with *Solon*) was very naught.

12. *Minos* succeeding his Step-father, begat *Lycastes*, and left him his Successor, who, on *Ida* the Daughter of *Corybas*, begat *Minos* the second, fathered also on *Jupiter*. He had Issue by *Pasiphae*, (Daughter to *Sol* and *Crete*) *Education Africa*, *Androgeos*, *Ariadne*, and other Children. *Androgeos* going to the Solemn Feast of the *Panathenæa*, instituted by *Theseus*, at *Athens*, excelled all men in the Exercises then performed, whereby he became familiarly acquainted with the Sons of *Pallas*. This, when *Ægeus* perceived, fearing they might by his means receive some aid and assistance, he procured him to be made away, at which *Minos* sore aggrieved, came to *Athens* to demand satisfaction, but obtaining none, is said to have procured from *Jupiter* a Famine to fall upon all *Greece*, and especially *Attica*, which could not be abated, till he received satisfaction. A yearly Tribute then he imposed on the *Athenians*, of seven Boyes, and as many Girls, which being unwillingly willing to submit to, they were sore displeased when they came to part with their Children, and repining at *Ægeus*, as the Author of their Calamity, at the third time of sending, *Theseus* offered himself to go amongst the rest. The Fable is, that they were to be devoured of the *Minotaur*, a Monster, whose upper Parts were like to those of a Man, but resembled a Bull in the other. Some thought there might be such a Monster indeed, but most account it fabulous, and it is interpreted to be meant of one *Taurus*, the Captain of *Minos*, who might have custody of these Children, whom *Aristotle* will not have killed, but made Slaves till their death. *Theseus* promising to kill this *Minotaur*, *Ægeus* with much ado'e yielded he should go, and commanded the Master of the Ship, that, whereas for the sadness of the occasion they used black Sails, if his Son came back alive, he should change them for white ones, as soon as they came within kenning of *Attica*.

Plutarchi
de iis.
lib. 2.

He kills the
Minotaur.

13. *Theseus* coming into *Crete*, by the help of *Ariadne* the Daughter of *Minos*, (which fell in love with him) got into the Labyrinth where the *Minotaur* was kept (and which was made by *Dædalus*, who having killed his Sisters Son at *Athens*, fled into this Island) and slew him. It is thought, that when he landed, he offered the Combat to whomsoever would accept of it, and that this *Taurus*, who bore himself high upon his Valour, and was hated by all for his ill manners, was forced by *Minos* to accept of it. *Theseus* having killed him, was so admired by the King, that he gave him back the Children, and remitted the Tribute. *Ariadne* fell in love with him, whom, some say, he carried away with him, but others, that he left her behind, and the hanged her self; several things, one contrary to another, being reported of her. Peace now being made, and *Theseus* returning homewards, they were so transported with Joy, that they forgot to set up the white Sails; whereupon *Ægeus*, despairing of his Son's safety, threw himself headlong from a Rock and

The Death of
Ægeus.

Philochorus
apud Plutarch.
cum iis. lib. 2.

Sect. 4.

and perished. From this *Ægeus* some would fetch the name of the *Ægean* Sea. But others think it was so called from *Æge*, the Island near *Eubœa*; others from *Æge* a Town of *Eubœa*; some from *Æga*, a Promontory of *Æolis*, and others from the Rock *Æge*, lying betwixt *Tenedos* and *Chios*; Again some from *Ægeus*, the Name of *Neptune* in *Pherecydes*; and others from *Ægeon*, the fame with *Briareus*, and others from a Goat, because by it's Turbulency it leapeth like that Creature. *Festus*, who deriveth the Name also from *Ægeus*, mentioneth other two Originals as probable, viz. the many Islands, which to one looking at them afar off, appear as Goats, in the Greek Language called *Æge*; and the perishing of *Æge* the Queen of the *Amazons* in it. Concerning *Ægeus*, *Suidas* telleth a long Story out of *Nicostratus*, which is refuted by the Scholiast of *Apollonius*, who concerning this, is to be consulted, together with *Strabo* and *Pliny*.

Theseus gathereth the Athenians into one City.

14. *Theseus* succeeding his Father, set himself all manner of ways to deserve well of his Subjects; Whereas before they were dispersed in twelve Towns or more, he gathered them into one City, as being more convenient for Strength, Concord, and Dispatch of publick Buisness. This being hard to effect, by reason that the People were unwilling to quit their present Possessions for new Hopes, he went from Place to Place, shewing them the Convenience of the thing; and that he might effectually perswade, he promised them Liberty, offering to lay down all Power except that of the Generalship, and of keeping the Laws; in all other things to be like them, and the Power to rest in the People. The Multitude being allured by this Promise, he made the chief City, called *Cecropia*, his Regal Seat, and built another about it for the People, which he divided into three Ranks, of *Nobility*, *Handmen*, and *Artificers*, all under the same equality of Liberty and Law. But the former sort he appointed to be the Fountain of Magistracy; yet so, as elective by the Suffrages of the other two. He abolished the several Courts of Judicature belonging to the twelve Towns, and constituted one general *Prætorium* in the City. Thus did he divest himself of all Royalty in a manner, and brought Popular-government into the State.

His Exploit.

15. As *Hercules* had instituted the *Olympick* Games in Honour of *Jupiter*, so he ordained the *Isthmian*, and dedicated them to *Neptune*. He failed with *Hercules* into the *Euxine* Sea (some say, by himself) against the *Amazons*, from amongst whom he got *Antiope* his Wife, which gave Occasion to that sort of Women to come against *Athens*. They fore distressed it by a Siege, till Peace was made by *Antiope* or *Hippolyta*, as others called her. Some have affirmed, that he was not Partaker in any Exploit with any of the *Heroes* of his time, except in that he helped the *Lapithæ* against the *Centauri*. Others again contend, that he failed to *Colchus* with *Jason*, and assisted *Meleager* in killing the Boar; whence came the Proverb, *Non sine Theseo*: he also performed many brave things by himself, without the Assistance of any, hence he came to be counted *Ater Hercules*. Having contracted near Friendship and Alliance with *Perithous* the Son of *Ixion*, being now 50 years old, he joynd with him in stealing away *Helena* the Daughter of *Tyndareus* from *Sparta*, and when they cast Lots who should have her, the fell to him. He carried her to his Mother living at *Aphidna*, there to be kept till she were ripe for Marriage: But having agreed that he who obtained her, should help the other to procure him a Wife elsewhere, they both travelled into *Epirus*, to steal thence the Daughter of *Aidonæus* King of the *Molossians*, whose Wife was called *Proserpina*, and his Dog *Cerberus*, he himself by the Fable being named *Pluto*. When he understood their Errand, that they came not to woo but to steal, he laid hands on them both, and caused his Dog to devour *Perithous*, kept *Theseus* in Prison, till *Hercules* desired he should be set at Liberty.

His Exile.

16. Whilst *Theseus* was absent, one *Menestheus* the Son of *Peleus*, (who was Grand-Son to *Erethæus* by his Son *Orneus*) incensed the People against him, and that upon the Account of that Change he had made in the State, which he would have them believe was intended to enslave them under Pretence of Liberty: and at this time came down the *Tyndaride*, *Cæstor* and *Pollux*, (some think by his Procurement) against *Athens* in Behalf of their Sister. Finding that he was not there, and discovering the place of her Restraint, they went to *Aphidna*, and taking it by Force recovered her, and took *Æthra* the Mother of *Theseus*, which afterwards accompanied her as her Servant to *Troy*, and at the taking of that Town was set at Liberty by her Grand-son *Demophon*. By Means of *Menestheus*, the *Tyndaride* were received into *Athens*, and great Honour was done unto them, which thing contributed to his Design. For when *Theseus* returned, the Citizens were so wrought upon, that in no wife would they be reconciled, and so was he forced to banish him.

Sec't. 4. himself into the Island *Seyrus*, having sent away his Children privately to *Elphenor* the Son of *Chalcedon* into *Eubœa*. One writeth, that sailing towards *Crete* to *Deucalion* the Son of *Minos* (whose Sister *Phœdra* he had married after the Death of *Antiope*) he was driven by Tempest upon *Seyrus*, the Inhabitants whereof receiving him with great Honour for Reverence of his Name, *Lycomedes* their King, out of Jealousie, made him away, having led him up to a Rock, as though to throw him the Country, and thence tumbled him down headlong.

And Death. *17. Menestheus* then began his Reign at *Athens*, in the days of *Atreus* King of *Argos* and *Mycene*, and some years after accompanied *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* to the Siege of *Troy*, with fifty Ships. During the War, we hear little or nothing of him, but after the City was taken, he honoured the Funerals of *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon* with a Funeral Oration, which work belonged to the *Athenians* to perform for those that died in the Wars; but within a while he himself afforded Matter for that Office, dying in the Isle *Melos* at his Return Homewards. After his Death *Demophon* the Son of *Theseus*, (who together with his Brother *Achæmes*, (both begotten on *Phœdra*) followed *Elphenor* to *Troy*) went to *Athens* and obtained the Kingdom. As he returned, *Phyllis* Daughter to *Sichon* and Queen of *Thrace*, fell in Love with him, and woo'd him for Marriage. He told her he would first go to settle his Affairs at *Athens*, and then come and marry her; but staying somewhat long, she had no Patience to wait, and thinking she was slighted, hanged her self. He stole the *Palladium* or Image of *Pallas*, from the *Argives*, who brought it from *Troy*, and in their Return with *Diomedes* made Encursions unwittingly into *Attica*, being driven by Night upon *Phalerus*, and not knowing where they were. He reigned about thirty four years, and then left his Kingdom to his Son *Oxyntes*, who after twelve was succeeded by *Aphidus* his Son, who reigned but one year. Then followed *Thymetes* the fifteenth King, who being a Bastard, is reported to have murdered *Aphidus* his Brother, and after eight years lost the Kingdom. He was the last of the *Erechthidae* that reigned at *Athens*.

18. It hapned that the State of *Athens* had War with the *Boeotians* about *Celœne*, a Place siting in the Confines of both Countries, and it pleased the Parties that their Kings should decide the Quarrel in their own Persons. *Thymetes* declined the Combat, and for that was depose. *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who was then driven from Home by the *Heraclide*, accepted it, and overcame *Xanthus* the *Boeotian* King by a Stratagem; for when they came to fight he cried out: *Thou dost not justly Xanthus, but contrary to our Agreement, who accompanied with another Person, comest to fight against me a single man*, at which he wondering, and looking back to see who should follow him, *Melanthius* ran him through with his Lance. He then reigned in the room of *Thymetes*, and at his Death left *Codrus* his Son his Successor; who willingly offered himself to Death for the Safety of his *Athenians*. There were now Distasts arisen betwixt the *Heraclide*, who held *Peloponnesus*, and them, for that they harboured the *Ionians*, and other Fugitives out of that Country; and at length the *Heraclide* intending to make War upon them, consulted the Oracle beforehand concerning their Success, which answered, that they should have the better, if they kept off their Hands from the *Athenian* King, and not otherwise. They gave Order to their Men to beware of hurting him; but he getting Knowledge of the Matter, disguised himself, and going into their Army, by blows provoked them to kill him. This being known, they raised the Siege, though some of them had already got into the City, on whom then the *Athenians* had Mercy, and dismissed them without any Harm. This hapned 486 years after *Cecrops*, 114 after the Destruction of *Troy*, 35 after the Return of the *Heraclide*, 293 before the first *Olympiad*. A. M. 2935.

19. After *Codrus* his Death, the People took away the Title of King, and gave the Name of *Archon* with a diminished Power to his Successor, who might be called to an Account for what he did, though he kept the Principality during Life. This was *Medon* the Son of *Codrus*, whom the rest of his Brothers despising, as weak, and lame, led out Colonies of the *Ionians*, and some others (*Attica* being now full) into *Alia*, and there founded the 12 Famous Cities of the *Ionians*, viz. *Ephesus*, *Miletus*, *Priene*, *Colophon*, *Mysus*, *Teos*, *Lecædæa*, *Claromene*, *Erythrae*, *Phœcea*, *Chius* in the Island *Chios*, and *Samos* in an Isle of the same Name over against *Ephesus*, which at first being subjected to several petty Princes, at length joyned in one Body politick, and became very famous in after-Ages. Twelve other *Archons* succeeded *Medon*, named from him *Medontide*, and in this Condition the State remained unaltered for 315 years, during which time there is little remarkable, either concerning Princes, or

or Commonwealth; only the Time of *Arifphon* the 19th *Archon* fell in with that of *Sardanapalus*, and *Alcæmon* the Son of *Ælphyus* was the last, who dying when he had scarce reigned two years, the People took another Occasion to alter the Government; for being weary of this perpetual Power of their Princes, they confined it to the Space of ten years. This Change being made about the Beginning of the first *Olympiad*, *Charops* was the first that underwent it, in whose time *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* will have *Rome* built. Six others succeeded him in the Power thus qualified, whereof *Hippomenes* the fourth in Order was the last of the Posterity of *Codrus*, being deposed for his Cruelty to his Daughter, whom being deflowered, he flung up with an Horle that had no Meat given him, and so caused to be devoured quick. The last of all the six was *Eryxias*, who after he had governed six years, either died, or being deposed for some Crime, opened the Door to a new and greater Innovation, after 70 years Continuance of the Decennial Government.

20. The People still burning with a Desire of greater Liberty, abolished quite the Power of a single Person, and instead of him made nine *Archons*, to be but annual, a new Election being to be made every year out of those who for Birth, Wealth or Favour were most considerable in this City. The first in Order was properly called *Archon*, as Principal of the Colledge, and *Eponymus*, because he signed the Calendar, and all things that fell out in that year, were said to be done he being *Archon*. He had the Care of their Superstition; to him it belonged to take Cognissance of Differences arising about Inheritances, as also betwixt Husband and Wife, Parents and their Children, and Kinsfolks one amongst another: Moreover, he took Care of Orphans, and assigned them Guardians. The second in Order had the name of *King*, who taking Care also of another part of their Superstition, determined Causes both Civil and Criminal, or referred them to the greater Courts of Judicature. The third was called *Polemarchus*, who besides the Charge of some religious Customs, had that of War committed to him (whence he had his name) was General of the Armies abroad, and at home the Judge of Strangers. The other fix were termed *Thesmothetæ*, being keepers of the Laws or Customs, Judges in several Cases, and had Power to commit to Prison all suspicious Persons. These were their distinct Offices. Altogether they had Authority to assemble the People as the *Kings*, and other *Archons* in former times, and to resolve with them about publick Buifness.

21. Such were the Improvements of that Liberty, which *Theseus* bestowed on the People: but though they seemed great, yet were they not arrived at that height as to satisfy the heady Multitude offended with the too great Power of the Nobler and Richer sort; and which finding it self aggrieved with the many Inconveniences that arose for want of Laws (the Sentence of the Magistrate, or Judge, being the only Law) many Grudges and Discords thence arose, which so far prevailed, as that after 50 years, Power was given to one *Draco*, a man honest and wife, but of austere Severity, to make Laws. Many he framed, reformed the Court of the *Ephete*, which he made to consist of 51 persons, not under 50 years of Age, who were to judge of Murders, and such like Crimes. But so severe were his Constitutions concerning Manners (judging no less than Death to the least Offence) that as they were by *Demas* said to be written in Blood, so in Process of time they grew intolerable, and little or no Relief had the poorer sort against the Power of the great ones, with the Usury of whom they were even exhausted: Hence grew great Disturbances in the Commonwealth, the Commons hated the Nobility, and the Nobility feared the Commons; nothing but Desolation seemed to attend the State; some being earnest for a Popular Government, others for an Oligarchy, and others for a middle way. These tempered, and poised the other two parties; but nothing at length seemed to avail, except all the whole Power should be put into the hands of one, and a plain Tyranny erected as the only sufficient Remedy for these desperate Distempers. The common sort were hot for an equal Division of the publick Grounds now in the hands of the rich, and fit to make themselves an head, and do it by Force; but the most prudent sort taking notice of *Solon*, now very eminent, a man of unblameable Life, and unbiafied by the Interest of either Party; him they besought, having sufficient Wisdom, to compose these Differences of the distracted Commonwealth; offering him the Power and Command of all.

22. A year or two before those great Disturbances, hapned that which gave a Rise to the Eminency of *Solon*, and as well out of Respect to the Commonwealth, as in Relation to him, must be recited briefly. The Island *Salamine* lying not far from *Athens*, had of late time revolted to the Inhabitants of *Megara*, and for the Recovery of it several Attempts had been made with such bad Success, that a Law was preferred whereby

The twelve Cities of *Ionis*.

The *Archons* for Life.

Melanthius, *Codrus* the last King.

Oxyntes, *Aphidus*, *Thymetes*.

Demophon.

And Death.

Sec't. 4.

Diod. l. 4. p. 182. Pausanias in A. M. 2802.

Phylarchus in Hærodot.

Servius in Ex. tag. 5. Virgil.

Atheniens.

Pausan. in A. M. 2811.

Frontinus Strategem. l. 2. c. 5. Excerpt. 41.

Julian. lib. 2. Strabo lib. 9.

A. M. 2935.

Pausan. in Hærodot.

idem in A. M. 2811. Strabo lib. 14.

Archons for ten years.

Annual Archons, nine in number.

Draco.

Solon.

How he became eminent.

Sec't. 4.

A. M. 3248.

Lact. Sigisæum de Repub. Athen. & Antiquis Edificiis.

A. M. 3281.

Plutarch in Solon.

Plutarch. & Diodorus Lact. de Repub. Athen. & Antiquis Edificiis.

Sect. 4.

whereby it was ordained Capital for any man thenceforth to move about it. *Solon* considering the Consequence hereof, counterfeited himself mad; and going into the Place of publick Meeting, began, as the People came about him, to lay a Company of odd conceited Verses, whereby he so moved them, that they repealed the Law, and decreed another Expedition against the *Megarians*, ordaining him their Captain therein. *Solon* sailing towards *Colias*, where the *Athenian* Women were keeping the Feast of *Ceres*, sent one to the *Megarians*, who counterfeiting himself a Fugitive should tell them, that now at this Place they might easily surprize the Women. This being done, he sends them away, and in their Rooms and Cloaths, left there a Company of beardless young men, who being provided of Daggers, stabbed the *Megarians* when they came to seize on their Prey, and so by this Plot (which several Authors say was executed by *Pisistratus*, though devised by *Solon*) the *Athenians* again recovered the Island. *Solon* proved it to belong to *Athens*, for that *Phileus* the Son of *Euryface*, and Grand-son to *Ajax Telamonius*, being made free of the City, gave it unto the *Athenians*; and because that such as were buried there, lay with their Faces to the West, according to the *Athenian* Custom, whereas the *Megarians* buried their Dead in a careless manner, not regarding any such Position.

Solon having got much Credit by the Success of this Enterprize, procured such to be called to an Account, as had been guilty of the Death of *Cylon*. This man being famous for his Victory at the *Olympick* Games affected the Tyranny of *Athens*, and endeavouring to seize on the Castle, failed therein, and fled for Refuge to the Image of *Minerva*, whence the Magistrates giving him Hopes of Life, took him and his Companions, and notwithstanding put them to Death. This now was accounted a great Injury offer'd to the Goddels, and such, as both the Actors thereof, their Posterity and Country were esteemed as contaminate, and liable to heavy Punishment. *Solon* perswaded them to submit to Tryal, and 300 Judges were appointed out of the chiefeft Persons, who condemned them to Banishment. Whilst this was a doing the *Megarians* fell upon the *Athenians*, took *Nisæa*, and recovered *Salamis*: strange Sights also appeared, whereat the City was affrighted, and their Prophets told them that certain Crimes were committed, which must be expiated. For this Cause *Epinemides* a famous Philosopher (whom some reckon amongst the Number of the seven wise-men in the Room of *Periander*) was sent for out of *Crete* to cleanse the City; a Plague having also fallen upon it at this time, as *Diogenes Laertius* writeth in his Life. Several Altars upon this Occasion he caused to be made, as amongst the rest one to *Contumelie* (or Reproach) and another to *Impudence*. At this time also it is thought that the Altar was erected to the unknown God, they having received no Benefit by making Addresses to their known ones, but present Ease as soon as this Altar and a Temple of the same Dedication were made and used. One faith this was the Inscription: *To the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africk, to Gods unknown and strange*; another that it ran after this Manner: *To the Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africk, to the unknown and strange God, in the singular Number*. But these Calamities increasing publick Discontents, made the Assistance of *Solon* the more desirable.

Solon feared much to undertake so difficult a Task as a Settlement; and as for the Tyranny (so then it was termed) he refused it absolutely; though his Friends perswaded him that by his Moderation and good Demeanour he might easily change this odious name into that of a Kingdom. But being elected *Archon* after *Phileus* the Son of *Phileus*, in the third year of the 46 *Olympiad*, some 93 years after the last Change of Government, and in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*, he set himself about the Work of Reformation, and first of all eased the People of the great Burthen of their Debts, whereby they redeemed their Bodies and Estates; which Act was in Greek called *Sisachthea*. Some have thought that it was only of the Interest, but others of the Principal too, alledging him to have forgiven 5 (some have said 15) Talents that were owing to himself. However, he made them more able to satisfy their Creditors by raising the Value of Money, as of the *Athick Mine* from 75 Drachms to 100. Then for the settling of the Commonwealth; in way thereto, and in the first place he abrogated all *Draco's* Laws, except that against *Murder*, as too severe. The four Tribes of the People he left as they were ordered by *Erechtheus*, distinguished into *Souldiers*, *Craftsmen*, *Husbandmen*, and *Keepers of Goats*; but for that there was no Distinction made according to Estates, and it concerned those that had most therein to take Care of the Commonwealth, he also divided the People into four *Ranks*, or *Classes*, according to their Substance, and out of the three first ordered all Magistrates to be chosen, the fourth and last having equal Votes in the great Council, or Assembly of the whole Body of the State, in which

He reformed
the Common-
wealth.

Frontinus
Strat. l. 4. c. 7.
Julian. 212.
Edictus. Politi-
cit. l. 4.

Herod. l. 5.

Cicero de Legi-
bus lib. 2.
Hieronius lib. 4.
Euseb. 69.

Hieron. in Com-
ment. ad Titum.

Bruc.

Lage Plutarch.
in Solone. Ari-
stot. lib. 2.
Politi. Titum.
Fellez lib. 2.
A. M. 3411.

Sect. 4.

lay the Supream Power. The first was called *Pentacosis Medimni*, the second was the *Ordo Euphrates*, the third called *Zengite*, and the fourth *Thete*. Hereby he gave a Right to the common sort to elect, and call to account the Magistrates, to have an hand in making, and repealing Laws, and in the highest Court of Judicature, by which equal Temper, he suppressed all these Factions that had lately risen. And yet, lest the Multitude should be too much elevated, besides the Court of *Areopagus* he instituted a Senate of four hundred, (a hundred to be chosen out of each Tribe) through which all things should pass into the great Assembly, wherein nothing was to be debated, but what was offered from this Council, elected anew every year.

A Senate of
400.

25. The College of the nine *Archons* he left Elective as he found it; but ordained that they should not be admitted to take their Oath, till they had first in the Senate made Proof of their Descent, and the Unblameableness of their Life (especially of their Duty to their Parents) and then been approved in the great Assembly, after which they were to take their Oath in the Kings Gate, to keep the Laws, and accept of no Bribes; or if they should be thereof detected, then to erect at *Delphos* a Statue of Gold of their own Bigness: and the same Oath they were again to take as they went up to the Castle, crowned with Myrtle. Unto them severally he assigned their Offices; for the most part as they were before, only more certain; for a Reward of their good Service, if after much and through Examination they were found Upright and Faithful, they were to be chosen unto the Senate of *Areopagus*, the College of the *Archons* being hereby constituted the Seminary of it. To this Council, consisting of most grave, experienced, and upright men, an Inspection was given into all Concernments of State, a Power of preserving the Laws and Customs, and also of reforming Manners, in which Particular they were so severe, that once they condemned a Boy, for a Custom of pulling out the Eyes of *Quails*, as hereby betraying a bad Disposition. They met ordinarily thrice a Month on *Mars his Hill* (whence the Council had its name) but extraordinarily as Occasion required, and then in the Place called the *Kings Gallery*. As for the Council of State consisting of 400, it had Power also to determine great Matters and Controversies of it self, and if it law it convenient, to report them to the People. If the Assent of the People was had, then passed it's Acts and Constitutions into firm Laws; if not, they continued in Force one year, and no longer. To this Council moreover it belonged, to provide for such as were grown poor, and were to be maintained by the Publick; to call all indebted to the State to an Account, and provide for the making of Gallies.

Vide thionem.
Eusebium in de-
script. Reip.
Athens.

Of Areopagus.

The Assembly
of the People.

26. To the great Assembly of the People alone belonged the Power of making and nulling Laws, of Peace and War, sending Ambassadors, and giving the Freedom of the City. When they met together they took an Oath, with a bitter Execution, to consult the best they could for the Good of the Commonwealth. Those that were above fifty years of Age spake first, and after the Business was thoroughly debated, they signified their Pleasure by holding up their Hands. *Solon* ordained that all the Laws should be reviewed once a Year, being cited by the *Nomothete*. But when any were to be abrogated, or new ones made, the whole Assembly took not that matter of Debate upon it self; but committed it to the Care of the most grave and prudent amongst them, chosen for that Purpose and called *Nomothete*, amongst which none were admitted, but such as had dealt in the most important Affairs. Before them five Orators (called *Syndics*) pleaded concerning any Law that was to be abolished, which should not be done without mature Advice, lest thereby an Occasion might be given to Sedition and Innovation; and what was concluded by the *Nomothete*, the Body of the People always approved. The Assembly was had ordinarily thrice in 35 days, at the Pleasure of the Council of State or 400; but extraordinarily upon Occasion called together, either by the same Authority of the same *Strategi* or *Generals* for War, and sometimes of the nine *Archons*.

Courts of Judi-
cature.

27. For Courts of Judicature, besides the *Areopagites* formerly mentioned, there was that of the *Ephete*, founded, as it's thought, by *Demophon* the Son of *Theseus*, consisting at first of 50 Judges chosen out of *Attica*, and as many from *Argos*; but *Draco* excluding the Strangers, made the Number only 51 Citizens, and after him *Solon* tempering the Rigor thereof, transferred thence the more weighty matters to *Areopagus*, leaving the Judgment of casual homicide, and lying in Wait for Life, in some Cases to it. The Causes brought in thither were reported

Sect. 4.

ported by the *King* or *second Archon*. There was another Court most large and common, consisting of 500, 1000, or sometimes 1500 Persons, according to the Occasion, chosen by Lot out of all the Citizens of thirty years old and upwards. They judged of many, and often of the greatest Causes; and this was called the *Heliasick Council*, because they sat in an open place where the Sun shone. A fourth Court there was of *Arbitrators*, consisting of two hundred and twenty, chosen out of the Tribes, and being equally divided according to the Number of them, heard and determined their Causes. A fifth and least Considerable there was yet, made up of thirty Persons at the first, afterwards increased to forty, going in Circuit to the several fairs of People gathered by *Theseus* into one City, heard and judged lesser Matters. As for the Officers belonging to the several Courts, the twelve men for Imprisonment and Execution, with the Officers of the several Tribes, they are scarce to be mentioned by this Work.

Particular Laws.

28. For particular Laws. *Solon* knowing what a Multitude of People inhabited *Athens*, took such Care for the Prevention of Idleness, that he abolished any Son from the Duty of maintaining his Father fallen into Poverty, that had not procured him to be instructed in some Trade; and the same Liberty he gave unto such as were born of Strumpets. He made a Law whereby he gave Leave to the People to make Testaments, which they never could do before; all the Estates of deceased Persons going to the next Heir. He forbade Women to have any Portions, lest Marriages should be made for Gain; yet succeeded they in the Inheritances of their Fathers, in Default of Issue Male. Some things about Marriages and Adultery he decreed, which have been noted, and not unworthily, as absurd. He commanded the Court of *Areopagus*, to take an Account of all Persons how they lived, and punish those that could render none. He forbade all native Fruits, except that of the *Olive*, to be transported out of *Attica*. And nothing is more memorable than this, that he deprived of all Honour, and rendered infamous those, that, in a time of Faction and Sedition in the City, joyned themselves to neither Party, concluding, that such as were concerned for the Good of the Commonwealth, would according to their best Apprehensions, side with such as contended for it. His Laws he exposed to publick View, that none should pretend Ignorance in them. He swore the People, *Magistrates*, and *Senate*, to observe them for an hundred years, and the *Archons*, if they brake them, to set up a Statue at *Delphos*, of their own Bigness. Then to conclude his Work, he reformed the Calendar, much amiss at that time, and reduced the Year into such a Form as was agreeable to the Motion of the Sun.

Solon travelled.

29. The Work being over, there wanted not those who would both Praise and Discommend it. Some would be amending it by Addition, others by Subtraction or Change, so that plainly seeing what Stir would be about it, he got Leave to travel for ten years; in which time he went into *Aegypt*, where he conversed with *Amasis*, and into *Lydia*, where he had that notable Conference with *Cresus* before mentioned. But while he was abroad, the City never brake into Factions. There were the *Pediæans* headed by *Lycurgus*, the *Paralians* by *Megacles*, and the *Diacrians* by *Pisistratus*, one who was descended from *Codrus* the last King. To the latter, a Company of the poorer sort joyned themselves, such as were most inveterate against the Rich, and although they had not much to say against *Solon's* Laws, yet were they desirous of Innovation, hoping to be Gainers therein. Things were in this Posture when *Solon* returned home, who being received with much Honour, laboured by his Authority to take off the Ring-leaders of the several Factions, and reconcile them. *Pisistratus* seemed to give Ear to him, being a man of deep Dissimulation, and so much apter to deceive, in that no man appeared to great a Friend to Equality as he, and therefore a greater Enemy to the Change of the present Government. But *Solon* quickly found him out; yet prosecuted him not with any open Malice, but sought to draw him from his Designs by fair Means, often professing, that no man was more inclined to Virtue, or to make a good Commonwealths-man, if the Desire of Rule and Sovereignty were but taken from him.

30. For all this, *Pisistratus* proceeded, and by his seeming Readiness to patronize the poorer Sort against the rich, invaded the Tyranny. He wounded himself and his Chariot-Horses, and drove into the *Forum*, making Shew of an

Plutarch is Test.

Idem libid. & Hærodotus l. 1.

Sect. 4.

A. M. 3425.

Pisistratus invaded the Tyranny.

Escape from great Danger, and desired of the People that he might have a Guard assigned him to defend his Person. He so far prevailed, as to have fifty Persons allowed him, though *Solon* stepping to him, told him he did not well to act *Ulysses* in *Homer*, (who, as he counterfeited himself wounded to circumvent his Enemies, so did he the same, that he might cheat his Fellow Citizens) and opposed the thing as much as possible. Having obtained the Liberty of so many Followers, he took Leave to increase their Number, and thereby got the Cattle into his Hands, at which the City was much startled. *Solon* went into the Assembly of the People, where upbraiding them with their former Stupidity, he earnestly exhorted them yet now to pluck up that Tyranny by the Roots, which before they might have so easily prevented; but not at all prevailing, such Consternation had seized upon men's Spirits, he got him to his House, and laying his Weapons before his Court-gate, he had discharged his Duty towards his Country, and thenceforth kept himself quiet, continuing in the City, though his Friends moved him to flee for his Life. But such a Reverence bore *Pisistratus* not only to his Person, but also to his Laws, that he retained till the most of them in their former Vigour. A few he made himself, as one for Maintenance of Maimed Soldiers (though some attribute this also to *Solon*, and say, the Occasion was given by one *Thestippus*) and another against Idleness, whereby he caused the Ground to be more diligently tilled, and the City more quiet than usual. By these two he effectually provided for his own Interest, obliging the Soldiers by the one, and by dispersing the People into the Country through the other (under Pretence of preventing Idleness, and keeping up Tillage) cutting off from them all Occasion of plotting any thing prejudicial to him. For he knew well, that as *Theseus* his gathering them all up into one Town, conduced to the Perseveration of that Liberty he meant to bestow on them, so this contrary way tended as much to the keeping of his arbitrary Power.

Expelled.

31. Being seized of the Sovereignty, he carried it exceeding well to People, Magistrates, and Laws, and much adorned the City, of which he held Possession about three years. Then *Megacles* and *Lycurgus*, with their Parties, so prevailed, as they banished both him and his Tyranny, and being condemned, his Goods were set to Sale, of which none but *Callias* the Son of *Phenippus* would adventure to buy any. But not long it was, before those that cast him out, became the Means of his Restitution; for falling out amongst themselves, *Megacles*, upon Promise that he would marry his Daughter, covenanted to bring it about, and effected it by a strange and ridiculous Wile. There was a Woman in the City named *Phya*, almost four Cubits tall, but otherwise of tolerable Beauty: her being armed, curiously dressed and seated in a Chariot, they drove into the City, sending some before to proclaim, that the *Athenians* were to receive *Pisistratus*, whom their Goddess *Minerva* esteeming above all Mortals, now in her own Person reduced into her Cattle. This being acted with wonderful Confidence, the Citizens were so far befotened, as to adore this Woman for *Minerva*, and received *Pisistratus* as brought by her; whereby he recovered the Tyranny about five years after his Expulsion.

Reflected.

32. He married the Daughter of *Megacles*, according to Agreement; but having several Sons already in the Flower of their Age; and *Megacles* being supposed guilty of that heinous Crime about the Death of *Cylon*, not yet exiated, left he should put them behind their just Expectations, and his Family be attainted, he neglected to use her as his Wife. She concealing this for some time, at length revealed it to her Mother, who told it to *Megacles*. He took it in great Disdain, and reconciled himself to his Enemies, consulting again how he might out him; which *Pisistratus* understanding, departed of his own Accord out of *Attica*, and went to *Eretria* a City of *Eubœa* in the third year of the 54th Olympiad, about ten years after his Restitution. Ten other years he continued in Exile, at the end whereof, by the Advice of his eldest Son *Hippias*, he laboured again for a Recovery of his Principality. Scraping together all the Money he could make, he drew the *Thebans* and *Argives* into Confederacy with him, and got *Marathon* a Town of *Attica* into his hands, whither flocked to him from *Athens*, and the Country round about, those of his Faction. He marched then against the City, and put such to flight as came out against him, but fearing they might rally again, he gave Order to his Sons to ride after, and bid them fear nothing, so they would but get them to their own Homes, and be quiet. Thus recovered he the Tyranny once more, which he laboured to establish, not by the shedding of Blood (from which he wholly abstained, and therefore hath the best Report of any of his Condition)

but

And again recovered the Tyranny.

Plutarch at first.

Sect. 4.

but by seeking Confederates, making himself a considerable Revenew, and taking the Sons of those his Enemies, that remained in the City, for Hostages, sending them into the Isle *Naxos* to be kept. Not long after his Restitution he died (for his whole Reign including the Exile, amounted but to thirty three years) about the time that *Cresus* King of *Lydia* was overthrown by *Cyrus*, in the second Year of the fifty seventh Olympiad, and the 3460th Year of the World.

33. This only could be reprehended in *Pisistratus*, that he had cast the Yoke upon his Country. For such an one it was as had no great Weight in it, more than what lay in the Minds of the *Athenians*, not accustomed since the days of *Theseus*, to stoop to Sovereignty. Though he commanded them to apply themselves to Husbandry (contrary to what *Theseus* had done, who gathered them out of the Country into the City) that he might take them off from plotting against him, yet required he no other Tribute than the Tenth of their Profit, which had wont to be paid to the former Kings. He killed no man, neither banished any; he made Spoil of no mans Fortune or Estate, injured none by any contumelious Demeanour, abused neither the one Sex nor the other through any libidinous Carriage. The Laws of *Solon* with the Order of Magistrates he left as he found; and though he had most Cause to be averse to him, yet detained he him in Town when he would have been gone, desiring his Council and Advice for the better Government of the Commonwealth, contenting himself only in having a Power greater than the Laws, in which Respect *Cicero* was wont to call *Julius Caesar*, who trode in his Steps, by the Name of *Pisistratus*. He was as Learned as any in his Time, and deserved very well of Learning, being the first that erected a publick Library. Whereas *Homer's* Verses before this were scattered abroad and confus'd, he purchas'd with Gold whatsoever of his Works he could come by, and setting on Work the ablest Grammarians, put them into that Order of *Iliads* and *Odysseys*, in which they are now found; to which work *Solon* is said to have contributed his Diligence. He had two Sons, *Hippias* and *Hippiarchus*, to whom he left the Principality of *Athen*. They for many Years reigned, as lovingly betwixt themselves, so with Moderation towards their Subjects, till the younger being slain by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, upon Occasion of some Injury supposed to be offered by him to the Sister of *Harmodius*, the other exasperated heretofore grew severe towards the *Athenians*, and for that was expelled by them four years after his Brothers Death, and his Tyranny was utterly subverted. But these things falling in with the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, belong properly to another Place.

A. M. 3460.

Plutarch de
Dignitate Latit.
titus.Gellius l. 6. c.
vlt. Cicero 3.
de Oratore.
Athen lib. 13.
c. 14.

SECT.

S E C T. V.

The most antient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Lacedæmon.

The first inhabitants of Lacedæmon.

Sparta, whence it called.

Tyndareus.

Castor and Pollux, Helena.

Menelaus.

1. This Country was most antiently inhabited by a people called (a) *Leleges*, so named from *Lelex* their King, said to be an *Indigena*, or a natural of the place, because it was uncertain from what Country he and his people came. From him this Region was called *Lelegia*, and *Lelegis*. He left two sons, *Myler* and *Polycæon*, whereof the former succeeded him in his Kingdom, and the latter marrying *Mesene*, the daughter of *Triopis* King of *Argos*, went and subdued that Country, which from her he named *Messenia*. *Myler* was succeeded by his son *Eurotas*, who perceiving the water to stand in the grounds, drew a Ditch from it to the Sea, which draining the earth, continued to be a River, bearing his name. He, dying without issue-Male, left his Kingdom to *Lacedæmon*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Taygeta*, from which woman the Mount *Taygetus* took its name. For *Lacedæmon* married *Sparta*, the daughter of *Eurotas*, and when he came first to the Kingdom, named the Country from himself, and to the City which he built gave his wife's name; it being ever after most properly called *Sparta*, when any distinction was made betwixt Country and City; although it be also sometimes read *Lacedæmon*, as in (b) *Thucydides*, and *Latine* (c) Authors. As for the Inhabitants of both places, those of the City are by *Herodotus*, *Xenophon* and *Diodorus* called *Spartians*, in opposition to those that lived up and down in the Country, comprehended under the name of *Lacedæmonians*. The City was built in the days of *Crotæus*, King of *Argos*, and *Amphitryon* of *Athen*, 303 years before the destruction of *Troy*, 711 before the first Olympiad, A. M. 2598.

2. *Amplex* the son and successor of *Lacedæmon* (d) begat three sons, which are recorded, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, and *Hyacinthus*: of which the latter, as *Apollodorus* writeth, being for his beauty the delight of *Apollo*, was killed by him at unawares, when they were at play. *Argalus* succeeded his Father, and left his Kingdom to his brother *Cynortas*, whose son and Successor was *Oebalus*, from whom the Country was also called * *Oebalia*, and thence *Castor* and *Pollux*, by *Statius*, *Oebalide fratres*. On his first Wife he begat *Hippocoon*, and *Icarion*, and on his second *Gorgophone* (the daughter of *Perseus* by *Andromeda*, and Widow of *Perieres*) his Son *Tyndareus*. The former and latter, after his death, contended about the succession, and *Tyndareus* having the worst of it, was constrained to banish himself for many years, till at length he was restored by *Hercules*; (who slew *Hippocoon* and his ten Sons, with a great number of the *Spartians*;) but on this condition delivered was the Kingdom to him, to keep it for *Hercules* his own Children, and restore it when it should be demanded. *Tyndareus* of *Leda*, the Daughter of *Thetis* an *Ætolian*, begat *Castor* and *Pollux*, (called *Dioscuri*, as the supposed off-spring of *Jupiter*) and on her, or some other, a Daughter named *Helena*. The two Sons being famous in their lives, grew more renowned after their death, having the esteem of Gods, and from them was named the Constellation of *Gemini*. *Helena* was he that made such a broil in the World, being first stoln by *Theseus*, afterwards married to *Menelaus*, and from him stoln again by *Paris*, who kept her till the destruction of *Troy*, as hath been shown. Her two Brothers dying before their Father, *Menelaus* with her obtained the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon*, through the special favour of *Tyndareus*, who, from amongst 29 Suitors, (all Princes of Greece) made choice of him. Left those great ones should fall out amongst themselves, he bound them all with an Oath to be Defendants to whomsoever he would give her; which he did by the advice of *Ulysses*, upon promise to assist him in his late, being one of the number. This wedo not find that he did; but in way of requital procured for him *Penelope*, the Daughter of *Icarion*.

3. *Menelaus* on a lallave begot two base Sons: but by *Helena* had onely a Daughter named *Hermione*, which he married first to *Orestes*, the Son of his Brother *Agamemnon*, and again taking her from him, gave her to *Pyrrhus* the Son of *Achilles*. It's thought that *Orestes* killed *Pyrrhus*; for after his death he presently resumed his Wife, and *Menelaus* once dead, he added the Kingdom of *Lacedæmon* to his other two of *Mycenæ* and *Argos*; for the *Lacedæmonians* were more willing to receive him as their Prince, than *Nicostratus* and *Megapenthes* the bastard Sons of *Menelaus*. *Tisamenus* his Son succeeded him in his Kingdoms, out of all which

(a) *Pausanias*
in *hittis* *Laconia*
gram c. *Messeni*
gram.

A. M. 2598.

(b) *Liv.* 1.
lib. *Ant.*
lib. *Ant.*
lib. *Ant.*(d) *Pausan.*
lib. 4.* *Servius* ad
Georg. 4.
Apollod. l. 3.
Pausan.
A. M. 2646.
Diodorus Sicul.
lib. 4.

A. M. 2809.

The descent of the Heraclidae, Procles and Eurysthenes obtain Sparta.

he was outed by the *Heraclidae*, or posterity of *Hercules*, as before was shewed, by the help of the *Dores*; with him the *Achaens* being also banished, who were Originally of *Phthiotis* in *Thessaly*; for *Achaens* their Progenitor was the Son of *Xuthus*, Grand-son to *Deucalion* by his Son *Hellen*. *Argos* fell to *Temenus* by lot; *Cressphætes* got *Messene*; and *Lacedæmon* became the portion of *Procles* and *Eurysthenes* the Sons of *Aristodemus*, who was slain at *Delphos* (for *Pausanias* judgeth this the most probable opinion) by the fraud of *Pylas*, when they were preparing for the Expedition. Thenceforth the *Lacedæmonians* were accounted *Dores*; who if formerly they were part of the *Achaens*, and going to *Troy*, at their return were expelled by those that remained at home, and so forced to seek out new seats, and received the name of *Dores* from their Captain, as *Plato* writeth; then had they full as much right to the Country as the *Heraclidae* themselves, the title of whom we have formerly shewn. This change happened 80 years after the destruction of *Troy*, as *Thucydides* gathereth; 327 before the first *Olympiad*, in the days of *Melanthus*, Father to *Codrus* the last King of *Athens*, in the year of the World 2901.

Each Kings with equal power.

4. The two Brothers *Eurysthenes* and *Procles* were Twins, and that so like, as their Mother, not knowing them asunder, was ignorant which was the eldest, and therefore the *Lacedæmonians* made them both Kings with equal power: only because *Eurysthenes* was first walshed and fed, he was vulgarly accounted the elder; and though their Families were of the same dignity, yet was his accounted something the more honourable. In their minority *Theras* their Uncle by the Mother's side managed the Kingdom for them, in obeying whom they ever agreed; but in nothing else, though Twins, and so like one another. This difference was in a manner propagated to their posterity, which continued on both sides for many Generations downwards by the names of *Eurythide* and *Proclide*; and being partakers in what is commonly accounted to bear no corivals, no wonder it is that Emulation should be continued, but much that for so long it kept within the bounds of civil concord. After these two followed their two Sons: *Agis* for *Eurysthenes*, (from whom the Kings of this family were also called *Agide*) and *Sois* for *Procles*. In their time it happened that the Inhabitants of *Helos* (a Town built by *Helius* the youngest Son of *Perseus*) were made Slaves (both they and their posterity) to the *Lacedæmonian* State: for whereas they as well as others had formerly the freedom of the City, and were Members of the Commonwealth, *Agis* took away that privilege, and ordered them to pay Tribute to *Sparta*, which refusing to doe, and standing out, they were thus punished; all other Slaves to that State, though of what Original forever, being called after them *Helote*. *Agis* dying, was succeeded by *Echestratus* his Son; and *Sois* some years after left for his Successor his Son *Eurytion*, (called otherwise *Eurypion*, and *Euryphon*) from whom the Kings of that family were also named *Eurytionide*. *Echestratus* was followed by *Labotas* his Son, and *Eurytion* by *Prytanis*, in whose reign the first quarrel arose betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*. *Labotas* being dead, *Doryssus* his Son succeeded him in the Kingdom; and in like manner after the death of *Prytanis*, *Eunomus* his Son continued the succession of that family.

Lycurgus.

5. After *Doryssus* followed *Agelæus*, *Eunomus* of the family of *Procles* still continuing, who of a former Wife begat *Polydectes*, and of a later *Lycurgus*, born 150 years before the first *Olympiad*. *Archelæus* the Son of *Agelæus* succeeded his Father, and was accompanied in the Government by *Polydectes*, who dying without issue left his inheritance to *Lycurgus* his Brother. *Lycurgus* then governed as King, but not long after his Brother's Wife proved to be with Child. She sent to acquaint him therewith, and to tell him, that if he would marry her she would make away the Infant. He detesting from his heart such Villany, yet returned her no denial, but desired her not to practise any thing upon her self whereby she might come in danger, for when the Child was once born he would take care for the destruction of it: and by this deceit he drew her on till the time of her Travel. When that came he sent some to observe her, with command, if it were a Girl, to deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, to bring it straight unto him. As he was supping with the Magistrates, a Boy was born and brought to him, who taking him in his Arms, told the *Spartans* that there was their King, and presently put him in the Royal seat. And because all men wonderfully rejoiced at so strange a thing, admiring his Magnanimity and Justice, he gave to the Child the name of *Charilæus*.

Tutor to Charilæus.

6. Then as Tutor to this his young Nephew, he managed publick affairs for some eight moneths; but there wanted not those of the Queen's kindred (especially her

A.M. 2901.

Leg. Heraclid. lib. 6. cap. 54.

Plutarch. in Lycurgus.

Strabo lib. 8. pag. 353 & 354.

A.M. 3019. Euseb. in Chron. lib. 1.

Plutarch. ut supra.

A.M. 3117.

Tarrelleth.

her Brother) who reproached him to his face, as intending no good to the Child, which the also now stuck not to lay, incensed by his repulse in the matter of Marriage. He took this in very ill part, and fearing that some inconvenience might follow these suspicions that were begotten by his Adversaries in the breaths of several persons, resolved to cut them off by Travel, wherein he purposed to continue so long, till his Brother's Son should come to maturity, and had begotten an Heir for his Kingdom. He went first into *Crete*, where he made Observations of the Laws and Customs of that Commonwealth instituted by *Minos*, (which afterwards he called his Pattern) and whence he sent *Thaletas*, an eminent Lyrick Poet of those times, by his charming Verses to stir up the *Lacedæmonians* to Love and Unity. From *Crete* he passed over into *Asia*, (that he might compare the Luxury thereof with the *Cretian* Severity, and as good Physick make up a temper out of both) where he found *Homer's* Verses, kept as it seemeth by the Sons of *Creophylus*, (the Poet being dead not above thirty years before) which he then copied out, and bringing them home, first made them publick in *Greece*, though in great disorder; in which they continued till the days of *Pisistratus*. The *Egyptians* reported that he came down into their Country, and there learnt the distinction of Military men from Artificers, and those of other Callings. But whilst he thus improved himself abroad, he was much wanted at home, and often earnestly solicited to return by all parties.

7. For great need there was of his Preference to heal the Distempers into which the State was now fallen, the heady Multitude having by its desire of loose liberty brought all things into confusion. The first Government, till the coming in of the *Heraclidae*, for any thing that can be known, was merely absolute; and afterwards we do not find that the Regal power was diminished till *Eurypion*, or *Eurytion*, most imprudently let loose the reins of Government. This gave occasion to the Rabble to fly high in disobedience, and content with his Successors when they endeavoured the recovery of their old Authority. Many great tumults and seditions were hence raised, inasmuch that *Eunomus*, the Grand-son of *Eurypion*, Father of *Lycurgus*, and fifth from *Procles*, was murdered in one of them with a Butcher's knife. These Distempers increasing, and the Kings not being strong enough to rule the dissolute Rabble, nothing but absolute ruin and destruction was expected, when *Lycurgus* returning home (of whose prudence and integrity they had had formerly large demonstrations) alone seemed able to give any hope of better things.

At his return he new modelleth the State.

8. He thought this opportunity was not to be neglected, now that all were in so good a mind, and resolved to use his utmost endeavour for an alteration. This was the scope he aimed at, to make provision for Equality, which he thought to be the best Nurse of Concord, and the Bulwark of all Societies; to accustom the People from their tender years to obey the Laws and Magistrates, and hereby to render them more inclinable to live justly and frugally, to bridle all corrupt affections, endure labour and hardship, refuse no danger for the publick good, nor Death it self if the case required. Having therefore a design to make a full evacuation of all bad humours, as he accounted them, and knowing how full of difficulty and danger this might prove to the Body polittick, the minds of men much loathing so violent a Purgation, he considered that they were apt to be led by a shew of Religion; and having learn'd how *Minos* pretended to have received his Laws from *Jupiter*, with whom he conversed in a Cave, he resolved to go to *Delphos*, and make use of that Oracle to the same advantage. There was he received with encouraging words, saluted, *Beloved of the gods, a God rather than a Man*, and received in an Oracle the frame of a Commonwealth, which bringing home, he called *Rhetra*, to gain the more Authority to it. At his return he first consulted with his intimate Friends, and drew others on by degrees, till having made a Party, he ordered thirty principal persons to go armed into the Market-place betimes in the morning, that they might thereby strike a terror into their Adversaries. *Charilæus* at this much affrighted, as thinking it some Plot against himself, fled to *Chalcidæum*, (the Temple of *Minerva* much spoken of) where he took Sanctuary; but understanding how things were, came forth and joyned himself to his Uncle, being of a most sweet and mild disposition.

A.M. 3122.

9. The *Rhetra* according to which he framed his Model was of this tenour. Let him build a Temple of *Jupiter Syllanis* and *Minerva Syllania*: Let him divide the People into *Phylæ* and *Obæ*, ordain thirty Senators, with the Archgetæ: then let him call together the People betwixt Babyces and *Gnacion*, so

let him propose concerning matters, or null them. Gamadan, Gorian, &c. In these words of the Oracle, faith Plutarch, Obe, and Phyle (that is, Tribes) signifie certain parts, into which the People was to be divided: the Kings are called *Archageta*, as Captains: and to assemble the People, is in Greek expressed by *apollazoin*, for that he attributed the beginning and cause of the Commonwealth to *Apollo Pythius*. *Babyas* and *Cnacion* is at this day called *OEvuns*. *Aristotle* writeth, that *Cnacion* is the name of the River, and *Babyas* of the Bridge. In the middle betwixt these the *Concio* was assembled, though there was neither Gallery nor any other accommodation; because he thought that those things conduced nothing to Council, but rather hindered; for that Statues, Pictures, the Attiring-rooms of Theatres, and Withdrawing-rooms of the Court, being too curiously adorned, made those that met light and vain, diverting them with toys and idle thoughts. The Multitude being assembled into one place, power was not granted to any of the People to propose: they could onely enact what the Senators and Kings had propounded. But in after-times, the common People perverting and wresting their Suffrages, *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, then Kings, added this to the *Rhetra*: But if the People resolve upon any bad thing, let it be lawfull for the Senators and Kings to dissent; that is, faith Plutarch, let them not ratifie it, but forthwith dismiss the Assembly; seeing the People depraveth the Decree, and altereth what is best. As for *Gamadan* and *Gorian*, *Plutarch* doth not interpret them, and it cannot be understood what they mean. Another *Rhetra* was this; That they should use no written Laws. Another, concerning Expences, commanded, That the roof of every house should be made with an Axe onely, and the doors with a Saw. And a Third ordained, That War should not be often made upon the same Enemies; left, learning to defend themselves, they should thereby be made warlike: which afterwards was laid to the charge of *Agellus* in behalf of the *Thebans*.

10. Having prepared all things for his purpose, he dissolved the Government of his Forefathers. For though he left two Kings as he found, with the same Right of Succession, yet took he away almost their whole Power, instituting a Senate to restrain them, and be an equal poize betwixt them and the People, to reduce both Parties into order. Without the Authority of this Senate the Kings could not decree nor undertake any thing of consequence. He ordered they should sit in the chiefest places as Members of the Senate, first speak their minds and give their Suffrages; but conclude nothing without consent of the major part. All Magistrates, till the impudent *Ephori* took so much upon themselves, rose up to, and did them reverence. Their employment was to take care of Sacrifices, to command the *Pythii*, whereof two constantly attended them, to be sent to consult the Oracle of *Apollo Pythius* at *Delphos*: they took care of Embassadors and other Strangers, of the causes of Women that were Heirs; Adoptions also they had charge of, so as none could be made without them. They gave answer to Embassadors, and looked to the Repairing of High-ways. This was their condition at home, which amounting to no more then titular Royalty, after that the present Kings had either given away their just Right, (as *Plutarch* telleth us, that *Charilaus* joynd with his Uncle) or were deprived of it by the Treason and Violence of *Lycurgus* and his Party; the attempt of some men is as ridiculous as seditious, who taking it for granted that the popular Villains, the *Ephori*, were 130 years after this set up by the People to restrain the Kings, (which yet cannot be granted, though most have so thought) thence would draw a Precedent to the disadvantage of true Royal Majesty. For these Kings were not real Kings as to Prerogatives of Majesty, being scarcely so much as a Duke of Venice.

11. Abroad they were the Generals of Armies, which were left to their ordering or disposal; so as no Council of War, or any in Commission could thwart their Commands; they onely receiving Orders from the State for their expeditions and returns. They had Judges to accompany them, a General of the Horse, four *Polemarchi*, besides Colonels, and other inferior Officers, whose advice, as well as help, in the War they might use, but were at their own disposal, and obnoxious to none of them. And what is here spoken of a King, is to be extended to his Protector, Guardian, or Tutor in his minority, by the *Lacedæmonians* called *Prodicus*. Such were chosen to this trust and charge as were nearest of kin by the Father's side to the Orphans, and consequently the next Heirs, that whole was the hope, his also might be the burthen. This appeareth by several examples of Ly-

of *Lycurgus* himself, *Aristodemus*, and *Pausanias*, to be related in their due places. Which though it be not admitted in other Commonwealths, and perhaps with good reason, yet these *Prodicus* having all in their power, scarcely ever any of them was found to have plaid false, or, by treachery towards their Pupils, gone about to make way for their own preferment.

The Senate.

12. The Senate consisted of 28 persons, besides the Kings, not under 60 years of age. The first were such as had assisted *Lycurgus*, and been helpful to him in the Settlement, whom he ordered to continue for Life, except they committed any Offence worthy of seclusion; conceiving it not safe for this his Commonwealth, to have a frequent change of Senators, which the Kings might improve to their own interest. Into this second rank of dignity were none to be admitted, but such as had well deserved of the State by good service or eminent virtue; that so it might be a reward to old men, and an encouragement to the younger sort to be conformable to the Laws. They had in effect the whole executive power in their hands. They had the supreme power of Judicature, wherein they proceeded not rashly, but with great advice and delay, deferring Judgement most commonly for some days, till they had heard both parties, and received the testimonies of witnesses: yet it was lawfull afterwards to appeal from them to the People. They were not liable to be called to an account for whatsoever they did: which immunity, as exceeding the moderation of a Commonwealth, (together with their suing to the People for their Places, whereas able and honest men should be fought for,) amongst other things is taxed by *Aristotle*.

13. A Reverend and Learned man observeth, that whatever the Kings lost, the People got little by the alteration, being left out of all employment in affairs of State, and forced to yield obedience unto Thirty Masters, whereas before they had but Two. For the Kings and Senate assembled, and dismissed them when they pleased, and propounded to them what they thought convenient. For the People so assembled it was not lawfull to propound any thing to be debated or determined, nor to deliver their opinion in the Point propounded: there being nothing left to them, but to testify their assent to the Propositions made either by the Kings or Senate. But the cunning flattery of the *Ephori* in after-times much enlarged the power of the People. By the appointment of *Lycurgus* it met at the River *Cnacion* (afterwards called *OEvuns*): by the Bridge *Babyas*. Sometimes onely the *Spartans*, or Inhabitants of the City, met together, and then it was called the *Lesser Assembly*; but otherwhiles the whole Body of the *Lacedæmonians* gathered together out of all *Laconia*, that was free of the Commonwealth, which went by the name of the *Greater Meeting or Assembly*, called then simply * *Ecclesia*.

14. Having reduced the Government to this Antimonarchical pass, he rightly judged it could not subsist without levelling. He therefore attempted a thing most difficult, and even beyond all hope of attaining. Many that had got much wealth in the late turbulent times, he persuaded to part with most of it, and to an equal division of the grounds, urging, that no Inequality was to be amongst them, but what Vice and Virtue made; and what by arguments drawn from convenience, as others from necessity that lay upon them from the indigent and displeased Multitude, he brought his Design to perfection. Then divided he the grounds into 30000 *Lets*, or equal Portions, whereof 9000 he laid to the City of *Sparta* it self, (the number of Citizens amounting to so many,) and distributed the rest to the other *Lacedæmonians* inhabiting the Countrey. Each Portion contained so much as to maintain a family in a frugal way, and no more. To the Kings a larger quantity was assigned for the maintenance of their Degree, so much as might serve with moderation, and not make them abound in Riches.

15. That he might take away Covetousness, and the desire of hoarding up wealth, he forbade the use of *Silver* and *Gold Coins*, putting in the room thereof *Iron money*, of which a great quantity amounting but to a little value, no considerable payment could be made without the help of an Horse or Waggon. Hereby it came to pass that they were unfit to Traffick with other people, no Merchandize being imported, which he herein aimed at, as well as by another Law made expressly against the continuance of Strangers in the City; fearing more the Contagion of the mind in his People than that of the body. And otherways to prevent Luxury, he forbade that any man should eat at home by himself, or with his family, or to make any private Feasts, without some special occasion; but ordered them to sup together in common, without any distinction of Dignity or Fortune, by fifteen together. Each one sent in his Provision monthly; as Meal, Wine, Cheese, and Figs, with a little money to buy other Victuals. If any had killed Venison, or offered

P 3

Leg. Plutar. in Lycurg. Platon. de legib. lib. 3. Xenoph. an. juv. Aristo. Polit. Demophil. ad. e. Jus Legitum.

Polit. lib. 2. c. 8.

Dr. Heylin.

Plutarch. in Lycurg. Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 3. c. 6. * Ecclesia.

Plutarch. in vita Lycurgi. & in Compar. Lycurgi & Romæ. & in Agides. & alibi.

An Equality of Possessions.

Iron money.

Plutarch.

Sacrifice.

Sacrifice, whereby any Flesh was gotten, the ancient men left that to the younger sort, and contented themselves with Broaths, of which a black sort was most used, of no pleasant taste to such as were not accustom'd to eat it. As for Fish, and all kind of delicate Cates, they were utterly forbidden. None were to eat or drink beyond such a proportion as sufficed Nature: the Kings indeed were allowed a double Measure, but this was, that they might have opportunity to pleasure and countenance others with part of it. All came to these public Meetings (which first were called *Andria*, after the name of those of the *Cretians*, from whom *Lycurgus* borrowed this Constitution, afterwards *Phyditia* and *Syllitia*) with their Arms, and after Supper were to go home without Torch or Candle, though never so dark, that they might learn, if need should be, to make the same shift when they lay abroad in the field. All stately Buildings he forbid, and all Trades that tended any way to the maintenance of Luxury or Excess.

The *Phyditia*
and *Syllitia*.

The Education
of Boys.

16. But to have these Customs durable, it being highly necessary to breed up the youth in suitable Discipline, he also provided for that in ample manner. The first thing previous to education was very unnatural and cruel; for the Infant, as soon as born, was carried to the most ancient of that Tribe to be view'd; and if it was found any way deformed, weak, or sickly, whereby might be judged that it would rather prove burthenfom than beneficial to the Commonwealth, then was it to be expoid upon the craggy places of the Hill *Taygetus*, there to take such quarter as wild beasts, fowls, hunger and cold would afford it. But if it seem'd strong, lusty, and worthy to live, then was it restor'd to its Parents to be nurs'd. And nurs'd it was very harshly, not used to any delicate or costly feeding, and so us'd to darkness and solitariness as not to be affrighted at them. When the Children were seven years old, they were not committed to any mercenary School-masters, after the custom of other people, but to the care of the Publick, being distributed into several Companies, over which some that were most fierce, hardy and prudent amongst them were set as Captains, who govern'd them in their sports and exercises, and to whose correction they submitted. There were also most commonly some men present at their exercises, who would rebuke and chastise them, observing which had the most notable spirits; *Lycurgus* leaving it in charge to the *Lacedæmonians*, to take care of other mens Children as of their own. All manner of ways were they inured to labour and pains. Their Hair was cut close to their heads, they went bare-footed from their Infancy, fought with one another naked with as much earnestness as might be, and after a certain barbarous and cruel manner were once a year whipped at the Altar of *Diana Taurica*, (to which goddess sacrifice could not be offered without man's blood) till the blood ran down in great abundance, their Parents beholding the sight. They would bear it with admirable patience and emulation, cheerfully (say, many times, with great delight, which they took in excelling one another in patience) enduring the strokes unto Death it self.

Platarch, in
Lycurgus.

Lacedæmonius.

Iren.

17. When they were past their Childhood, at twelve years of age, their labours and exercises were both increased, left vice together with years should grow upon them. They were to be content with one Coat both Winter and Summer, and slept by Companies together upon coarse and uneasy Beds. The ancient men also overfaw them upon occasion, but the Charge was committed to one of the principal, called thence *Pædonomus*, who had power to gather them together and correct them. Over several Companies certain young men of twenty years of age, called *Irens*, were set, who, if no man was present, had command over them, exercised them in watches, lying in ambush, and other crafts of War, wherein if any were caught, they were severely punished, to make them the more wary for the future; as also if they were taken in Theft, Stealing with them being lawful, and encouraged as an exercise for War, but to be surprized therein was punishable. The same *Irens* supping with them would make some sing, and others propose questions, in answering which they exercised their wits, accustoming them to make a short, clear and witty answer, in the dexterity whereof the *Lacedæmonians* excelled all others: Oratours with their long-winded speeches being utterly forbidden. When the *Iren* corrected them, there were men standing by to take notice of it; and if it was not rightly done, nor upon good grounds, he had the same punishment inflicted on him. Those Boys performed several sorts of exercises; but amongst the rest, those called *Platanista* (from the place thick set with *Plane*-trees) were most eminent, in which with hands and feet, teeth and nails, they fought in good earnest, to the putting out of eyes, and sometimes to the danger of Life it self, none giving over, or shrinking one jot, than which no disgrace was esteem'd more hainous.

Platarch, in
Polihæmagus, *Lacedæmonius*.

Such

Such strict and constant discipline under-vent they all their minority, till they arrived at 30 years of age, (before which time they married not, went not out to War, neither exercised any Office) so that the greatest trouble in the Field afterwards seem'd much more easy to be undergone.

The Education
of Virgins.

18. The Education also of young Women was agreeable to this of the other Sex, that by Vigilancy, Industry, and enduring Labour, they might be furnished with Courage and Resolution against all evils, being married with more ease undergo the pains of Travel, and bring forth Children of the same constitution. According to their age they had Exercises of sundry sorts; most of which they performed in publick, naked, and that not only in the fight of *Kings* and *Senates*, but the young men also; which yet because of the *Lacedæmonian* modesty and temperance, with the custom of it, was not judged at all to contribute to Vice, but rather to an innocent and harmless emulation, and honest love. Their diet was such as might nourish them, and not any ill disposition in them. Such were their Cloaths, and all things else about them, as long as *Lycurgus* his Constitutions were in force; and therefore the too great power of the Women, their Luxury, and the many great inconveniences that thence arose to the State, objected so much by *Aristotle*, is to be ascribed to the married sort; and probable it is that this corruption crept in in after-times, it being well nigh as easie for him to reform the Women as to make this great alteration in the Commonwealth, though the contrary be asserted by the Philosopher, who as it seem'd was much satisfied in the usefulness of that Sex. The set time for Marriage of Men was at 30, for Women at 20 years, before which it was unlawful; but if a man within some reasonable time after betook him not to that estate, he was publicly disgraced by command of the Law-giver. Women had no Portions; yet the Heirs carried with them their Father's Inheritance. No plurality of Wives did he allow; and yet as for Adultery it was not heard of in that City, against which neither did he make any Law, having already provided sufficiently against it by such strict Constitutions.

Polihæmagus, lib. 2.
cap. 7.

Travel forbid-
den.

Sparta unwar-
like.

The *Cryptia*.

19. As he provided against the flocking of Strangers to *Sparta*, so forbid he any Citizen or Member of the Commonwealth to Travel, (except in any expedition of War) lest he should bring home with him the dissolute and effeminate Customs of other places. Merchandizing was esteem'd a base employment, as merely practised for getting of Wealth. Drunkenness they render'd more abominable to Children by making their Slaves drunk, that then they might behold them in that beastly condition. He that had been so unthrifty as not to be able to bear the charge of the *Phiditia* was excluded from all trust in the Commonwealth. To keep them vigilant, he commanded that the City should not be walled, they having sufficient leisure to look carefully to it; this being even their whole calling, with their heads and hands to attend publick affairs; the drudgery of Tilling their Grounds, and gathering their Fruits, being imposed upon the *Helots*, or publick Slaves, with other servile and mechanic affairs. Those Slaves it was not lawful for any one privately to manumit, or sell out of *Lacedæmonia*; whereby increasing to so great a number, that they equalized, or exceeded that of their Masters, they sometimes afforded occasion of great danger; upon which account this Constitution is tax'd by the Philosopher. For the lessening of their numbers a course was taken not altogether clear from a note of cruelty, Certain young men being sent about into the Country, who lying hid in the day-time, (whence this practice was called *Cryptia*) by night killed as many of them as they could light on.

Platarch, in
Isid.

20. Such was the form of the Commonwealth instituted by *Lycurgus*, which sav'd him the labour of erecting any other Courts of Justice then what have been already mentioned. For Gold and Silver being taken away, and the use thereof forbidden upon pain of death, Controversies and Suits most commonly thence arising naturally fell of themselves. He forbid his Laws to be written in Tables, because he would have them rooted in the Minds of the people, to which he thought the strict Discipline he erect'd might sufficiently conduce. After the thing was done, as it hath happened usually in this kind, he was but ill rewarded; for such as had parted with their Silver, Gold, or Luxury, were so enraged as to throw stones at him, which to him he was glad to betake himself to his heels, and looking back had an Eye struck out by one *Arandor*, who yet afterwards repented him of the deed, and was very observant of him. One telleth us he was cast out by publick rage; but * he who hath handled the subject of his Life with greatest industry, hath recorded, that when things began to be settled, and he saw the Commonwealth thus constituted able to support it self, he calling the People together, told them, that indeed all things were so already settled as to provide

* *Valerius Maximus*,
lib. 5, cap. 3.
lib. 2, cap. 2.

for

Kings, Senate,
and People
seem to ob-
serve the Laws
and Constitutions
of Lycurgus.

His Death.

The War with
the Argives.

The first Olympiad.

The renewing
of the Olympic
Games.

for virtue and happiness, but one thing, and that of greatest consequence, was yet behind, which was not to be enacted before first he had consulted the Oracle at Delphos. Therefore he desired them to keep the Laws already made, and change nothing in them till his return with such Answer as the Oracle would give him. All consenting, he took an Oath of the Kings, Senate, and People, and began his Journey. At Delphos he enquired whether the Laws already made, and established, were not sufficient for the virtue and safety of the State. It was answered they were, and that it should continue most glorious so long as it would stand to them. This Answer then he sent to Sparta; but, resolving never to loose them from their Oath, he there made an end of himself by abstaining from all sustenance. Some have said that he died in Crete, and that he ordered his Body to be burnt, and his ashes thrown into the Sea, left his Reliques being brought back to Sparta, they should account themselves freed from the Oath. But * *Tertullian* in Apologia writeth, that he famished himself, because the Lacedæmonians went about to alter his Laws.

21. Lycurgus being dead, and the State settled, after this great change, it renewed the War formerly begun with the Argives; and afterwards deluded by the ambiguity of the Oracle, commenced another against the Tægentæ, a people of Arcadia, by whom they were worsted, and Charilaus the King was taken Prisoner, through the special valour of the Women: yet was he presently set at liberty upon his Oath never to fight more against them, which he but ill performed. After this they overthrew divers Cities, on which the Achæans had seized, some whereof made their peace, as *Panjanias* telleth us, and departed out of Peloponnesus. The Colleague of Charilaus (or Charillus) for some time was Teleclus, whose death gave one occasion to the famous Messenian War. Charilaus was succeeded by Nicander his Son, and Teleclus by Alcæmenes. In the 34th year of Nicander, was celebrated the first Olympiad, after the Restitution of those Games by Iphitus, in which Corebus a Cook of Elis got the Prize in the Course. These Solemnities being of so great consequence to the knowledge of times, must not be passed over without some observation.

22. These Exercises had in former times been held by divers others, as *Hercules*, (both the *Idean* and the Son of *Amphiryon*, as some think) *Perops*, *Endymion*, *Nelus*, *Pelias*, *Lycurgus*, and others. After the descent of the *Herculide* into *Peloponnesus*, *Oxylus* the *Pelolitan* also (who, as we said, was chosen their Guide, and according to agreement had the Country of *Elis* given to him) renewed the Games: but they were interrupted as formerly, or seldom observed, for about 300 years, till *Iphitus* the Son of *Praxonidas*, and Nephew of *Hæmon*, descended from him, and one of his Successors, again restored them; after which they never intermitted, but were kept up for many generations. But the occasion of the last restitution was this. Greece being almost ruined by Seditions and Pestilence, *Iphitus* inquired of the Oracle at Delphos, how those evils might be redressed: and it was answered, that it was expedient for him and the *Eleans* to restore the Olympic Games; whereupon he proclaimed them, and for the better celebration of them, procured a Truce to be made. The place whence they had their name was *Olympia*, a City situated in the territories of the *Pisæans*, upon the River *Alpheus*, upon which account the *Pisæans* contended a long time with the *Eleans* about their interest in them. There was a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, and a place for Races and all sorts of Exercises, filled with many goodly buildings, which resembled another City. Near to the Town was also a place where the *Eleans* fate and judged of the Controversies arising about Victories, to which Crowns or Garlands were given. As long as the *Eleans* continued under a Monarchical Government, their Prince, of the posterity of *Oxylus*, was sole Judge; but afterwards there were Two, chosen by the Votes of the People, which where after increased to the number of Nine, then to Ten, and last of all to Twelve. This solemnity was held once every fifth year beginning, so that from the commencing of one to the beginning of another, passed four entire years, by some mistaken for five, because of the commencement of the Games. The time was at the full of the Moon, the change whereof immediately preceded the Summer Solstice, in the Month by them called *Hecatombeon*.

23. Upon this occasion meetings and consultations were had concerning the affairs of all Greece, besides the Inhabitants of which, many flocked from other Countries. Care was here taken concerning the form of the year, for the intercalation of a day at the end of every fourth. Change was given to the Priests of the Temple, to take notice of every new Moon, especially of that wherewith the

Moneth

The bringing in
of the Ephori
into Sparta.

* *Pausanias* in Arcadia lib. 1.

* *Pausanias* in Messenica.

* *Clemens* Strom. lib. 1.

* *Pausanias* in Elis lib. 1.

A. M. 3225, c. 34.

Moneth *Hecatombeon* began, and to proclaim it: they were also not only to register the names of the *Victors* in the several sorts of Games, with other things that concerned them, but also whatsoever memorable thing occurred in the intervals. The account of years henceforth never failed, and the affairs of Greece, and other Countries, were known in a most certain order. And here the second interval of time, amongst three reckoned by * *Varro*, received its period. The first began with the beginning of things, and ended at the *Deluge*, called by him *Unknown*: the second began where the first ended, and concluded with this restitution of the *Olympiads*, which he termed *Fabulous*, because the Story thereof is mixed with Fables: and the third, commencing with the first *Olympiad*, reached to his own time, which he named *Historical*, for that things done therein were truly and clearly related. This happened 408 years after the destruction of *Troy*, 774 before the *Æra* of Christ, A. M. 3229.

24. Towards the latter end of the seventh Olympiad, a great change was made in the Government of Lacedæmon, by the bringing in of the Ephori, who, according to *Plutarch*, had their beginning 130 years after *Lycurgus*. It seemeth that for all the means used by him to gain an Equality, and clip the power of the Great ones, yet it again grew extravagant within this time, so that the People, to provide against that of the Kings and Senate for the future, got these Officers created. Five they were in number, (whereof one *Blatus* was the first) chosen every year by and out of the People, without any distinction of birth or wealth; inasmuch, that sometimes the meanest sort of men were elected: which custom is noted as bad by *Aristotle*. But their use and end being only to protect the Liberty of the people, such, what ever they were, must be preferred, as made the greatest show of love to Freedom, of a sharp and bold wit, and averse to the power of the great ones. *Theopompus* the Son of *Nicander*, and Grandson to *Charilaus*, was King at this time, who bringing in, or giving way to this Office, his Wife rebuked him for so doing, saying, that he would leave the Kingdom to his Son of less value than he had it of his Father. To which he answered, that on the contrary, he should leave it so much the greater, by how much more durable. Indeed hereby it came to pass, as *Plutarch* observeth, that the Kingly power, being less, was not subject to that envy which ruined the affairs of the Kings of *Messene* and *Argos*, who would not moderate their power, nor at all stoop to any Popularity; and the Government here being poised, continued longer, as freed from the intestine distempers of the neighbour Commonwealth. Yet it is also observed by * one, that the reason of the prosperity and long duration of the Spartan State, above that of the *Athenian* and others, is to be fetched from its so much partaking of *Aristocracy*, and the want of that influence which the heady Multitude had in to the greatest affairs elsewhere.

25. The general and most probable opinion is, that the Ephori were brought in in the time of *Theopompus*. So writeth *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*. Yet (a) *Herodotus*, having reckoned up several things performed by *Lycurgus* in the framing of his Commonwealth, at length addeth, *Further*, *Lycurgus ordained the Ephori and Elders*: of which opinion *Xenophon* seemeth also to have been in his Treatise of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth. But though they were brought in during the reign of *Theopompus*, yet it is not agreed who was the principal Author of their creation, because the end or design thereof is uncertain, though that ere now spoken of be generally received. (b) *Plato*, and *Plutarch* (as he confesseth) from him, will have them created to be as a bridle to the power of the Kings, for theirs it must needs be, which he calleth *Hereditary*. *Cicero* also in his third Book of Laws testifieth, that the Ephori at Sparta were opposed against the Kings, as the *Roman Tribunes* against the *Consuls*, who as well as the Senate were, even at the first institution, feared by the Commons, for that they were the chief Patritian Magistrates at that time, and the Animosities in that State were caused by the distinction of the two Orders. *Valerius Maximus* maketh the same comparison betwixt the Ephori and Tribunes, and will have them instituted by *Theopompus* for this very end, whom *Plato* also seemeth upon the same account to call the third Saviour of the Lacedæmonians; so that he must have been at the least instrumental in their institution. *Aristotle* (c) accounteth this Magistracy as the Nerves of the Commonwealth joyning the parts thereof together, because the People by virtue of it being partaker of Empire, was quiet: so that the People seemeth especially considered in this Office, by which in another place the Philosopher expressly saith *Theopompus* moderated the power of the Kings. But for all this *Clemens* King of Sparta, as (d) *Plutarch* himself relateth the Story, affirmed in a speech to the

people,

* *Vide Censuram de Dic. Nat. lib. 1, cap. 21.*

A. M. 3256, V. C. 5, Jobanni 10.

Arist. Polit. lib. 5, cap. 11.

Val. Max. lib. 4.

Plutarch in vita Lycurgi.

Plato de Legibus lib. 3.

Cicero de Legib. lib. 3.

* *Machiavelli sopra la prima Decad. di Tito Livio.*

(a) *Thes. in 76. notis, not. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

(b) *O. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

(c) *Thes. in 76. notis, not. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*

(d) *In Clemens.*

people, that *Lycurgus* having added the *Senate* to the *Kings*, the Commonwealth was for a long time governed without any other Magistracy. Afterwards, when the *Messenian War* was drawn out in length, the *Kings*, because they were employed abroad, chose some of their friends to administer Justice, whom they left as their Deputies over the people: and those were called *Ephori*, from their inspection. Being at first no other than Assistants to the *Kings*, by little and little they assumed power to themselves, and no body aware of it, constituted a peculiar Office. Hereof, he said, a sign remained at that day, for that the *King* being called by the *Ephori*, refused to come once, and again; but at the third call came to them: besides, *Afteropus*, who first enlarged the bounds of this Office, was *Ephorus* many Ages after.

Their power.

26. The power of those Magistrates, for what end forever constituted, (as of others in other places) was moderate at the first; but in process of time, as the ambition of them, and the confidence of the People thereupon increased, it exceeded the due and just bounds, and made the Government almost degenerate into a Democracy. They not only consulted with the *Kings* and *Senate*, resolved about the affairs of State, and judged of Controversies amongst the people; but afterwards grappled even the whole Power into their hands, doing all things themselves that were of moment. They governed the *Assemblies* of the people, proposing and gathering Suffrages, they made and dissolved Leagues, ordered what Forces were to be sent out, for which they also made provision, they rewarded or punished, according to their pleasure, other Magistrates, calling the very *Kings* to account for their Lives; in sum, that, as the *Philosopher* observeth, they obtained a kind of Tyranny: the only remedy was, that their Office was but annual, and being five in number, the designs and endeavours of one or two were crossed and overthrown by the contrary party, nothing being done without the consent of the whole College. They rose not up, as other Magistrates, in preference of the *Kings*, with whom they mutually swore every month; the *Kings*, that they would rule according to the Laws, and they in the name of the people, to preserve their Rule thus ordered, safe and entire to them. With their entering into their Office the year began, (constantly in Winter, as we learn from *Theophrastus*;) and from one of them, as principal, the year was named, (who thence was called *Eponymus*;) as from the *Archon* at *Athens*. At their first entrance they were wont to publish an Edict, that the men should take off all the Hair from their upper Lips, and observe strictly all the Laws, lest they should be constrained to punish them, requiring obedience in a little, thereby to inure the people to it. In the War two of them used to go out with the *Kings*, to assist them in their Councils. They were wont to proclaim open war against the publick Slaves or *Helots*, giving liberty to kill them; and thence is to be derived that cruel custom of the *Cryptia*, rather than from any Constitution of *Lycurgus*, as *Aristotle* thinketh. The cause thereof, as *Plutarch* judgeth, was the conspiring of these Slaves against their Masters, during the *Messenian War*.

27. In the second year of the ninth Olympiad this War began: though the ground of the quarrel had been partly laid several years before the bringing in of the *Ephori*. In the days of *Teleclus* Father to *Alcamenus* now *King*, there being a Temple of *Diana* in the borders, to which both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians* constantly resorted, it happened that some *Spartan Virgins* going thither, according to the custom, were abused by the *Messenians*, and *Teleclus*, endeavouring to prevent the injury, was there slain: moreover, the *Virgins* for very shame and grief destroyed themselves, as the *Lacedæmonians* told the Story. On the contrary, the *Messenians* pleaded, that at this Temple *Teleclus* lay in wait for the principal of their City, by sending thither young men, disguised in the habit of *Virgins*, with *Poniards* under their cloaths; that hereupon the *Messenians* coming in to help their friends, slew *Teleclus*, and the counterfeits, for which at that time the *Lacedæmonians* found not themselves so much concerned as to stir. However it was, grudges hence arose, or were rather heightened betwixt them; for the *Lacedæmonians* often complained, that in the division of the Territories obtained by the *Heracleide*, *Eurythenes* and *Procles*, their *Kings*, were cheated by their Uncle *Cresphontes* of the far better grounds, for which now they envied the *Messenians*, thinking themselves far worthier of them, as being much the more considerable people.

28. Animosities being raised upon these accounts, another thing happened which increased them to that height as they brake out into open War. There was one *Polycharus*, a *Messenian*, who had got the victory in the Course at the celebration of the fourth Olympiad. He let out some Cows to one *Euphæbus* a *Lacedæmonian*, on this condition,

condition, to have part of the profit. *Euphæbus* sold the Cows, and then coming to *Polycharus*, told him that they and their Keepers were stolen from him. But while he was labouring to gain credit to his tale, some of the Herd-men (who, as it seemeth, with the consent of *Euphæbus*, were taken away by force) escaped from the Merchants, and acquainted *Polycharus* with the Fraud; which now the other not able to deny, asked him pardon, told him for how much the Cattle were sold, and promised to send the money, if he would let his Son accompany him to *Sparta*. He sent his Son accordingly; but when they were come together into *Laconia*, *Euphæbus* most perfidiously murdered the young man: with the horridness of which fact *Polycharus* grievously moved, came several times to *Sparta*, complaining bitterly, and with many tears, to the *Kings* and *Ephori*, but found no Justice; in sum, that growing into a great rage against all *Lacedæmonians* in common, he killed them as enemies wheresoever he could meet them.

29. The *Lacedæmonians*, finding themselves concerned herein, sent to the *Messinians*, demanding *Polycharus*. At that time *Androcles* and *Antiochus*, the Sons of *Phintias*, reigning at *Messene*, promised they would report the matter to the People, and know their minds therein. The Multitude being called together, *Androcles* was much for the giving up of *Polycharus*; but, on the contrary, *Antiochus* urged how unjust and lamentable a thing it would be for him to be tormented before *Euphæbus*; and the contention grew so hot betwixt the Brothers, that it came to blows. *Antiochus* his faction prevailing, *Androcles* with the chief of his party lost their lives. *Antiochus* then reigning alone wrote to the *Spartans*, offering to refer the business to the *Argives*, who were of the same flock with them both; or to the publick Council of the *Amphyctones*; or else, if neither of these liked them, to the Senate of *Areopagus*. They returned no answer by the Messenger, and within a few months *Antiochus* died, and his Son *Euphæbus* succeeded him. Neither then did they send any message, nor yet renounced amity with the *Messinians*, but entering into secret consultations provided for the War, and bound themselves with an Oath never to return home till they had subdued *Messenia*.

30. Being bound with this Oath, and having all things in a readiness, under the conduct of *Alcamenus*, the Son of *Teleclus*, they went out by night and fell upon *Arphæa*, a Town upon the Borders; which by the suddenness of the onset, no Watch being kept, but the Gates standing open, they easily took; and finding it a place for situation, and convenience of water, fit for their purpose, put all to the Sword, intending to use it as a Receptacle, and chief Fortrefs in the War. After this they made Excursions, and rather practised Robberies than carried on a War, the *Messinians* declining the Fight through the persuasion of *Euphæbus*. But after four years, when they were now well exercised, and exceedingly incensed against the *Lacedæmonians*, he gave them leave to make inroads into *Laconia*, where they waited all about *Taygetus*. He then led down his Army into the Borders to fight: which opportunity the *Lacedæmonians* embraced, and engaged with the Horse, and those Foot that bare the light Armour. But *Euphæbus* having provided matter for making a Trench, caused the place where his other Souldiers lay to be fortified, (in them confiding his chief strength;) so that, seeing they could not fight with them, and being unprovided to besiege the Camp, they returned home, where they had but cold welcome, because of this Retreat made contrary to their solemn Oath.

31. The year after, for that the elder fort exceedingly upbraided them, they returned into *Messenia* under conduct of both the *Kings*, *Theopompus*, the Son of *Nicanor*, and *Polydorus* of *Alcamenus* now dead. There they were received by the enemy, and entertained in a great and bloody Battel, wherein both Parties with much earnestness and contention demeaned themselves. The *Spartans* as they surpassed the other in skill, being trained up in Exercises from their Childhood, so exceeded them also in numbers: but desperation and necessity made the *Messenians* valiant, as they abundantly shewed it, many breaking their Ranks on purpose to come to hand-frocks with the enemy. In the main Battel the Victory continued doubtful a long time; in the right wing *Euphæbus* put *Theopompus* to flight, and in the left *Polydorus* did as much by the *Messenians*, and neither Party would give the chase: *Euphæbus*, for that he thought he had already done enough; and *Polydorus*, because the *Lacedæmonians* were deterred from it through their ignorance of the place, being in an enemy's Country: so that fighting on even terms they were parted by the night. The day following neither side would fight, nor had the confidence to erect a Trophee; but made truce so long as to bury their dead.

32. After this Battel none other succeeded for several years. The *Messenians*, for that their Country was the seat of War, were pressed with many difficulties.

Q 2

Their

Agri.

Passian.

vide Plutarch.
de Cor. Sipo-
tem.

Lib. 5.

Plutarch. in
Clemente ex
Aristotele.

Passianus in
Messenian.

Strabo lib. 5.
c. 2.

Joseph. in lib. 3.

Passian. in Joseph.

Pass. Polybius
lib. 6.

Idem ibid.

A. M. 3262.

Olymp. 9. an. 2.

P. C. 117.

Joseph. lib. 6.

Their Garrisons had cost them so much money, that now they were rendered unable to pay their Army: their Slaves fled daily to the *Lacedæmonians*, and a certain Disease, not much better than the Plague, seized upon them; which though not exceeding deadly, yet, jointly with the other difficulties, caused great trouble and perturbation. After a serious debate concerning the main of their Affairs, it was resolved, that most of the Towns lying upon the Sea should be dismantled as far remote, and *Ithome*, a Mountain as large as any within the *Isthmus*, (whereupon stood a Town more ancient than great) was to be fortified, because of the natural strength thereof. When they had here settled themselves, they sent to *Delphos* to enquire concerning the event of the War. The Oracle (agreeable to the disposition of the Enemy of mankind) required a Virgin of the stock of *Æpytus* to be sacrificed; whereupon all that belonged to that Family were subjected to the lot, and the Daughter of one *Lyceiscus* was taken. She being to be offered, the Sooth-sayer forbade it, alleging that she was not the Daughter of *Lyceiscus*, but brought in under-hand by his Wife that was barren: and whilst he was thus persuading the people, *Lyceiscus* fled away with her to *Sparta*. All hereat exceedingly startled, *Aristodemus*, another of that Family, voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but a young man there present that was in love with her, and shortly intended marriage, justly impugned it, and contended she was not in her Father's power, because betrothed to himself. Not herewith prevailing, he affirmed he had lien with her, and that she was with Child. Whereat *Aristodemus* was so enraged, that he killed her with his own hand, and, ripping up her belly, shewed plainly to all that there was no such matter. Yet the Sooth-sayer avouched her Death could not at all profit the State, and commanded some other to be offered: but *Euphaes* persuaded the People that the Oracle was already satisfied, and required not the Life of any other.

Aristodemus kills his Daughter.

The *Lacedæmonians* make War upon the *Argives*.

33. The rest which the *Lacedæmonians* had in this interval was presently turned into adion with the *Argives* about *Thyrea*, a Town situate in the borders of both Commonwealths. This fell out in the reign of *Teopompus*, whereat yet he was not present, partly by reason of his old age, and also for grief taken at the death of his son *Archidamus*. The controversy was brought before the *Amphyctiones*, who ordered that 300 on each side should decide it. Of the *Argives* two persons survived the Combat; but of the *Spartan* party only one, by name *Othryades*, as good as many, who lived no longer than to make use of broken Spears in stead of Crutches to sustain his body, then to gather together the Targets of the slain, and to erect a Trophæe therewith, whereon he made an inscription with his own blood. Because of this Trophæe the *Amphyctiones* decreed the Town to the *Lacedæmonians*; but the *Argives*, for that two of their party survived, afterwards renewed the War to their own damage.

That with the *Messenians* renewed.

34. The offering up of *Aristodemus* his Daughter seemed to the *Messenians* to have done some good, the affairs of *Lacedæmonia* appearing to be in a declining posture, and that State flower in its Enterprises than formerly. But in the sixth year after the departure of *Lyceiscus*, and the eighth from their removal to *Ithome*, the War was again renewed against them. Another Battel was fought, but with the same success as formerly. In the midst of the Fight was the hottest contest, the most valiant on both sides betaking themselves thither; where *Euphaes* also, venturing farther than either stood with his dignity or safety, against *Teopompus*, received many and deadly wounds. Herewith being so weakened that he fell, the *Lacedæmonians* strove to take him, and a great conflict ensued; but one *Anaxander* so far resisting as to lose his own Life in the quarrel, *Euphaes* was brought off, and died a few days after, having reigned thirteen years, all which time he spent in the War against the *Lacedæmonians*. He dying Childless, a great controversy arose about the Succession, for that several of the Family of *Æpytus* stood for the Kingdom, amongst whom was *Aristodemus*, who, though it was objected that, having polluted his hands in the Blood of his Daughter, he was not capable, was preferred before all others through the favour of the People. After his Election he sent Presents to the chief of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicionians*, whom he engaged to his Party. Afflicted by some *Arcadians* he made incursions, and the *Lacedæmonians* did the same, proceeding to no greater extremity: but at length, in his fifth year, another Battel was fought near to *Ithome*, wherein the *Messenians* were afflicted by the three States now mentioned, and the *Spartans* by no other *Peloponnesians* than those of *Corinth*. The dispute was very sharp, and the event doubtful, till the *Messenians*, having the upper ground, at last put their enemies to flight, of whom it is credible, as *Pausanias* only writeth, that many miscarried.

A. M. 3269.
Olymp. 31. an. 1.
V. C. 16.
Achæzi 8.

Pausanias in *Lacedæmonia* c. 10.
Archid. lib. 1.
Strabo in *Lib. 10.*

Pausanias in *Archid.*

A. M. 3274.
Olymp. 32. an. 2.
V. C. 23.
Achæzi 13.

35. The *Lacedæmonians*, after this, almost despairing of success, both Parties sent to enquire at *Delphos* concerning the issue of the War. The *Messenians* received an answer so ambiguous as could not be interpreted: that to the *Spartans* plainly signified, that as *Cresphontes* had obtained *Messene* by a wife in ordering the Lots, so by wiles it was to be recovered. Several then they invented, but all were discovered, by the vigilancy and cunning of *Aristodemus*. But the twentieth year of the War approaching, the Affairs of the *Messenians* began exceedingly to relapse, and the Oracle, again consulted, answered, that whosoever could first dedicate a hundred Trestles (or Three-footed stools) to *Jupiter of Ithome* should obtain *Messene*. The *Messenians*, having the Temple within themselves, doubted not but to be able to do this first: yet the Answer being brought to *Lacedæmonia*, one *Othobalus*, a crafty man there, made a hundred of Clay, and while the *Messenians* were busied about others of Wood, (for their purses were not able to reach to Brass) disguised himself in the habit of a Fowler, and carried them into the Temple. This struck the *Messenians* with great consternation, who were straightly besieged by this time, and hindered from getting in any Provisions. *Aristodemus* was also tormented with sad Dreams about his Daughter, whereat sorely moved, and exceedingly afflicted with consideration that he should kill his Child for his Country's good, which notwithstanding was desperate, he slew himself at her Monument.

36. With this sad Accident the *Messenians* were more grievously struck, and so despaired as to have thoughts of making their applications to the *Lacedæmonians*; but as yet not able to stoop, they made no Overtures, though almost oppressed with Famine: they chose their Captains in the room of *Aristodemus*, preparing to fall out, and fight it out to the last man for their lives and fortunes. Yet at length distrustful their ability to do any thing that way, and considering themselves urged hard with the want of all necessities, they left *Ithome*, and yielded in the fifth month after the death of *Aristodemus*, the twenty eighth year of the War being almost finished, in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, the Medontide at Athens yet enjoying the Power for ten years, in the days of *Hezekiah* King of Judah, and the time of the deportation of the ten Tribes. The Conquerors utterly demolished *Ithome*, and, having gotten easily the other Towns of *Messenia* into their power, imposed what Laws they pleased upon the Inhabitants, who were commanded to till their grounds, and send one half of the profits unto *Sparta*; to bind themselves by Oath, to remain in perpetual Fealty to the *Lacedæmonians*, and both men and women, when the Kings and Nobles of *Sparta* died, to attend upon their Funerals in mourning weeds: which things were enjoined them upon pain of Death. As many as would not endure those hard Conditions, and had hope of entertainment with the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicionians*, went thither, and such as were Priests, to *Elusine*: all the rest of the Multitude departed every one to his own seat: and so the first *Messenian* War ended.

The end of the first *Messenian* War.

A. M. 3282.
Olymp. 14. an. 2.
V. C. 31.
Erech. 8.

37. Whilst the *Lacedæmonians* were abroad, and lay under the obligation of their Oath, never to return till the War should be finished, fearing, either through the suggestion of their Wives, or their own recollection, that their Posterity might fail, they chose out of their lustiest young men fifty in number, who, coming out under age, were not liable to the Oath, and sent them to *Sparta*, to lie with their Wives and Virgins (or the Virgins only) in a promiscuous manner, whence arose a generation called *Partenies*, as the Sons of Virgins. But after that the War was finished, and the *Spartans* returned home, they looked upon them as a spurious brood, and as such contemned them; which these Youths apprehending, and how they could not inherit any thing in the Commonwealth, entered into conspiracy with the *Helots*, and made one *Philanthus* their Captain, whose Father *Ascras* had given the advice to send the young men to the Virgins. This Plot being revealed by some of the Slaves, they were expelled, and forced to seek out new seats; so that departing into Italy, they drove out the *Barbarians* and *Cretians*, who inhabited about *Tarentum*, and seizing upon that Place, therein planted themselves.

The second *Messenian* War.

38. The *Messenians* thus brought under the yoke, endured it, though with much repining, for 29 years; but then, besides their most hard and servile condition, wearied with the infolency of the *Spartans*, in the fourth year of the 23. Olympiad, a little after the nine Annual Archons were constituted at Athens, in the fortieth after the taking of *Ithome*, they revolted, at the instigation of *Aristomenes* especially, a young man of a most active and courageous spirit, who had before-hand solicited for assistance the *Arcadians* and *Argives*, now being jealous of the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, and at open enmity with them. At this time *Anaxander*, the Nephew of *Polydorus* by his Son *Eurycrates*, and *Anaxidamus* the Son of *Zonias*,

Justin, ex *Trogus*, lib. 3.

Leges Strabo l. 6. p. 278, 279, 280, 281.

Pausanias in *Messeniæ* A. M. 3330. V. C. 69. *Manassæ* 17.

Grand-son to *Theopompus*, by his Son *Archidamus*, who died ere he came to reign, were Kings at *Sparta*.

39. *Aristomenes* managed the whole business for the *Messenians*, being of extraordinary abilities both of body and mind. He first engaged with the *Spartans* at *Dora*, a Village of *Messenia*, where he is said to have behaved himself above the capacity of a man, and seeing he was of the Family of *Ægyptus*, was chosen King by the People. Refusing this Title, he was created General, with absolute Authority; and afterwards, at the Monument of the *Boar*, (a place in *Messenia*, where *Hercules* made a League with the Sons of *Nileus*) by the assistance of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, *Steyonians* and *Eleans*, overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, terrifying all wherever he came. In the pursuit he lost his Target, which whilst he was seeking, they had opportunity to escape. After this, he took and plundered a Town of *Laconia*, named *Phara*, whence retreating with much Booty, he also overthrew *Anaxander* the King, who pursued him; and having in his intentions to march against *Sparta* it self, is said to have been deterred from it by the Apparitions of *Heleus* and her two Brothers, *Castor* and *Pollux*.

40. The *Lacedæmonians*, much startled at this Loss, thought to have put a period to the War, but were again encouraged by the Verses of *Tyrtæus*, who persuaded them to fill up their Army with the *Helots*. A year or two before this, sending to consult the Oracle about the War, they had answer, That they must send to *Athens* for a Counsellor. The *Athenians* were unwilling in the least to promote their Affairs, being jealous of their growing Power: yet fearing also to do any thing crost to the Oracle, they sent to them this *Tyrtæus*, a School-master, lame on his feet, and not very found in his brain. In the third year of the War, another Battle was fought, at a place called the *Great Ditch*, wherein the *Messenians* having no other Associates than their Friends of *Arcadia*, these also failed them at this time, through the Treachery of their Captain; so that, left to themselves, and compassed in by their Enemies, most of them were slain, though *Aristomenes* omitted nothing worthy of a General, or common Soldier. Having gathered up the reliques of his Army, he persuaded the people to quit all in-land Towns, and, fortifying onely *Pylos* and *Methone* upon the Sea, to secure themselves in the Hill *Ira*. Here they were presently besieged, and issuing out for Booty, made Depredations both in *Laconia* and their own Country; which drew out an Edict from the *Lacedæmonian* State, that the Borders of both Countries should, during the War, be left desolate: whereupon a Dearth ensued at *Sparta*, and thence a Sedition, which *Tyrtæus* with his Poetry had work enough to suppress.

41. *Aristomenes* in the mean time, like some fierce and greedy Lion, with 300 choice men at his heels, to the great fear of all men, ranged up and down, and made continual Excursions into the Enemy's Country. At length he was taken and carried to *Sparta*, where condemned to death, he was thrown into a deep Dungeon, the ordinary way of punishing capital Offenders. Coming safe to the bottom, though others were killed by the fall, he perceived a Fox feeding upon some dead Carcasses; whereat considering that this creature must have some hole to creep in at, he caught it by the tail, and defending himself from its teeth by the other hand, it led him to the hole, which being but little, he so enlarged with his hands, as, contrary to the belief and expectation of all men, he returned safe to his Companions. Presently after his return, he fell upon the Camp of the *Corinthians*, who assisted the *Spartans* in the Siege, and lay carelessly, without any watch, and killing the Captains, plundered their Tents. Not long after a Truce was made for forty days, during which, he wandering abroad too carelessly, was entrapped by some *Cretians*, who assisted also in the Siege, and being bound with the thongs of their Quivers, was carried into a Village, to the house of a certain Widow. This Woman, understanding who he was, calt in her head how to deliver him: which she effected, by giving his Keepers so much drink, that they falling asleep, with one of their daggers he cut the thongs. Being loosed, he stabbed the *Cretians*, and escaped: and afterwards, to requite the Woman's kindness, married her to his Son *Gorgus*.

42. Ten years the Siege of *Ira* continued, the *Messenians* enjoying the grounds at the foot of the Mountain, as far as the River *Neda*, and thereby being better provided for to hold out. But in the eleventh, when *Aristomenes* was rendered by a wound incapable of taking such care about the Watch as he had been wont, in a rainy and dark night the Sentinels, secure of him, betook themselves to their own homes. Amongst those there was one, whose Wife in his absence entertained a certain Herd-man as a Lover, who belonged to *Emperamus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, now at

Passania in *Messenia*.

the Siege. He being hid by his Paramour upon her Husband's coming, heard the man tell the Story, how he and his fellows had forsaken their charge, and slipping away, therewith acquainted his Master. Both the *Spartan* Kings were absent at this time; but *Emperamus*, unwilling to let slip so fair an opportunity, led the Army thither, and got into the Fortrels before he was discovered. When the matter was perceived, a great contest there was betwixt the parties; but *Aristomenes* seeing there was no hope of doing any good, and willing to save what was left of the afflicted *Messenians*, obtained liberty to depart: and so *Ira* being taken, the War ended, after it had lasted sixteen years, in the fifth of the 28. *Olympiad*, when *Antisthenes* was Archon at *Athens*, A.M. 3337.

The end of the second War.

A. M. 3337.
O. l. 28. an. 11.
V. C. 86.
Manuscript 34.

43. When the *Arcadians* understood of the taking of *Ira*, they defired of *Aristocrates* their King to be led out, either to restore their friends, or die with them. But he having formerly betrayed them at the *great Ditch*, was now also corrupted with money, and refused to do it, alleging there was none left to whom they could give assistance. Yet when it was clearly known that they were alive, they sent some before to comfort them, then met them with Cloaths and Meat, as far as the Hill *Lyceus*, and kindly invited them to live amongst them. *Aristomenes* boyling with hatred and revenge against the *Lacedæmonians*, chose out of the Company 500 men, whom he knew to be no whit desirous to outlive the fortune of their Country, and asked them in the hearing of *Aristocrates* (not knowing any thing of his treachery) and the *Arcadians*, whether they would venture their lives with him. Upon their answer that they would, he acquainted them with his design, to march straight for *Sparta*, which if he could surprize, now that all its strength was employed in the plunder of *Messenia*, then should he make an even exchange with the *Lacedæmonians*; but if not, death would be the worst that could happen. Besides the *Messenians*, 300 *Arcadians* gave their names to this Expedition; but being stayed by reason that the entralls of the Beast were not propitious, *Aristocrates* had time to give notice of the design to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Treachery was discovered after the return of the Messenger by some that suspected it, and the Letter sent back from *Anaxander* was read in the Assembly of the *Arcadians*, wherein thanks was given to *Aristocrates*, as well for the help he afforded the *Lacedæmonians* at the *great Ditch*, as for this timely notice. Hereat the multitude was so enraged, as they stoned him out of hand, cast him out unburied, and erected a Monument to his infamy, with this note, that *Perjury cannot escape God*. They exhorted also the *Messenians* to throw Stones at him, who looked upon *Aristomenes*, as expecting directions from him; but he onely fixed his eyes on the ground and wept.

Aristocrates punished for his treachery.

44. The *Messenians* desired of *Aristomenes* to lead them out to seek some new place to inhabit; but he denied it, resolving to spend his days in doing as much mischief as he could to the *Lacedæmonians*: onely his Sons *Gorgus* and *Manticles* he offered to them. Those that had kept *Pylos* and *Methone*, with others which lived on the Sea-coasts, went by Ship to *Cyllene*, the Haven of the *Eleans*, to seek out the rest. The following Spring several places being proposed to go to, *Anaxilus*, who then reigned at *Rhégium*, and was defended of one *Alcidamidas* a *Messinian*, (that, after the taking of *Irbone* in the former War, betook himself thither) sent some to convoy them into *Italy*. After their arrival, he told them he had continual War with the *Zanclean*s, a people of *Sicilie*, that inhabited a fruitful and pleasant Soil, which if they would help him to conquer, he would put it into their hands. He then besieged them by Sea, and the *Messenians* by Land; whereby being distressed, and the greater part of the Wall now cast down, they fled to the Altars of their Gods. *Anaxilus* would have had them slain, and their Wives and Children sold; but the others, unwilling to commit such cruelty against any *Greeks*, (for such they were, the Town being first inhabited by *Rovers*, and afterwards by others from several parts of *Greece*) gave them liberty to continue, and incorporating themselves into their body, changed the name of the place from *Zancle* into *Messene*. *Aristomenes* for some time continuing in *Greece*, married his Daughters very honourably, whereof *Demagetus*, Prince of *Rhodes* at that time, took the youngest to Wife, having been advised by the Oracle to make choice of that man's Daughter who was the best in all *Greece*. He carried his Daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he intended to go to *Arady*: the Son of *Gyges*, then reigning in *Lydia*, and thence to *Ecabane*, to *Phraortes* King of the *Medes*; but death prevented him, and he finished his days in that Island, being found in the number of those few that lived and died in great glory.

The *Messenians* pass into Sicily.

A. M. 3349.
O. l. 28. an. 31.
V. C. 88.
Manuscript 35.

45. *Messenia* thus subdued by the *Lacedæmonians* was tilled by the common Slaves,

Such as continued in distress made Slaves.

Slaves, amongst whom such of the Inhabitants as there still remained were enrolled, and became a Proverb for their hard Bondage; being worse used than any, because, as some think, the War was carried on with them, not for *glory and Empire*, but for *life and safety*; not with a *contention which People should rule*, but *whether should be preferred*. The accession of this Country to their Demesies very much increased the power of *Lacedæmon*, and so they held it for two hundred years, till an opportunity was offered for the old Inhabitants, in despite of them, to return. This thing being brought to pass long after, must be referred to another place: as also (because what farther happened betwixt the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and this Commonwealth, is not very material) whatsoever we have farther to observe concerning the *Lacedæmonians*.

S E C T. VI.

The most antient Kingdom of Corinth.

Corinth first called Ephyra, and built by Sisyphus.

THis City, seated in the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*, had first the name of *Ephyra*, and was built by *Sisyphus* (whose posterity reigned here some 428 years) in the days of *Cecrops*, the first King of *Athens*, and a little before *Deucalion's* Flood, about the 2426 year of the World. He married *Merope*, the Daughter of *Atlas*, by which he had four Sons, *Glauco*, *Ornytion*, *Therjander*, and *Almus*; was accounted a very wise and prudent man, feigned also to have returned to life again, that he might chastise his Wife for not having performed what was due to his memory. After he was once got up, he would not return of a long time to Hell; where he is also said by the Poets to rowl a great Stone up an Hill, which continually tumbling down again keepeth him in constant toil; having this punishment inflicted on him for discovering to *Agave* his Daughter (stolen away by *Jupiter*, *Glauco* his eldest Son was the Father of *Bellerophon*, and first celebrated Games in the *Isthmus*. *Ornytion* begat *Phocus*, who led a Colony into, and gave name to the Country called *Phocia* after him: and *Thous*, a younger Son, who continued at *Corinth*. *Therjander* had two Sons, *Coronus* and *Haliarimus*, who being adopted by *Athamas* their Uncle on the Father's side, then reigning in *Boeotia*, (after he had lost his own two Sons *Phryxus* and *Helles*, and his Daughter *Ino* with her two Sons) gave name to two places in that Country. *Almus*, (called otherwise *Halmus* and *Olmus*) the youngest Son of *Sisyphus*, had part of the Country of the *Orchomenians* bestowed on him by *Breacles* the King: and from him *Almon*, or *Olmon*, a place in *Boeotia*, was so named.

Bellerophon.

Bellerophon, having committed man-laugher at *Corinth*, was forced to fly thence, and went to *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, whose Wife *Sthenobea* enamoured of his beauty tempted him to lie with her; but he had the modesty to deny her, wherewith she was so incensed as to accuse him to her Husband of an intended Rape. *Prætus* taking it in great disdain to be so used by his Guest, yet would not kill him, but sent him to *Iolus*, King of *Lycia*, his Wife's Father, with Letters, wherein he desired him to make the bearer away. To fulfill his request, *Iolus* first caused him to fight with the *Chimæra*, a Monster that vomited fire, not doubting of his destruction thereby; but he mounting the Horse *Pegasus*, flew the Monster. After this he sent him against the *Solyms* and *Amazons*, whom he conquered: then caused some of the strongest young men he could procure to fly in ambush, and fall on him; whom also he having slain, *Iolus*, admiring his valour, gave him his Daughter *Philonoe* to Wife, and when he died, left him his Successor in the Kingdom of *Lycia*. Concerning this *Chimæra*, what should be meant thereby is scarcely discernable. (a) Some have understood by it a Mountain in *Lycia*, the top whereof vomited forth fire, the middle part had pastures full of Goats, and the foot or bottom abounded with Serpents. 'Tis conceived he might make this Mountain habitable, and thence be said to have slain the *Chimæra*, which had a mouth like a Lion, middle parts as a Goat, and the hinder parts like a Dragon. (b) Others again say that *Bellerophon* gave occasion to this Fable by killing one *Chimærus* a Sea-Captain, who infested the *Lycians* with Piracy; the story being thence raised, for that *Chimærus* his Ship had a Lion painted on the Prow, and a Dragon on the Deck,

Passes in Co. rimbach.

Engh. in Chron. A. M. 2426.

Apollodorus. A. M. 2650.

(a) Strabo in Virgil. Enaid. lib. 6.

(b) Phalaris de Pivinitibus militum.

Deck; and *Bellerophon's* Vessel, called *Pegasus*, might have a winged Horse for its sign. A third (c) fort think three kinds of Enemies to be signified by this Monster; the *Solyms*, *Amazons*, and *Lycians*; the former being for their valour compared to a Lion, the next for their nimbleness in climbing of Rocks to a Goat, and the last to a Dragon, for their craftiness in Ambushes. Lastly, a (d) modern and most learned Writer judgeth the three Gods of the *Solyms*, whom *Bellerophon* overthrew, to have been painted in their Ensigns; resembling a Lion, Goat, and Dragon, like the three Heads of the Monster, as 'tis described by *Hesiod*.

Alates.

3. *Bellerophon* being driven from *Corinth*, *Thous* the Son of *Ornytion* obtained the Kingdom, whom succeeded *Demophon* his Son, then followed *Propodæus*, whose two Sons *Doridas* and *Hyanthidas* reigning both together, *Aletes* the Son of *Hippus* (Son to *Antiochus*, and Nephew to *Hercules*) came down and subdued the Kingdom. The *Heraclidae* having, before this, obtained *Peloponnesus*, reserved this part for him, who consulting the Oracle of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, was answered, that he should then obtain it, when a Clod of earth should be given him. At his return this was fulfilled; for begging some meat of an Herdsman, he, having nothing to give him, offered him a Clod, which he gladly accepted, saying, *Aletes* accepteth of a Clod: which became a Proverb. Who gave the name of *Corinth* to the City is uncertain; but however, *Aletes*, out of gratitude to the Oracle, named it *Corinth* of *Jupiter*: which gave occasion to the multitude to believe that *Corinth*, the King that built it, was the Son of *Jupiter*; wherein they so gloried, and so often vaunted of it, that nothing became more ridiculous, and they were laughed at for it throughout Greece. After *Aletes*, the eldest of the Family succeeded for several generations. The first was *Icæon*, who reigned 37 years; the next *Agelaus*, who ruled as many; *Pruaninus* 35, and * *Bacchis* full of many, who was so famous, that whereas he and all his Ancestors were called *Heraclidae*, his Successors from him had the name of *Bacchiade*. The first after him was *Agelaus*, who governed thirty years; the next *Eudæmus*, who reigned 25; then came *Ariflomædes*, who having ruled 35, left a Child behind him, whose Brother *Algemon*, whom he had appointed Guardian, deposed, and held the Kingdom himself sixteen years. After him followed *Alexander* for 25, whom *Telester* the Son of *Ariflomædes* slew, and obtained his Father's Kingdom, which he held twelve years. He was also slain by *Ariens* and *Perantas* his Kinsmen, and then *Automenes* reigned one year, which being expired, the *Bacchiade*, more than 200 in number, seized on the Kingdom, and governed in common; only every year they created a *Prytanis* out of their own Body to be in the room of a King, and so they continued 90 years in the way of an *Ariflocracy*.

Colonies of the Corinthians.

4. During this term, in the fourth year of the eleventh Olympiad, the *Corinthians*, being powerful at Sea, sent out a Colony into the Island of *Sicily* under conduct of *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidae*, which, expelling the *Sicili* out of that quarter, founded the City *Syracusa*. More people flocking thither out of *Peloponnesus*, this City grew and increased exceedingly; so that it became not only the principal of all in *Sicily*, but the greatest and most beautiful of all Greece, as *Cicero* witnesseth, and in its due place will be farther discovered. Much about the same time was there another Colony sent into the Island *Phæacius*, lying nigh to *Epirus*, at a little distance from the Continent, conducted thither by *Cheriferastes* another of the *Trojan* times, by the *Phæacians* a most noble People, over whom reigned *Alcinous* the Son of *Naupthoön*, who received *Ulysses* after his long Wandring, and helped him in his journey home to *Ithaca*. He mentioneth his Royal seat, called *Scheria*, (which *Pliny* from him affirmeth also to have been the name of the Island, as well as *Phæacia*) and saith, the Inhabitants were much given to Navigation, and most skillful therein. In the soil of this *Scheria*, the old Inhabitants being expelled, this new Colony planted it self, which taking the name of *Coreya*, the whole Island came thence to be so called. The City, much befriended by the commodiousness of the Haven, and the convenience of the place for Sea-matters, grew in a short time to be very considerable; so that it founded of it self two Cities, viz. that of *Epidamnus*, as we have it from *Thucydides*, (by the Romans called *Dyrrachium*) and *Apollonia*, as *Strabo* writeth, of both them seated in that part of *Illyricum* inhabited by the *Taulantians*. The form of this Commonwealth was agreeable to the constitution of all Colonies like to that of *Corinth* the Metropolis, which then was governed by the *Bacchis* ade in an Oligarchical way. When *Corinth* was afflicted by Tyrants, *Coreya* felt

(c) Homer. Il. 2. Engh. & Ilac. lib. 6. Ephyra. p. 6.

(d) Lige Bocharii Canaan, lib. 1. c. 6.

Passes at pris.

Vide Simsimi ad A. M. 2914.

Lib. Ktesos 3.

Engh. in Chron. A. M. 2426.

Engh. in Chron. A. M. 2426.

A. M. 3272. Olymp. 11. an. 4. V. C. 21. Achaia. 11.

felt also their influence upon its infancy; but at length it grew to that height, as to renounce such obedience as the other challenged, whence great and tedious Commotions were produced in Greece.

5. The *Bacchiade* neither communicated the Government nor Marriage to any other person than of their own family, till one of their Women being lame, and upon that account despised by them all of her own stock, had thereby an occasion given to break the custom. She (named *Labda*) married *Eetion*, (the Son of *Echeerates*, and Nephew to *Antafus* of the *Petræan* Tribe) who, having no Children by her, or any other, went to *Delphos*, and enquired of the Oracle concerning issue. He received an answer to this effect, That he should have a Son, who like a Stone would fall upon the *Oligarchy*, and breaking it in pieces, amend the State of *Corinth*. This coming to the ears of the *Bacchiade*, who had an Oracle before much to the same purpose, though under general terms, they resolved to hold their peace, and kill *Eetion's* Child as soon as it should be born. And as soon as his Wife was delivered, they sent ten of their Company to destroy it, whom the Mother presented with a fight of the Babe, thinking they had come to congratulate her Husband about its birth. They had agreed amongst themselves, that whosoever first came at the Infant should knock out his Brains; but the Child smiling in his face who first took it in his Arms, he was so moved with compassion, that he would not kill it, but delivered it to one of his fellows, who touched with the same compassion gave it to another, till it passed through all their hands unhurt. Being gone out, and standing at the door, they blamed one another exceedingly, especially the first, whose part it was to kill it, and in they returned now to do the deed. But the Mother, hearing their discourse, hid the Infant under a *Bushell*, or such a like instrument of measuring Corn, so that not finding it they returned, giving out they had done their errand: and so the Child thus preserved was named *Cypselus*, from *Ky-ψέλω*, the measure under which he was hid, in the *Greek* tongue called *Cypselé*.

6. When he was come to man's estate, relying upon another Oracle (whereby he was plainly bidden to be King of *Corinth*, and his Children after him, but not his Nephews) he invaded the Tyranny, which to establish, many he deprived of their estates, but many more of their lives. He first lulled the people asleep with good language, and thereby getting all into his hands, made himself Lord of the City. His power he preserved by removing those out of the way whom it most concerned him; but once established he grew exceeding mild and fair, with good words, and no ill deeds, drawing the people into such a respect of him, that all his time he stood not in need of any Guard: a rare thing in men of his condition, which *Gelo* at *Syracuse* only imitated. This change happened at *Corinth* in the second year of the 31. *Olympiad*, in the days of *Phraortes*, King of the *Medes*, and *Arctus* Grandfather to *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, 20 years after the second *Messenian* War, and 30 after the nine *Annual Arcyons* were established at *Athens*, A. M. 3350. Upon his seizing the power, *Demaratus*, a man eminent amongst the *Bacchiade*, and very rich, fled into *Italy*, and seated himself in *Hetruria*, where, of a Woman of that Country, he begat two Sons, *Aruns* and *Lucumon*, the latter whereof became King of *Rome*, by the name of *Tarquinius*.

7. *Cypselus* having enjoyed the Principality of *Corinth* and *Corcyra* the space of thirty years, then died, and left it to his Son *Periander*. He was much unlike his Father, of a cruel disposition, (if we believe *Aristotle* rather than *Soficles* in *Herodotus*) inasmuch as not trusting the good will of his People, he got a Guard of 300 men about him, and would rather be feared than loved of his Subjects; yet being hardy and warlike, he held the power longer than he. *Herodotus* out of *Soficles* relateth, that at first he was very mild and courteous, till, by acquaintance with *Thrafsybulus* the Tyrant of *Miletus*, he altered his humour: for sending to him for his advice how he might best order his affairs in Government, he returned no answer to the Messenger, but carrying him out into a plot of Corn, fell a-plucking off the tallest and most eminent Ears, till he had well-nigh mared the whole plot. The Messenger returning, told *Periander* what he had seen; who easily guessed, that the most eminent and powerfull Citizens were to be removed out of the way. But * *Aristotle* maketh him the Author of this Council * *Polin* 1.3. c.9. & *Lys.* c.10. with his Mother *Cratea*.

8. He married *Melissa* the Daughter of *Procles* (or *Patrocles*) Tyrant of *Epidaurnus*, on whom he begat *Cypselus* and *Lycophron*, whereof the elder was very blockish and stupid. At the instigation of his Whores he afterwards killed his Wife, kicking her when she was great with child, then lay with her when she was dead;

Herod. lib. 5. cap. 90. c. c.

A. M. 3350.

Cypselé Arist. Polin. l. 2. c. 12.

A. M. 3350. *Diogen. Hæticus. & Livius li.*

Herodotus & Arist.

* *Polin* 1.3. c.9. & *Lys.* c.10.

Laërtius in vita Periandri, & Herod. ut suprad.

dead; and calling together the *Corinthian* women, as well adorned as possible, to celebrate the Feast of *Junio*, caused his Guard to strip them all naked, and made a parentation to *Melissa* of all their cloaths and ornaments. *Lycophron*, his youngest Son, who only was capable of the Government, moved by *Procles* his Grandfather, grew exceeding froward and refractory because of his Mother's death; inasmuch that, differences and distasts increasing, *Periander* banished him first his house, then forbad all his Subjects to speak to or comfort him, and at length forced him into *Corcyra*. But after some years growing old, infirm, and unfit for business, he sent for him home, offering to pass over all to him: but by no arguments or intreaties could he move him to return, till he offered to change places, and devote himself of all Power. Now when this was agreed on, the *Corcyreans*, fearing above all things to have *Periander* come amongst them, to prevent it, killed the young man. *Periander*, to be revenged, took away from them 300 of their choicest Boys, which he sent to *Halyattes*, King of *Lydia*, his Friend and Ally, to be gelded: but they being driven upon the Island *Samos*, the Inhabitants took such pity both on them and their relations, as to send them home safe, and disappointed the Tyrant. This so vexed him, now almost eighty years old, that he died of grief, though by some he be reckoned amongst the seven Wise men of *Greece*. *Suidas* out of most ancient Authors delivereth this Character of him; That he was an harsh and cruel Tyrant, very martial, scarcely being ever out of War, and very powerfull at Sea, having for convenient Havens both upon the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Gulfs. He reigned nigh forty years, and died in the fourth of the forty eighth *Olympiad*, seven after the establishment of *Solon's* Laws, A. M. 3420.

Pjammeticus.

9. *Periander* being dead, his Tyranny as it were tottered for three years and some six months, during which time *Pjammeticus* the Son of *Gordias*, Brother to *Periander*, or rather something a-kin to him, held it; as appeareth by (*) *Aristotle*, who only hath preferred his name to us from utter oblivion. After his removal the power of One man was laid aside, and the People put themselves into a Free State, which continued as long as the Liberty of *Greece* it self. The form thereof is not described to us by any ancient Author; only this we know from (*) *Plutarch*, that it was inclining more to *Oligarchy* than that of *Syracuse*, the power of the Multitude being more bounded. Yet, for certain, the Government was Popular, things of greatest consequence never being resolved on without the consent and decree of the People, (which kept those of highest concernment in its own power;) and, if any other in the World, was a friend to Antimonarchical liberty, and an utter enemy to Monarchy, wherever it was found in *Greece*. For this City undertook many times great Wars for this very cause, and not out of any ambitious design, as is clear in the case of the *Syracusanians*, and others; so that a Captain out of it was most desirable upon such an occasion; as may hereafter be discovered.

A. M. 3420. *Olympiad. c. 4. V. C. 169. Nabuch. 24.*

(*) *Pollit. l. 5. c. 12.*

(f) *In simile aut & Diss.*

S E C T. VII.

The ancient Kingdom of Thebes.

1. *BOEOTIA* had on the West *Phocis*, on the East the *Eubæan* Sea, on the North the Eastern *Locri*, and on the South *Attica* and *Megaris*. The chief Seat and Metropolis of this Country was *Thebes*, the Builder of which is not certainly known. *Calydus* is reported first to have reigned here; whence by a Poet of *Chalcis* it is called the Tower of *Calydus*; and in *Hefychius*, *Calydnean* is the same with *Ancient*. After him was *Ogyges*, or *Ogyrus*, from whom *Thebes* by the Poets is called *Ogygian*, and that great *Ogygian* Deluge is named, which is said to have happened in his time, 1020 years before the first *Olympiad*, in the days of *Phoroneus* King of *Argos*, (as *Africanus* gathereth) and so overwhelmed all the region of *Attica*, that it made it uninhabitable for 200 years, as *Peperius* noteth. *Pausanias* writeth, that he was King of the *Edæne*, the first Inhabitants of *Thebes*, and that from his Son, *Elenfue*, a famous Town in *Attica*, took both Original and name, as some were of opinion. These *Edæne* are reported to have been consumed by Pestilence, whom succeeded the *Hyantes* and *Aone*, who continued

Calydus.

Ogyges.

A. M. 2244.

In Edæne & Attica.

in those parts, together with the *Temices*, (who came from *Sanium*) and the *Leleges*, till *Cadmus*, coming to *Greece*, made himself Master of this place, in the days of *Corax* King of *Sicyon*, and *Danaus* of *Argos*, 347 years after the beginning of *Ogyges*.

Cadmus.

2. This *Cadmus*, according to the tradition of the *Greeks*, was Son to *Agenor* the Brother of *Belus*, Uncle to *Danaus* and *Aegyptus*, who, coming out of *Egypt* into *Phoenicia* some 36 years before, on his Wife *Telphassa* begat three Sons, *Cadmus*, *Phoenix*, *Clix*, and a Daughter named *Europa*. This *Europa* *Jupiter* stole, and carried over Sea into *Crete*, in the likeness of a Bull, where he begat on her *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Asterius* King of the Island afterwards married her, and, having no Children of his own, adopted her Sons. *Herodotus* telleth us that some *Greeks*, (*Asterius* perhaps, or some for him) in revenge for which the Nation had formerly suffered from the *Astiaticks* in stealing away *Iro*, went to *Lyre*, and thence stole *Europa* the King's Daughter, bringing her away in a Ship whose Ensign was a Bull; whence occasion was given to feign, that she was carried over upon a Bull's back.

Apollid. lib. 2.

Dind. l.4. p.183.

Lib. 1. cap. 2.

3. *Agenor* sent out his three Sons to seek their Sister, charging them never to return without her into *Phoenicia*. *Cadmus* sailed first into the Island *Calisthe*, (lying near *Crete*) where he left a Colony, and thence into *Thasus*, (so named from *Thasus* one of his Companions, and head of another Colony left here) and at length into *Greece*, where, in *Beotia*, being past all hope of finding his Sister, and consequently of returning into *Phoenicia*, by the command of an Oracle he founded *Thebes*; or re-edifying what was formerly built by *Ogyges*, a new laid the foundation of the *Castle*, which, ever after, from him retained the name of *Cadmea*. The *Hyante*, beaten by his Forces, fled the night following into *Phocis*; but the *Beone*, upon their submission, were suffered to continue and imbodie themselves amongst the *Phœnicians*. Here he married *Harmonia* the Daughter of *Mars* and *Venus*, agreeable to which alliance, the Gods are said to have come down unto *Cadmea* to the Wedding. Out of *Phoenicia* he first brought Letters into *Greece*, giving them their peculiar names and characters, fitted for the language of the place, and thence they were called *Phœnician*; though afterwards *Pelagian*, because the use of them was, after they were brought over, first made known to the *Pelagis*.

Dind. l.4. p.147.

Pausan. lib. 5. A.M. 2555.

Strabo l.9. p.401.

Dind. l.3. p.140. Lib. 5. pag. 227. 228. Multi alii.

Idem l.3. p.147.

4. Of *Harmonia* *Cadmus* begot *Polydorus* his Son, and four Daughters, *Semele*, *Iro*, *Antiope*, and *Agave*. On *Semele* *Jupiter* enamoured begot *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus*, who found out Wine and Ale, and travelled throughout the then known World, to reduce men to civility. This he did with an Army both of men and women, and after an Expedition of three years returned out of *India*, first triumphing upon an Elephant. *Iro* was married to *Athamas* the Son of *Æolus*, and Grandson of *Hellen*, to whom she bore *Atæon*, that was devoured by his own Dogs. *Agave* became the Wife of *Eetion*, to whom she bore *Pentheus*. After *Cadmus* had reigned some time at *Thebes*, he was called by the *Encheleæ*, who had Wars at that time with the *Ilyrians*, and were bidden by the Oracle to fend for him and *Harmonia* to be their Captains. He left then the Kingdom of *Thebes* to his Son *Polydorus*, and, having subdued the *Ilyrians*, reigned over them, and begot another Son called *Ilyrius*, who either gave, or took name from that People. The Poets feigned *Cadmus* and his Wife to have been turned here into *Snakes*, because they seem to have forgot their former civility, and learnt barbarism.

Polydorus.

What the Sidonians said of Cadmus.

5. This is the sum of what the *Greeks* have delivered concerning *Cadmus*. But though they, for their own credit, made him the Son of a King, yet the *Sidonians*, whose Country-man he was, denie this, alleging that, being their King's Cook, he fled away with *Harmonia*, a certain Mistris. His time, as it is computed, falleth in with that of *Jehova*, so that he seemeth to have led into *Greece* a Colony of those *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, who were outed of their habitations by the *Israelites*. His Family may be gathered to have been that of the *Kadmonites*, mentioned by *Moses*, who were the same with the *Hittites*, and called *Kadmonim*, or *Orientalis*, because they possessed Mount *Hermion*, the most Eastern part of *Canaan*, taken for the *East*, as *Thabor* for the *West*. Hence came it to pass that *Cadmus* his Wife was called *Harmonia*, or *Hermione*; and it is apparent why they were feigned to be turned into *Snakes*, because an *Hivite* in the *Syrian* language signifieth a *Serpent*. That he first brought Letters into *Greece* is most probable, 1. Because the ancientest *Greek* letters, in most things, are like to the old *Phœnician*, which the *Samaritans* at this day use. 2. Their names are plainly *Phœnician*, or *Hebrew*, as may be instanced in *Alpha*, *Beta*, &c. of which the *Greeks* were not ignorant,

ignorant, as appeareth out of *Varro*. For *Crates* the Philosopher, disputing in *Greece* about some points of Grammar, demanded why they said not *Alpha* *Alphatos* as well as *Gramma* *Grammatos*; to which the *Grecians* answered, that the names were not theirs, but barbarous: and *Plutarch* rendred this reason why *Alpha* is left before the rest by the *Phœnicians*, because they called an Oxe by that name, 3. The *Greeks* kept the same order of letters as the *Phœnicians* did, being most ancient, as appeareth by some acrostick Verses of *David* and *Jeremiah*. *Cadmus* brought over the Rites of *Bacchus* into *Greece*, and thereupon is feigned to be Grandfather to him, who lived many Ages before, and indeed was *Nimrod*. To this City, built or re-edified by him, he gave the name of *Thebes*, of which name there was a place in *Canaan* mentioned by the Book of (a) *Judges*, and by (b) *Josephus* also written *Thebe*, in the plural number; so that an end may be put to that controverſie about the original of the word, which betokeneth mud or dirt. But concerning all this *Bochartus* is to be consulted, in the first Book of that admirable Work intitled *Canaan*.

(a) Cap. 9. 50. (b) Antiq. l. 5. cap. 9.

Ladæus.

6. *Polydorus*, succeeding his Father, married *Nycteis* the Daughter of *Nycteus*, by whom he had a Son named *Ladæus*, whom, dying before he came at age, he left to the tuition of his Father-in-law. *Nycteus* had another Daughter, *Antiope* by name, which *Epopeus* King of *Sicyonia* stole away, whence a War ensued, wherein both of them received mortal wounds, and *Nycteus* dying, left the tuition of the young King to his Brother *Lycus*. After *Ladæus* came at age, *Lycus* restored faithfully the Kingdom to him: wherefore the King dying also not long after, and leaving his Son *Laius* a Child but of one year old, having experience of his faithfulness, committed him to his protection. Afterwards *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the Sons of *Antiope*, invaded *Thebes* in revenge for their Mother's hard usage and Captivity, the having been taken by *Lycus* in *Sicyon*, or delivered up to him by *Lamedon* King of that City, when he led down thither an Army, at the desire of his dying Brother, to revenge him upon her and *Epopeus*, as we before shewed. *Lycus* meeting them in the field was slain in battle, *Thebes* lost, and the Child *Laius* had miscarried, but that some well-wishers to his Family withdrew him out of the danger, left the posterity of *Cadmus* should be utterly extinct. *Amphion* then and *Zethus* obtained the Kingdom; said by *Homer* to have built *Thebes*, which must be meant of the lower City distinct from *Cadmea*. *Amphion* was so excellent a Musician, that he is said to have made Stones to follow him, wherewith he built Towers about the City. He married *Niobe*, the Daughter of *Tantalus*, and Sister to *Pelops*, who brought him many Children, but boasting her self more fruitful than *Latoe* her self, procured the destruction of them all. For *Apollo* was commanded to kill the Boys, and *Diana* the Girls; whereat she was struck with such stupidity, that she is feigned to be turned into a Stone; and *Amphion* with all his Family at length died of the Pestilence. *Zethus*, having his young Son killed at unawares by the Mother, pined away for grief; so that both Brothers being dead, and their Families ruined, the *Thebans* restored the Kingdom to *Laius* the Son of *Ladæus*.

* A. M. 2601. Pausan. in Boeotia & Corinth.

Dind. l.4. p.157.

Laius.

7. *Laius* married *Jocaste*, the Daughter of *Menæceus*, but was admonished by the Oracle to beget no Children, because else he should be killed by his Son; which punishment *Pelops* had prayed might fall on him for stealing his Son *Chrysippus*, begotten on a Concubine. Notwithstanding this he had a Son, but as soon as he was born he thrust his Feet in Iron fetters, and exposed him as a prey to wild Beasts. Yet, either by those that had this charge, or others that found him, he was carried to *Polybus*, King of *Corinth*, who caused his Feet to be healed, (from the Swelling of which he had the name of *OEdipus*) and brought him up. Many years after, when he was grown, *Laius*, either hearing some rumour concerning him, or carried by natural affection, went to enquire of the Oracle what had happened to his Sons and at the same time it chanced that *OEdipus*, having heard of some design against himself, went thither also to enquire who were his true Parents. They met in *Phocis*, where *Laius* bidding the other somewhat imperiously to give way, *OEdipus* moved with choler killed him, being utterly ignorant who he was.

Apollid.

Dind. l.4. p.183. A. M. 2695.

A. M. 2722.

Creon.

OEdipus.

8. *Laius* being dead, *Creon* the Brother of *Jocaste* (called also *Epicaste*) seized upon his Kingdom, and kept it for some time, till *OEdipus* explained the Riddle of *Sphinx*. This Monster, which the *Boeotians* also called *Phix*, is feigned to have had an Head and Face like a Woman, the hinder parts like a Lion, and Wings as a Bird; and keeping upon the Hill *Phicion*, or *Phiceon*, (so named from her) the proposed Riddles which whosoever could unriddle should have *Jocaste* in marriage with the Kingdom; but if not, the presently devoured them. Her Riddle to *OEdipus* was this; What is that which goeth both on two Legs, three, and four? Many having

Apollidorus. Plutarch. in lib. quid brevis ratio sit veritatis.

Unriddleth
the Riddle of
Sphinx.

loft their lives for a mifinterpretation, he expounded it to be meant of a Man, * A. M. 2758.
who when an Infant creepeth on hands and feet, when arrived at ripeness of age goeth upright on legs, and when he cometh to be old ufeth a ftaff. Some think her a deformed and favage kind of woman, that living on prey ufed to lie in wait for Paffengers. But *Pausanias* writing that the was the Bastard-daughter of *Laius*, others judge her to have been for her wifedom preferred to determine the Pretences of fuch as claimed the Kingdom, and that thofe who were caft in the Trial the punifhed with Death: which Cruelly the Poets detefting raifed the Fable. Because of her Abilities, this kind of Monster was made by * the *Egyptians* an Hieroglyphick of *Wifedom* and *Strength*, in both which *Plutarch* maketh her to have excelled.

* *Clement*
strom. l. 5.

9. *Oedipus* then married *Jocasta* his own Mother, not knowing that fhe was fuch, and obtained the Kingdom of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* telleth us that he had two Sons by her, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, with as many Daughters: but others fay he had them by *Euryganea*, the Daughter of *Hyperphes*. At length all came to light; both that he had killed his Father, and married his own Mother: whereupon the prefently hanged her felf, and his Sons kept him up clofe for the filthinefs of the thing, as fome fay; though others will have him driven from *Thebes*, and that, going to *Thebes* King of *Athena*, he there died a little after. *Polynices*, while his Father was yet living, went to *Argos*, where he married *Argia*, the Daughter of *Adrastus*; but after his death returned to *Thebes* to fucceed him in the Kingdom. The two Brothers then agreed to reign by turns; but *Eteocles*, having the firft courfe, refufed to yield up his Power at the time prefixed, fo that *Polynices* was glad to return to *Argos*. At the fame time there happened to be with *Adrastus* one *Tydeus*, the Son of *Oeneus*, who, having killed a man in *Attolia*, fled alfo to him: both thefe he kindly received, and, by direction of the Oracle making them his Sons-in-law, promifed to reftore them to their Countreys and Eftates. Beginning firft with *Polynices*, he fent *Tydeus* in Embaffage to *Eteocles*, who caufed fifty men to lie in wait for him by the way, but he killed them all, and returned fafe to *Argos*. *Adrastus*, to revenge the injury, made all poffible preparation for a War, and invited all the beft Souldiers from all quarters to the Expedition. Seven eminent Captains gave their names, whereof *Amphiaraius*, who had married *Eriphile*, the Sifter of *Adrastus*, was Chief; though of fo ancient a thing as this *Theban* War there can be little certainty.

A. M. 2765.

10. Having each of them his fveral Army, (or Company rather) they marched to *Thebes*, which they befieged, and divided themfelves according to the Gates of the City. *Eteocles* made all preparations for defence, affigning to every Gate its Officer, and confulted *Tiresias* a Prophet, then blind, concerning the event of the War. He answered, that the *Thebans* fhould overcome, if *Menæceus*, the Son of *Creon*, would devote himfelf as a Sacrifice to *Mars*: which he prefently did, killing himfelf before the Gates. The *Thebans* then made a Sally, but were beaten back to the Walls, which when the *Argives* approached, *Capaneus*, one of the feven Captains, firft of all others fet to Ladders, and mounted; but he being killed, the other retreated, and many of them were flain in the purfuit. After this, it was agreed that the two Brothers, in a fingle Combat, fhould decide the Quarrel; and fo doing, they mutually fell by the hands of each other: then followed a very fharp Fight, wherein all the Captains that followed *Adrastus* were flain, and he onely efaped by the fwiftnefs of his Horfe *Arion*. Yet this Victory coft the *Thebans* fo dear, that being themfelves almoft ruined, hence *Cadmea victoria* became a Proverb. This War fell out twenty eight years before that of *Troy*.

Lib. l. 4. p. 157.

11. *Eteocles* leaving behind him a young Son, named *Laodamius*, *Creon*, the Brother of *Jocasta*, affumed the Guardianship of him, and would not fuffer the *Argives* to be buried, till *Thebes* and the *Athenians* procured it. Ten years after the War, when *Laodamius* was now grown up, the Sons of thofe Captains that had been flain, called *Epigoni*, made an Expedition againft *Thebes*, to revenge the Death of their Fathers. Confulting before-hand the Oracle of *Delphos* about the fuccefs: which having done, and marching into *Thebes*, they waited all the Countrey round about the City. Hereupon the *Thebans* made a Sally, and a fharp conflict enfued, wherein *Laodamius* flew *Regialeus*, the Son of *Adrastus*, and was himfelf killed by *Alcmeon*; though *Pausanias* faith he efaped out of the Fight, and fled to the *Hylians*. After this the City was taken, and, with other plunder, *Tiresias* the Prophet was fent as a Prefent towards *Delphos*; but drinking by the way prefently died. This is he who is faid to have experienced both Sexes, and lived feven Generations;

A. M. 2755.

Parfom.

Therfander.

Teutlus.

Tifamneus.

Aurifon
Damafichthon.

Polemonius.

Xanthus.

Generations; even from the days of *Cadmus* to this time. The *Epigoni* having taken the City, and either flain or driven away *Laodamius*, placed *Therfander*, the Son of *Polynices* in the Kingdom, who failed with *Agamemnon* towards *Troy* as General of the *Boeotians*, and was killed in *Myfia* by *Telephus*, as was before fhewed. The *Boeotians* chofe *Penelus* for their Captain, becaufe his Son *Tifamneus* was then but young; and he was alfo flain in the War by *Eumphylius*, the Son of *Telephus*, who after the death of *Achilles* brought Auxiliary forces out of *Myfia* unto *Priamus*.

12. *Penelus* being dead, *Tifamneus*, the Son of *Therfander*, reigned at *Thebes*. *Pausanias* is His Son *Antefon* left this place, and went to the *Dorfenfes*; wherefore *Damafichthon*, the Nephew of *Penelus*, and Son of *Opeltus*, was chofen in his room. After him followed *Polemonius*, and then *Xanthus* the laft King of all, who was flain by *Meantus* the *Meffenian* in a fingle Combat, in behalf of the *Athenians*, about *Celene*, a place fituate upon the Borders, as we have * already fhown. This happened 56 years after the destruction of *Troy*, 24 before the defcent of the *Heraclides*, 57 before the death of *Codrus* the laft *Athenian* King, 252 before the firft *Olympiad*, A. M. 2877. After his death, together with the poffeffion of *Celene*, the *Thebans* quitted the Government of Kings, it feeming good to them no longer to be governed by a fingle perfon, but by many, as *Pausanias* writeth, from whom yet it appeareth not what kind of Rule was created; whether an *Oligarchy* at firft, or the whole power was affumed by the People, which we know affuredly exercifed it in after-times, in a *Democratically* way. Such was the Government when the *Persians* had obtained the Empire of the *Eaft*, and *Greece* it felf moft flourifhed; at which time, in the entire Hiftory of this Countrey we fhall hear farther of the *Thebans*.

* Chap. 5. Sect. 4.
Parag. 15.
A. M. 2877.

CHAP. VI.

The Original and Kingdom of Rome Contemporary with the Babylonian Empire.

SECT. I.

The Originall of the City of Rome.

1. THE City of *Rome* was feated in *Latium*, the *Western* Tract of *Italy*, upon the River *Tiber*. The foyle, for as much as can be known, (faith *Dionysius*) was firft inhabited by the *Siculi*, who held many other places of that Countrey. Thefe were expelled by the *Aborigines*, who being the Poffterity of the *OEnotrians*, (who feized upon that Tract lying near *Tarentum*) were confecrated firft to the Gods, and according to the cuftom of the Countrey, then fent out to feek them new feats, and fortunes. The *OEnotrians* came out of *Lycania* (afterwards called *Arcadia*) to feek a more commodious habitation under conduct of *OEnotrus*, the Son of *Lycan*, from whom they received their name. Thefe *Aborigines* here fettled, were forced to admit of fome *Pelafgi* to live amongst them that fled from *Hemonia*, (fince called *Theffaly*) where for fome time they had continued; and afterwards certain *Arcadians* who followed *Evander*, Son to *Mercury*, and the Nymph *Themis*, from a Town of that Countrey called *Palantium*, which name they gave to an Hill on which they fixed, afterwards reckoned amongst the Seven belonging to the City. Not long after, the *Greeks* will have *Hercules* come into thefe parts, as he was returning home from his Expedition into *Spain*, and the *Western* Regions, and here to have left fome *Peloponnefians*, who fettled themfelves upon the Hill called then *Saturnius*, and afterwards *Capitolinus*, at what time *Faunus* reigned over the *Aborigines*.

Dionys. Halicarn.
lib. l. 1.

The ancient
inhabitants of
Latium.

The *Theban*
War.

Laodamius.

The Expedition
of the *Epigoni*.

SECT. I.

Picus.

2. The Father of *Faunus* is said to be *Picus* the Son of *Saturn*, who, flying out of *Crete* from his Son *Jupiter*, came into this Country, and here hiding himself, gave occasion for the Region to be called *Latium*. Some say the Father of *Picus* was rightly called *Sterces*, and surnamed *Saturn*, from whom the *Laurentine* Kingdom took its beginning, named from *Laurentum* the Town, and that from *Laurus* or *Laurel*. *Picus* had this name from the Bird *Picus* (a Wood-pecker) which he used, by its flying to foretell things to come, as *Festus* noteth out of *Verrinus*. *Plutarch* saith, that he was by the Sorceries of his Wife changed into this Bird, in the likeness of which he gave forth Oracles, and answered Questions. And agreeable hereto, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* compareth this Bird with the Dove of *Dodona*, as performing that to the *Aborigines*, which it did to the *Theprotes*. But *Servius* thinketh all this feigned, because *Picus* was a Soothsayer, and observed the flying of this kind of Bird: and *Bochartus* telleth us, that *Picea* in the *Phœnician* dialect signifieth a *Seer* or *Prophet*; whence, as *Pix* amongst the *Beotians* was taken for a cunning woman, so he, for his skill in such matters, might, according to the termination of *Latin* words, have the name of *Picus*. This man, who in *Suidas* hath the name of *Jupiter*, (except *Jupiter* of *Crete*, that stole *Io*, was called *Picus*) begat *Faunus* or *Fatunus*, and a Daughter named *Fauna* and *Fatua*, which being in a fury would also foretell things to come; whence such as were thus taken were said *Fatuari*. Being killed by *Faunus* her Brother and Husband, as it seemeth, she was worshipped as a Goddess, and called *Bona Dea*, because she was so modest, that never any man saw her except her Husband. *Dionysius* maketh this *Faunus* the Son of *Mars*. He is feigned to have served under *Bacchus* in his Expedition into the East; and this is the reason, because indeed he was the fame with *Pan*, the constant companion of *Bacchus*. (a) One writeth that he was called also *Sylvanus Iovius*, and *Pan* by some. (b) Another saith, his name in *Latin* was *Iovius*, and in *Greek* *Pan*. So that his reigning in *Latium* was a meer Fable, invented by some who knew not that he was the fame with *Pan* the *Arcadian*, whose worship was brought into *Italy* by *Evander*.

Faunus.

Latinus.

Æneas with the Trojans arrive in Italy.

3. After him reigned *Latinus*, as the Story goeth, whom *Festus* maketh his Son; but others, as we have it from *Dionysius*, fathered on *Hercules*, who begat him on a certain *Hyperborean* Virgin, whom having received as an Hostage from her Father, he kept untouched till he came into *Latium*, and afterwards gave her in marriage unto *Faunus*, therefore accounted the Father of *Latinus*. Fifty five years after the departure of *Hercules*, and in the 35. of the reign of *Latinus*, *Æneas* with his wandering *Trojans* arrived at *Laurentum*, not far from the Mouth of *Tiber*. *Livie* saith, it is most certain, that, *Troy* being taken, the *Grecians* raged against the other Inhabitants, but abstained from *Antenor* and *Æneas*, (the Son of *Anchises*, who was Son to *Caryx*, and Grand-son to *Asphærus*, the Brother of *Ilius* King of *Troy*) both for the friendship which had past betwixt them and their families, and because they were ever for peace and the restitution of *Helena*. But *Dionysius* relateth out of *Hellanicus*, that the lower part of the City being taken, *Æneas* with his associates, that came from *Ophrynius* and *Dardanus* to the aid of *Ilium*, timely perceiving it, retired into the Castle, where were the Idols and much treasure, protected by the most valiant Souldiers. Hither also betook themselves such as escaped the fury of fire and sword; and they easily repelled the force of the Enemy. But *Æneas* considering that the City could no way be preserved, resolved to quit the Castle so as might stand with the safety of the Company. He therefore sent out with a guard the aged and infirm, in the mean time diverting the Enemy, and then marched out in order of battel, when *Neoptolemus* and the *Acæans* had now taken part of the Fortifications. Whilst the *Greeks* were busied in plunder, they all escaped to the Mount *Ida*, where fortifying themselves, the same night others flocked to them out of *Dardanus*, *Ophrynius*, and the rest of the *Trojan* Towns, expecting till the Enemy, satisfied with the destruction of *Ilium*, would draw off, and return into his own Country.

4. But the *Acæans* having wasted the City, and lesser Towns, provided also to storm the Hills; when a Treaty was desired by the *Trojans*. It was there agreed, that *Æneas* and his Companions, with such things as they had, should depart out of the Country under safe conduct. Whereupon he first sent away his eldest Son *Ascanius*, with part of his Associates, (whereof the greater number was *Phrygius*) to the Lake *Ascanius*, for that he was desired by the Inhabitants of that Country to be their King. He continued not long with them, for the *Scamandride*, with others of the Family of *Hector*, now dismissed out of *Greece* by *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, coming to him, he returned with them to *Troy*, and

Æscylus. de Civitat. Dei. lib. 18. cap. 15.

(a) Aret. Villi de Orig. genti Rom. (b) Servius in Æn. lib. 6.

A. M. 3221.

SECT. II.

and restored them to their Father's Principality. *Æneas* with the rest of his Children, *Anchises* his Father, and his Household, passed over the *Hellefont* into a *Peninsula* called *Pallene*, whence he sailed to the Island *Delos*, and thence to another named *Cythera*, over against *Peloponnesus*. Touching at the promontory *Cinethium*, (so called for that *Cinethus* a *Trojan* was here buried) they renewed their friendship with the *Arcadians* their kinsfolk, and passed on to the Island *Zacynthus*, which was so named from *Zacynthus* one of the Sons of *Dardanus*. Thence they came to *Adium*, and so to *Ambracia*; from which Bay *Anchises* directed his course towards *Butrotum* an Haven of *Epirus*, and *Æneas* by Land went two days journey to the Oracle of *Dodona*, which having consulted about new Seats, in four days he came to the Navy at *Butrotum*. From this Haven sailing towards *Italy*, they touched upon some parts thereof, but passing into the Straights of *Sticlie*, they fell also upon that Island; where leaving part of their Company, they went over and landed at *Laurentum*, the place appointed to put an end to these Wandrings. This account *Dionysius* giveth us, as most probable, amongst others which he briefly toucheth. *Alexander* the *Ephesian*, as he is cited by *Aurelius Victor*, wrote that *Ilium* being betrayed by *Antenor*, *Æneas* took his Father upon his back, with his Gods, and his little Son in his hand, and thus loaded made towards *Ida*; whither being suffered to come by the *Greeks*, (who were much moved at his Piety) he there built Ships, and by the advice of an Oracle came into *Italy*. The Piety of *Æneas* is much spoken of, and commended by many; and, amongst others, by the pen of *Xenophon*, that *Attick Muse*: but some wrote that he joyed with *Antenor* in betraying the City.

5. The *Trojans* landing at *Laurentum*, there pitched their Tents in the place called *Troy* from this occasion, distant from the Sea about half a mile. Taking their dinner on the ground, some laid their meat on *Parley*, that there grew, or, as some said, on crusts of Bread, which afterwards they did also eat up; and then understood that they had fulfilled the Oracle, which bade them go so far Westward, as till they should eat up their Tables, and then take the conduct of a Sow, which they should follow till the lay down, and in that very place build a City. Now was *Latinus* busied in War against the *Rutulians* his neighbours. As some wrote, he was first overcome by *Æneas*, and then made peace with him: but others say, he first sent to expostulate the injury offered him by these Strangers in the invasion of his Kingdom; and then, understanding who they were, agreed to give them all the ground five miles about the Hill where the Sow lay down, upon their engagement to assist him in his War against the *Rutulians*. This Accord made, and Hostages delivered on both sides, they soon utterly subdued the *Rutulians*, and then built up the *Trojan* City, which was called *Lavinium*, as the *Romans* said, from the Daughter of *Latinus*. *Virgil*, too much indulging his Poetick fancy in imitation of *Homer*, bringeth *Æneas* into *Italy* not till the eighth year after the destruction of *Troy*. But *Dionysius* and *Solinus* (out of the Annals of *Cassius Hegetinus*) write, that he arrived at *Laurentum* in the second year, and the latter saith, with no more than 600 followers.

6. *Æneas* in the third year after his departure from *Troy*, and the second of his abode in *Italy*, reigned only over the *Trojans*: but the next brought him also the Kingdom of the *Aborigines*, by the right of his Wife *Lavinia*, Daughter to *Latinus* now deceased, and the favour he had purchased of this People, by his conduct against the *Rutulians*. For they had again revolted, through the procurement of a certain Fugitive named *Turnus*, who being the Nephew of *Amata*, *Latinus* his Wife, out of indignation that a Stranger should be preferred to the Marriage of *Lavinia* before him, at the instigation of *Amata* and others, revolted to the *Rutulians* with a party of men which he commanded. *Livie* maketh him King of the *Rutulians*, and to have made War upon *Latinus*, because he had first made him a promise of his Daughter. The *Aborigines* had the Victory, but lost *Latinus* in the Battel. *Dionysius* saith, that *Turnus* was now also slain with many others: but *Livie* will have him again to renew the War, and to call in *Mecentius* King of the *Hetruscans*, who was already jealous of the growing power of the *Greeks*. *Æneas*, to oblige his new Subjects, caused both them and his own Country-men to be called by the common name of *Latini*; but ingaging in another great and bloody Battel with *Mecentius*, which night onely interrupted, he was never free more, by some thought to be taken up to Heaven, and by others drowned in the River *Nimicius*. This happened to him in the fourth year of his reign over the *Latines*, and the seventh after the destruction of *Troy*. He was honoured by a Chappell dedicated to him under the title of *Jupiter Indiges*.

Dionys. l. 1. Livius l. 1.

Nam te jam septima portat Omnia: errantem terris Æscylus affat. Æn. 1. A. M. 3224.

Æneas succedeth Latinus.

SECT. I.

Afcanius.

7. *Afcanius* his Son succeeded him, who before was called *Euryleon*, till his name came to be changed in their flight from *Troy*, as *Dionysius* writeth. Some thought him the fame with the eldest Son of *Aeneas* by *Creüsa*, and called *Iulus*, from whom the Family of the *Julii* took its name; but others accounted him younger. *Mexentius* grew very high upon the death of *Aeneas*, and befieging *Lavinium*, forced the *Latines* to submit themselves; but requiring all their Wine to be yearly sent as a tribute into *Hetruria*, they would not endure so harsh terms, and encouraging themselves, fell upon their Enemies at unawares, and, killing *Lausus* the King's Son amongst many others, forced him to submit to equal conditions. Thirty years after the founding of *Lavinium*, *Afcanius* led out a new Colony, and built another City called *Alba Longa*, whither he betook himself, leaving the old to his Mother *Lavinia*, who, if his own Parent, managed the Kingdom for him in his Nonage. He died in the 28. year of his reign, and was succeeded by *Sylvius*, whom some make his Son, others his Brother, saying, that *Lavinia* being left with child by *Aeneas*, for fear of *Afcanius* fled into the Woods, and there was delivered of this Child, who from the place of his birth had the name of *Sylvius*. *Iulus*, the eldest Son of *Afcanius*, contended with him for the Kingdom: but the people conceiving it to belong to him of right, as the Nephew of *Latinius*, gave the Priesthood to the other, in whose family it thenceforth continued. From *Sylvius* all his Successors were surnamed *Sylvii*; whereof the first (after he had reigned 29 years) was *Aeneas Sylvius*, his Son. *Aeneas* having reigned so many, left *Latinius* his Successor, whom after 51 followed *Alba* for 39. After *Alba*, *Capetus* reigned 26 years, *Caps* 28, *Calpurnius*, or *Carpentius*, 13, and then *Tiberinus* 8, who being drowned in the River *Albula*, bestowed on it the name of *Tiber*. After him *Agrippa* reigned 24 years, then *Alladius* (called also *Arenulus* and *Romulus Sylvius*) 19; who was very wicked and tyrannical, inasmuch that he would counterfeit Thunder, furious to be accounted a God by his Subjects, and justly perished by Thunder and inundation through excessive Rains. *Aventinus* succeeded him, who gave name to one of the seven Hills, and after 37 years left *Procas* Sylvius his Successor.

A. M. 2852.
ante Rom. 400.

A. M. 3081.

A. M. 3209.
Orie 14.A. M. 3235.
Olymp. 2. an. 4
Orie 40.

Dionys.

Alba Longa
built.Afcanius his
Successors in
Alba.Rhea the
Daughter of
Numitor brings
forth
Tullus.Romulus and
Remus.

8. *Procas*, the thirteenth King of *Alba*, left two Sons, *Numitor* and *Amulius*; whereof the latter and younger violently thrust his Brother from the Kingdom; and that he might have no Posterity to revenge the injury, caused his Son to be made away in a pretended Hunting, and his Daughter *Rhea* to be devoted to the service of *Vesta*, and a single life. In the fourth year of her Priesthood, as the was going to fetch water for the service of the Goddess, she was light upon by some one, and ravished: some said by one of her Lovers, others by *Amulius* himself, who came disguised upon her, rather out of desire to take an occasion against her, than for any affection; but for credit of the cause the fact is laid upon *Mars*, in whose Grove it was committed, and who came to her, as 'tis said, in a terrible manner with Thunder and Lightning. *Rhea* (called also *Sylvia* and *Ilia*) conceived with two Boys; and when they were born, she was either put to death, or condemned to perpetual prison, and they were thrown into the River. At the fall of the water they were left upon the dry ground, and a Wolf moved with their cries came and suckled them, till they were taken notice of by *Faustulus* the King's Herdsman, who brought them home to his Wife *Acca Laurentia*, that had been newly brought to bed of a still-born Child. Some thought that *Numitor*, aware of his Brother's intention to make them away, caused other two to be brought in their rooms, and gave his two Nephews to be nourished by this *Faustulus*. Others write that this *Acca Laurentia* was but the Paramour of the Herdsman, and for the naughtiness of her life called *Lupa*, (*Lupanaria* amongst the *Romans* signifying Brothel-houses, and *Lupa* a Strumpet) whence the Fable arose that the Children were nourished by a Wolf. Their names were *Romulus* and *Remus*.

9. The Boys grown up proved active and courageous, suitably to their birth: but being educated as was agreeable with the fortune and employment of their Foster-father, they had occasion to fall out with the Herdsman of *Numitor*, and *Remus* being taken prisoner was carried before the King. Now did *Faustulus* reveal the whole matter to *Romulus* concerning their Original, who got together a company of Herdsmen, and therewith falling upon the Palace slew *Amulius*, and restored their Grand-father to the Kingdom. After things were settled at *Alba*, the young men had a desire to build a City in the place where they had been brought up; which their Grand-father well approving gave them the ground, with such of his Subjects as he knew to be of his Brother's Faction, and all others that of their own accord would willingly go out in this new Colony.

Moist

SECT. I.

I had cut a
Colony.

Most of the *Trojans* gave their names, (whereof continued to the time of *Dionysius* almost fifty Families) the Inhabitants of the place also, as many as were left about *Palantium* and *Saturnia*, were taken in, and the Multitude divided into two parts, that by emulation the work might proceed with greater expedition. But what was intended for a laudable contention grew to a greater inconvenience; for hereby were two Factions made, which preferring the Brothers each before the other, raised in their ambitious desire of Preeminence. This soon appeared in that they could not agree about the place; *Romulus* would have the *Palatine Hill* (or *Palantium*) to be taken in, and *Remus* contended for *Remuria*, though on the other they were educated. The matter was brought before their Grand-father, who advised them to go apart, and observe the flying of Birds; and to whom happened the most lucky Flight, he should be accounted the Author of the Colony. *Romulus* went to the *Palatine Hill*, and *Remus* to the *Aventine* near adjoining. *Remus* first had six Vultures come flying by him; but *Romulus* his flock doubled the number: so that both of them were fluted King, and neither would give place to the other.

Remus killed.

10. The contention grew so sharp as to proceed to a Fight, wherein *Remus* had the worst of it, and was slain; which *Dionysius* thinketh the most probable opinion. Others write, that he scoffed at the lowliness of the Wall which his Brother had made, saying, it would easily be palled over by Enemies, and therewith leaped over it himself; for which he was presently killed by one *Celer*, who over-saw the work. *Romulus* compassed in the *Palatine Hill*, and made that the Rudiments of the City, with an *Heifer* and a young *Bullock* joyned together plowing up a furrow where the Wall should be reared; which use was afterwards observed by the *Romans*, both in the building and razing of Cities. This is the most common and received opinion about the Original of *Rome*, which some make built at another time, and by other Founders. *Cephalon Gergithius*, a most ancient Historian, wrote that it was built in the second Age after the *Trojan War*, by *Romus*, one of the four Sons of *Aeneas*; with whom many other Authors agreed. Others made the Founder of it to be *Aeneas* himself, whom they will have come in company with *Ulysses* into *Italy*. *Aristotle* the Philosopher wrote, that part of the *Acheans* themselves, in their return from *Troy*, were by *Tempests* driven upon *Italy*, and forced to plant themselves in *Latium*. *Callias* the Historian, who recorded the Acts of *Agathocles*, mentioned a *Trojan* Woman, called *Roma*, that being married to *Latinius*, King of the *Aborigines*, bare to him two Sons, *Remus* and *Romulus*, who building the City, named it *Rome* after their Mother. *Xenagoras* reckoned up three Sons of *Ulysses*: by *Circe*, *Romus*, *Antias*, and *Ardea*, all which built Cities of their own name. *Dionysius* of *Chalcis*, with others, would have this *Romus* to be the Son of *Afcanius*; some of *Emethion*, and some of *Italus* by *Eletra* the Daughter of *Latinius*. Besides these, many other *Greek* Authors dissent about the Founders of the City.

11. Neither have *Roman* Writers agreed amongst themselves. Some of them would have the Sons of *Aeneas* to be Founders of the City, viz. *Romulus* and *Remus*; others, his Nephews by his Daughter, which he gave up as Hostages to *Latinius*, King of the *Aborigines*. Some write how *Afcanius*, being left Heir by his Father, divided his Inheritance with *Romulus* and *Remus* his Brethren. He himself built *Alba* and other Towns: *Romulus Capua*, so called from *Caps* his Great-grand-father; *Auchisa*, from *Anchises* his Grand-father; and that place afterwards called *Janiculum*, which he named after his Father *Aeneas*; then lastly, *Rome* after his own name, which being afterwards desolate, the *Albans* re-peopled by a Colony led thither by *Romulus* and *Remus*. According to this History, this City should have been twice founded; first, not long after the *Trojan* times, and then again in the fifteenth Age after. But more than this, *Antiochus* of *Syracuse* mentioned a third *Rome* that must have been before the War of *Troy*, writing, that from *Rome* came a certain *Sicilian* fugitive to *Morges*, the Son of *Italus*, King of *Italy*. By reason of this uncertainty of the Founders, some, whose prejudice against the Empire of the City moved them with envy, accounted it no other than a receptacle and fortress of Barbarians, Fugitives, and Vagabonds; and were ready to call into question the History of *Romulus*, as a mere invention made to hide the despicable Original of so great a Commonwealth.

12. Whether it was a new Plantation, or reparation of an old Town, there is great variety of opinions concerning the Time thereof. *Timæus* the *Sicilian* made its Foundation contemporary with that of *Carthage*, and the 38. year before the first *Olympiad*. But of those which seem to approach nearer to truth, some place the

SECT. 2.

Several opinions concerning the time of the building.

foundation of it in the sixth Olympiad; whereof *Velleius Paterculus* assigneth the first year, others the third, and *Varro* (from the opinion of *Tarctinius*, a most excellent Mathematician) the fourth: which opinion is followed by many Authors of great note, (besides *Augustus*, *Claudius*, *Severus*, and *Philip*, Emperours, in their *Secular Games*) as *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Dio*, *Gellius*, *Censorinus*, *Onuphrius*, *Cesar Baronius*, *Tornellus*, *Joseph Scaliger*, and *Jacobus Capellus*. *Solinus* will have *Pomponius Atticus* and *Cicero* to reckon from the third year of this Olympiad; but as *Pliny*, *Paterculus* and *Livy*, to *Cicero* varieth, sometimes counting from the Calends of *January* of the foregoing, one while of this, and another of the following year. *M. Porcius Cato*, knowing that *Rome* was built something before the seventh Olympiad, not standing upon minute and scrupulous deductions, began the *Æra* of the City from the first of *January* that fell in the first year of that Olympiad; and so the year of his own Consulship he said to be the 758. year of the City. This *Æra* is followed by the *Fasti Capitolini*, *Solinus*, *Eusebius*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, (who taketh pains to prove the account good) *Polybius*, *Sigonius*, *Pighius*, *Occo*, *Goltzius*, *Iaacus Casaubonus* upon *Polybius*, and others, *Fabius Pistor* wrote that *Rome* was built in the eighth Olympiad; the reason whereof, as *Capellus* thinketh, is, because *Romulus* might then have finished the Wall and Ditch; some deriving the *Æra* of a Building from laying of the Foundation, and others from the finishing of the Structure. Lastly, *L. Cincius*, as *Dionysius* informeth us, held that the City was built in the second year of the twelfth Olympiad. In this great variety of opinions we have most reason to approve that of *Varro*, the most learned of all Romans, who placeth the beginning of *Rome* in the fourth year of the sixth Olympiad, the sixth of *Jotham* King of *Judah*, and the seventh of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, about the time that the *Ephori* were made at *Sparta*, in the days of *Charops* the first *Archon* at *Athens* for ten years, A.M. 3252.

A. M. 3252.
O. l. 6. an. 4.
Jotham 6.
Pekah 7.

SECT. II.

From the Building of the City to the Destruction of the Kingdom. The space of Two hundred forty five years.

The founding of Rome.

I. *Romulus*, being 18 years old, laid the foundation of the Walls on the (a) eleventh day before the Calends of May, (which answereth to the fourth of October, after the Julian account) betwixt the hours of two and three, the Sun being in *Libra*, and the Moon in *Taurus*, *Jupiter* in *Pisces*, *Saturnus*, *Venus*, *Mars* and *Mercury* in *Scorpio*, according to the Computation of *Tarrutius*, the most noble of Mathematicians. (b) *Varro*, (c) *Ovid*, and several others write that *Rome* was founded on the *Parilia*, or *Palilia*. *Festus* telleth us the *Parilia* were so called à *Pariendo*, from bringing forth; those Stars in the head of *Taurus*, (or which make up the head of themselves, as *Gellius* criticizeth against *Tiro*) named *Hyades*, and under which *Rome* was founded, being also called *Parilicium*, and *Palilicium Sidus*. *Servius* noteth that *Pales* was the Roman Goddess of Fodder, to whom a Solemnity being observed on the eleventh of the Calends of May, it had the name of *Palilia*. *Capellus* thinketh that, according to the mind of *Tarctinius*, the first year of the City commenced from the first of *January*, and *Capricorn*, in the new Moon, three months after the foundation was laid.

The number of the Colony.

2. The number of the Colony amounted scarcely to 300 horse, and 3000 foot, wherewith *Romulus* (which some make but the diminutive of *Romus* his true name) planted this new City, called *Rome* after himself. To increase the number of his Citizens, he opened a Sanctuary to all malefactors and discontented persons, who then resorted to him in great numbers from the Countries adjoining. Setting about the frame of the Commonwealth, by his Grandfather's advice, he remitted it to the choice of the People what kind of Government they would have; whereby, obtaining the Kingdom in way of gift, his Power became the more pleasurable. He divided the people into three Tribes, every Tribe into ten *Curie*, and every *Curia* into ten parts or *Decurie*, over all which he appointed Officers. According to the number of the *Curie* he divided the Grounds into thirty parts, except-

The division and distinction of Citizens.

(a) *Solinus* c. 1.
Cicero de divin.
lib. 2.
Plutarch in
Romulo.
(b) *de re Rustic.*
ca. l. 2. c. 1.
(c) *Lib. 4. Fasti.*
Vid. J. Scalig.
de Emend. temp.
lib. 5. pag. 352.

Dionys lib. 2.
Livy lib. 1.

SECT. 3.

excepting one portion for publick use, and another for superstitious Ceremonies. He made a distinction of his People according to honour and dignity, giving to the better sort the name of *Patres*, either for that they were elder, had Children, for the Nobility of their stock; or, if Detractors may be heard, he therefore named these *Patritii*, because they alone could shew their Fathers, the other multitude being a rabble of Fugitives that had no free and ingenuous parentage. Wherefore when an Assembly of the People was called by the King, the *Patritians* were by the Crier cited by their own and Fathers name; but the inferior sort, or *Plèbeians*, were gathered together by the found of Ox-horns. Having distinguished his Subjects into these two Ranks, he ordered what each should doe. The *Patritii* were to take care of Superstition, bear Offices of Magistracy, administer Justice, and govern the Commonwealth together with the King: The *Plèbeians* to till the Fields, feed Cattel, and exercise Trades; left by their meddling in the Government, and by mutual Contention of the poorer and richer sort, such Seditions might arise as were too visible in other Commonwealths.

Patrons and Clients.

3. To bind each to the other, he commended to the *Patritians* certain of the *Plèbeians*, whom they should protect and countenance; liberty being given to the common sort to make choice of whom they would for their *Patrons*. This custom of *Patron* and *Client* was very ancient in *Greece*, especially amongst the *Thessalians* and *Athenians*; where yet the *Clients* were very impudently used, their *Patrons* imposing on them services ill befitting Free-men, and beating them like Slaves, if they disobeyed their commands. The *Athenians* called them *Thetes* for their service, and the *Thessalians* *Peneſte*, upbraiding them with their Fortune. But *Romulus* refined the use of *Patronage*, rendering it profitable unto both. *Patrons* by him were ordered to advise their *Clients* concerning Law, of which they were ignorant, and take care of them as well absent as present, as their own Children, in what concerned money and contracts, undertaking Suits for them when oppressed, and procuring them quiet both as to publick and private business. On the other hand it was the duty of *Clients*, to help their *Patrons* with money in the marriage of their Daughters, if need should be, or redeem them and their Sons if taken captive; to bear the charges of private Sutes or publick Fines, and that at their own cost, in way of gratitude; to assist them with their purses in defraying the charge of Magistracy, or honourable employments. This was common to both, that neither ought to accuse the other, nor give any testimony or suffrage against each other, or to be reckoned amongst his Enemies; which if any one did, or was, he was held guilty of Treason by *Romulus* his Law, and it was lawful for any one to kill him. Hereby, for many Ages, this *Patronage* continued in force, and was as effectual for love and mutual help as Confraternity or Alliance: it was the glory of the Nobility to have many *Clients* devolved upon them from their Ancestors, and obtained by their own virtue. But not onely the *Plèbeians* in the City found themselves secured by this *Patronage*, but in process of time all Colonies, associate Cities, and such as were subdued by war, had their *Patrons*, to whom many times the *Senate* would remit such Controversies as were brought before it from the said Cities or Commonwealths, and ratify their Judgement. Lastly, *Dionysius* firm Concord followed this Constitution of *Romulus*, that, for 730 years, as *Sichonius* reckoneth, though many and great Contentions arose betwixt the Nobility and Commons about the Commonwealth, (as is usual in all both great and little States) yet it never came to blood or slaughter, but, mutually yielding and granting, all Controversies were composed by civil Expostulations; till *Caius Gracchus*, Tribune of the people, overthrew the peace of the City: after which, they neither spared to kill and banish one another, nor to commit any other wickedness, whereby they might compass Victory and their own devices.

4. After this, *Romulus* resolved to chuse a Senate, which should assist him in the Government, and from amongst the *Patritians* selected 100 after this manner. Out of them all he first made choice of one particular man, to whom, when he was elected, contrained to be absent in the Wars, he committed the Government of the City: Then he commanded every Tribe to chuse three men, such as were eminent for birth and wisdom; and every *Curia* to elect three out of the *Patritians*. This number he called a Senate, either for their age, or virtue; or because, as *Festus* will have it, nothing was done without their permission, the Senate being named à *ſinendo*. Perceiving after this, that he stood in need of a Guard for his own person, he caused the *Curie* by their Suffrages to chuse him out 300 young men, (ten out of each) whom he called *Celeres*, from their readiness to execute his commands, as most have written; or, according to *Valerius Antias*, from their

The Senate.

SECT. 2. Captain, whose name was *Celer*. Under him were three Centurions, and other inferior Officers. This Company with their Spears defended the King in the City, and received his Orders: in Battels were the first Leaders, and the Keepers of his body, beginning the fight first, and retreating last of all; which custom *Diogenes* thinketh *Romulus* to have taken from the *Lacedæmonians*. Things being thus appointed, he limited unto all their work and honours. The King's duty was to take care of their Superstitions, to look to the preservation of the Laws and Customs, either natural or written; to decide the most weighty Causes betwixt man and man, and refer those of lesser consequence to the Senate, into which he was also to have an inspection. He was to call together the Senate, assemble the people, first to speak his opinion, and ratify what was approved by the major part. This was the King's work at home, who in the Wars had absolute authority. To the Senate this honour and power was given, to debate and resolve about such things as the King propounded, which were decreed by the greater number of voices, agreeable to the constitution of *Lacedæmon*, as our Author observeth. To the People he committed three things; to create Magistrates, make Laws, and resolve about War what was propounded by the King: yet so, as that the authority of the Senate interposed. All the whole Multitude together gave not their votes, but the *Curie* apart; and whatsoever seemed good to most, was referred to the Senate: which custom was afterwards changed, when the Senate did not confirm the Decrees of the People, but the People the Resolves of the Senate.

5. For the increase of the City, besides the opening of a *Sanctuary*, (which *Diogenes* ranketh after this settlement of the Civil Policy) he forbade, when any Town was taken, that Prisoners of ripe age should be slain or sold, or their grounds left untill'd; but commanded a Colony to be sent from *Rome*, to which part of them should be assigned, and some of the Strangers to be admitted to the Freedom of the City: which device our Author esteemeth of great weight and consequence. He made many good and profitable Laws, whereof most were unwritten.

He ordained in reference to Marriage, that the Wife should be partaker of all that was her Husband's, when chaste and modest. If he died intestate, she was his absolute Heir; and if he left Children, equally with them. When the offended, she was left to his disposal for punishment, who admitted her Kindred to judge with him concerning the fault, if the either violated Chastity, or drank Wine, which *Romulus* utterly condemned, as an incentive to wantonness. So effectual became this Constitution to the preservation of the conjugal knot, that for 520 years there happened not any Divorce in *Rome*, till, in the 137. *Olympiad*, when *Marcus Pomponius* and *Caius Papirius* were Consuls, *Sp. Carcellius*, an eminent man, put away his Wife; and then, though he swore to the Censors, that he did it only to provide for posterity, yet was he ever hated by the people. He gave to Fathers absolute power over their Sons, and that for all their lives, either to imprison, beat, carry away bound to rustic labours, or kill; although the Son bore the greatest Office in the Commonwealth, or were publicly commended and honoured. By virtue of this Law, some eminent Persons, making Orations to the People in opposition to the Senate, in the midst of popular applause, have by their Parents been pulled down from their seats, and led away to be punished according to their pleasure: and as they passed along the *Forum*, none could deliver or rescue them; nor the Consul, Tribune, nor Multitude itself, which they had flattered. And because of this absolute paternal dominion, several valiant men have been put to death for their valour shewed in some way against the Enemy, contrary to the direction or command of their Fathers.

6. He compelled Parents to educate all their Male-children and their eldest Daughters: he permitted a Child younger than three years to be made away, if it was born defective in some member, or monstrous; and yet then was it not to be exposed without approbation of the five next neighbours. If any one broke this Law, he, besides other punishment, forfeited half of his goods. The Father was permitted by the Law-giver to sell his Son, and that three times over, if it happened that he recovered his liberty: a greater power than was had over Slaves, who, if once made free, thenceforth continued. All fordid Arts, and such as were subservient to Luxury, he forbade, which being left to Slaves and Strangers, for a long time the Romans scorned to meddle with. Two courses of life only he enjoyed them, *Warfare* and *Husbandry*, allowing a Market once in nine days. He divided equally to them the Grounds, Slaves, and Money, taken from the Enemy. Concerning Injuries, he presently decided all Controversies, or referred them unto others, inflicting punishment according to the crime: and seeing the people

The Office of King.

Senate.

People.

Prisoners to be preserved.

Laws in reference to marriage.

Paternal and filial Children.

Caesare Val. Max. l. 2. c. 1.

people to be by fear best retained in order, he set up his Judgement-seat in the most conspicuous place of the *Forum*, where his guard of 300 *Celeres*, and twelve Sergeants, or *Lictors*, carrying Rods and Axes, and in the view of all men either beating or putting to death Malefactors, made a terrible show. This is the form of the Commonwealth, as *Romulus* first established it, much admired by *Diogenes* above all the Constitutions of his own Country-men the *Grecians*: whose Religion also (as giving occasion to the vulgar sort to condemn their Gods involved in such misfortunes, or to abstain from no iniquity and filthiness to which they heard that their Deities were also obnoxious) he esteemeth vain, frivolous, and dangerous, in comparison of that which was instituted by the Roman Law-giver.

7. *Romulus*, considering that there were several powerful Nations round about him, which with evil eyes beheld the growth of his City, bethought with himself how he might contract Amity with them. Concluding, that Affinity was the onely means, by the advice and consent of the Senate, he resolved upon a course to provide Wives for his Subjects. He caused, at the suggestion of his Grandfather *Nunitor*, a solemn Feast, and Exercises in honour of *Neptune*, to be proclaimed throughout the Country: to which many flocking with their Wives and Children, upon sign given, his men laid hold on such Virgins as were come to see, and violently carried them to their houses. The number of them amounted to 683; for whom *Romulus* chose out so many Husbands, and married them after their own Country Rites, making them covenant a Society or Communion of Fire and Water: which Custom continued for many Ages. Some write that this happened in the first year of *Romulus*; but others assign the fourth of his reign for it, which scarcely could be done till matters were somewhat settled. Some delivered, that scarcity of Women was the cause of this Rape: others thought, that by it an occasion was onely sought for War: but a third party will have, that by this violent act an Affinity with the neighbouring Cities was endeavoured.

8. Some were grievously moved, and others put a good construction upon the business: but at length the matter broke out into a manifold War, of which that with the *Sabines* was most grievous. The Cities *Cæcina*, *Antenna* and *Crustumium* first began, after they could not persuade the *Sabines* to joyn with them. The two former, inhabited by the *Aborigines*, *Romulus* presently subdued, and afterwards the latter also, which was a Colony of *Alba*. The Grounds were divided betwixt some Romans, sent thither to plant, and the old Inhabitants; of whom such as would were made free of the City, and without loss of their former estates, reckoned amongst the Tribes and *Curie*, to the number of 3000: so that now the Roman Footmen were increased to 6000 men. Upon the Victory over *Cæcina* and *Antenna*, he first triumphed, and designed a plot for a Temple to *Jupiter Feretrius*, (so called from *Romulus* his bringing home in triumph the Spoils of *Aaron* the King of *Cæcina*, whom he slew. The Spoils were named by the Romans *Opima Spolia*.) The plot of ground was about fifteen foot long, and this was the original of the *Capitol*. Having obtained a great name by his valour and clemency, many eminent men went over to him with their families, amongst whom was *Celivus*, who gave name to an Hill in the City: and some whole People committed themselves to his protection, (having taken example from the *Medullini*) and received Colonies from *Rome*. This success the *Sabines* fore repined at, laying now the blame one upon another, that they had not withstood the beginnings of the Roman Greatness: wherefore they resolved to correct their former carelessness by double diligence, and assembling together at *Geres*, their Metropolis, decreed War against *Rome* for the Spring following, and made choice of *T. Tatius* their King to be General. *Romulus* made all possible provision for resistance, fortifying the *Capitoline* and *Aventine* Hills. *Lucumo* from *Solonium*, a City of *Etruria*, brought Auxiliary forces, and *Nunitor* was not wanting to the assistance of his Grand-son.

9. The *Sabines* having demanded restitution of their Virgins, and to have the authors of the injury delivered up, (that they might have a more specious pretence for their actions) received no satisfactory answer, and therefore both parties drew out into the field. The *Sabines* brought 25000 foot, and almost 1000 horse; and the Roman Army contained 20000 foot, and 800 horse; a very great number for a new-built City. *Tatius* pitched his Tents betwixt the *Quirinal* and *Capitolian* Hill, where seeing all places strongly fortified, and small hopes for him to attempt any great matter, as he despaired of doing any good, one *Tarpeia*, the Daughter of *Tarpeius* who kept the *Capitol*, called to his men from above, and

The Rape of the Sabine Virgins.

Romulus his defensive wars.

SECT. 2.

and covenanted with them to betray the place into their hands. Concerning the wages he was to receive, several stories, or fables, are related. It is said, that he required to have what they wore on their left arms, meaning their Bracelets; but when he let them in, they threw their Targets which they carried on their left arms upon her, and therewith pressed her to death. Being Masters of the Capitol, they had thereby great advantage to continue the War at their pleasure, and first some light Skirmishes ensued: but at length they resolved to doo their utmost on both sides, and for several days continued the fight, so long as till night severed them, for the most part with equal success. This made the *Sabines* feriously bethink themselves, whether they had best carry on the War, or retreat; and the *Romans* were rather more to seek how to hold out: yet neither party would stoop to desire a Treaty. Whilst they remained in this anxious condition, those *Sabine* Women who were married to the *Romans*, and the cause of the War, through the pervasion of *Herfilius*, one of the principal amongst them, became Mediators, and made Peace betwixt these Fathers and Sons-in-law, after the War had lasted six years. The Conditions were, that *Romulus* and *Tatius* should reign at *Rome*, with equal prerogative: that the City from *Romulus* should be called *Rome*, but the Citizens *Quirites* from *Cures* the native place of *Tatius*. Such of the *Sabines* as would, were made free of *Rome*; and a respect was had of those Matrons who procured the Peace, that they which would live with their Husbands, should be exempted from all work and service, besides spinning and making of Cloath.

The end of the Sabine War.

A. M. 2355.
V. C. 12.
Abacti 2.

Tatius killed.

The Veii over-come.

Romulus grown tyrannical.

is made away by the Senators.

10. Some write, that from thirty of these Women which undertook this Reconciliation, to perpetuate their memories, the Tribes were named: but *Terentius Varro* denied it, alleging that they had names before, and that by such honour given to thirty, the rest of the Women were not passed by and discouraged. For five years the two Kings reigned peaceably together, and jointly subdued the *Camertini*, a Colony of the *Albans*: but in the sixth, it happened that some of *Tatius* his friends plundering the *Lavinians*, and by him being protected, notwithstanding *Romulus* and the Senate judged they were to be given up; moreover killing the Embassadors sent to demand them, wherein they were also born out by him; when he went to *Lavinium* to sacrifice, or perfwade the injured persons to be quiet, the friends of the Embassadors fell upon and knocked him on the head. *Romulus*, to his great contentment thus freed from his Partner, made satisfaction to the injured, and burying *Tatius* at *Rome* very honourably, subdued *Fidenes*, a Town five miles off, which had seized on provisions coming to *Rome* in a time of famine. Thither he sent some of his own to inhabit, according to his custom, and then punished the *Crustumini*, who had killed those Planters which he placed amongst them; and over them he obtained his second Triumph. The *Veii*, most powerfull People of *Etruria*, inhabiting a City no less than *Athens*, situated upon a craggy Rock, at some twelve miles distance from *Rome*, found themselves concerned in what the *Fidenates* suffered, and by an Embasie required the *Romans* thence to remove their Garrison, and restore the Inhabitants to their whole Demesnes. This being denied, they met at *Fidenes*, and there fought two bloody Battels, wherein *Romulus* had the better, and triumphed the third time. *Plutarch* writeth, that the *Veientes* ridiculously challenged *Fidenes* to belong to them, and receiving a scornfull answer from *Romulus*, divided themselves into two parts, whereof with one they fought the *Fidenates*, and with the other went to meet *Romulus*, who slew of them above 8000, with the loss of 2000 of his own men. In the next Battel he is fabulously reported to have killed 7000 with his own hand, being half the number that was slain. The *Veientes* now betook themselves to intreaties, and entered into a League with the *Romans* for an hundred years, on these Conditions: to quit a great part of their Grounds, with the Salt-pits near the River, and give up fifty Hostages of their most considerable Families. *Romulus* triumphed over them on the *Ides of October*, leading with him their Captain, an aged man, who had badly performed his office, for which he was afterwards perfonated by an old man in all Triumphs.

11. This was the last War managed by *Romulus*, who being grown exceeding high and tyrannical upon his Success, enlarged his Prerogative beyond those bounds he had formerly set to it, and made use onely of the Senate to ratifie his commands. Hereby he contracted the hatred of that Order, (though the Souldiers loved him) which brought him to an untimely death. Some think he was torn in pieces in the Senate-house, and the Senators by piece-meal carried out his body under their gowns, so that it was never seen. Others wrote, that having drawn out the people to the place called *Capra Palus*, and there making an Oration to them, a sudden darkness

Called Quirinus.

An Inter-regnum for a year.

Numa.

His Religion much suited with that of the Pythagoreans.

darkness and Tempest happened, wherein he vanished and departed from amongst mortals. The Senators took occasion from the secrecy of their fact, and concealment of his body, to perfwade the multitude that he was taken up amongst the Gods; and *Julius Proculus*, a man of prime Nobility and credit amongst the *Patritians*, put all out of doubt, by swearing most religiously that he appeared to him in the high-way, and told him, that it pleased the Gods, from whom he came, so long to let him continue amongst men, till he had founded a City, whose Empire and glory should excell, and then again that he should return to Heaven. He bade him farewell, and till the Romans, that if they did but use Temperance and Valour, they should in power excell all Mortals. And he would be a propitious God unto them, under the name of Quirinus. He lived 55 years, and reigned 37, in which space he much advanced the State of the City, which who first planted with him, were not much above 2000 foot, and scarce 300 horse; but when he died, he left of the one kind 46000, and almost 1000 of the other fort. After his Grand-father's death, he succeeded in the Kingdom of *Alba*, which he governed by Deputies, continuing his residence at *Rome*. The day on which he died, was the *Nones of Quintilis*, (afterwards called *July*) which answereth to the 26. of May, as the Calendar was reformed by *Julius Cesar*. It was named *Nonæ Caprotine* from the place where he vanished; and *Fuga Populi*, because the people astonished at the King's death took them to their heels. *Tarrutius* the Mathematician observed, that the Life of this Prince was signalized by three Eclipses of the Sun: one at his Conception, which is also the first that is observed by Authors; another the same day he founded *Rome*; and the third on the day of his death; concerning which, for that the calculation of the former is rather founded upon Astrological than Astronomical Principles, *Jacobus Capellus* is to be consulted.

12. *Romulus* dying childless, the Senate for a year's space retained the Power in their own hands, which is called an Inter-regnum. They governed by their courses, each man five days. But the People murmuring, and giving out, that for one Tyrant they had got an hundred, at length they resolved that a King should be chosen. The *Sabines* thought it reasonable he should be of their Nation, not having had any since *Tatius*; and the other were averse to a Stranger, being desirous he should be some one of the *Patritians*: but at length the Fathers fixed upon *Numa Pompilius*, a *Sabine*, a man of almost forty years of age, and the most considerable for knowledge and ability of that time, who by consent of the People was advanced to the Government. At first he excused himself; but solicited by his Father, and *Marcus* his kinsman, not to let slip so fair an opportunity of his own and Country's preferment, he accepted of it. He thought it policy to raise that City by Laws, and religious Customs, which had been founded by Force and Arms, and to soften the Genius of it by diversion from Warfare; it being necessary to employ a People well at home, as exercise them abroad. He built a Temple to *Janus*, which was to stand open in time of War, and be shut in peace, as it continued all his reign. But it onely happened so to be twice from his time to that of *Tiberius Cesar*, as some observe. The first occasion was in the Confulship of *Titus Manlius* and *Marcus Attilius*, after the ending of the first *Punic* War; and the second in *Augustus* his reign, after he had subdued *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, at what time there was an universal Peace. *Numa* disbanded the Royal Guard of the 300 *Celeres*, as standing in no need of them. To the two *Flamines* of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, he added the third of *Romulus*. To him is also ascribed the bringing in of the *Pontifices*, whereof he himself was one, and the Original of which name is so much controverted. He also ordained the *Vestal Nuns*, and the *Feciales*, a sort of Priests which judged concerning the equity of War, and denounced it. His Religion much suited, in the manner and strictness thereof, with that of the *Pythagoreans*, which caused the report of his being contemporary and conversing with *Pythagoras*; although this Philosopher was born 100 years after his death. The reason of this mistake, besides the ignorance of the times, was his familiarity with *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, who gave him advice concerning the ordering of his Kingdom, travelling in Italy in the sixteenth Olympiad, the third year of which was the beginning of *Numa's* reign, according to *Plutarch*.

13. As *Pythagoras* taught that the Principle of all things is not to be perceived by sense, or liable to motion, but invisible, immortal, and to be apprehended by the understanding alone; so *Numa* forbade the *Romans* to use the Image of any God which represented him after the form of a Man, or any other living Creature. Neither in these ancient times was there any painted, carved, or molten Image amongst them: but for the first 170 years, though they built Temples

A. M. 3255.
V. C. 40.
Excebia 17.
Olymp. 16. an. 3.

SECT. 2. and Sacred places, yet had they no Image at all; because they thought it wickedness, to liken more excellent things to those below them, and thought God no otherwise to be perceived than by the Mind. *Numa* divided those Grounds amongst the poorer sort which *Romulus* had gained in his Wars, causing his Subjects to apply themselves to Husbandry, to cultivate their Minds as well as the Earth; and that he might take away the distinction of *Roman* and *Sabine*, which threatened the State with endless emulation and prejudice, he distinguished them all according to their Trades and occupations, making every Art a particular Company and Fellowship. He abated the rigour of that Law made by *Romulus*, concerning the power of Fathers over their Children, ordaining it should not be lawful for them to sell such Sons as by their leave had married, because it was unjust that a Woman which had married a Free-man should be constrained to live with a Slave. He reformed the Year, which in the time of *Romulus* was quite out of all order: some months had fewer than 20 days, some had 35, and some above; the variety of the several courses of Sun and Moon was not understood; but only this aimed at, that the Year should consist of 360 days.

He reformed the Year.

14. *Numa*, considering that a Solar Year exceeded the Lunar by eleven days, (the one consisting of 354, and the other of 365) doubled these eleven days, and every other year inserted a Month after *February*, consisting of 22 days, and by the *Romans* called *Mercedonius*, because at that time *wages* were wont to be paid. He changed the order of the Months, assigning to *March* (formerly the first) the third place, to *January* the first, and *February* the second; whereof this was the last, and the other the eleventh, in the days of *Romulus*. Many have been of opinion, that *Numa* added *January* and *February* to the rest of the Months, and that formerly the *Romans* had but ten, which appeareth by the name of *December*, the last month, and because the fifth and sixth months from *March* were called *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*. Thus *March* must have been the beginning of the Year, which *Romulus* so named from *Mars* his supposed Father. The second was *April*, so called from *Pennus*, as some thought, (because her superstitious Worship was performed in it, when the Women were crowned with Myrtle as they washed;) or, as others gathered, from the opening of Plants at that time of the Year. The third was *May*, named from *Maia*, and sacred to *Mercury*. The fourth was *June*, from *Junio*, as some thought: others deriving the names of these two from *Majores* and *Juniores*, the Elder and Younger. The rest had their names from their order, as *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was from *Julius Caesar* called *July*; *Sextilis* *August*, from *Augustus*. *September* and *October* the Emperour *Domitian* changed into his own names, but presently after he was killed they recovered their former. Only the two last ever retained their first appellations. Of those months which *Numa* either added, or ranked, *February* was so called from the Expiations which used to be in it, signified by the word *Februa*: then they were wont to make Parentations to the dead, and celebrate the *Lupercalia*, certain Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Pan*, much like to the Sacrifice of Expiations. *January* was named of *Janus*, which *Numa* seemeth to have set before *March*, because he would shew that Civil virtue is ever to be preferred before what is exercised in War: For *Janus* was accounted one of the most ancient Gods, or Kings, (from whom, reigning in *Italy*, some make the *Romans* descended) very studious for civil society and humane converse, and who changed the course of man's life from brutish and savage to an humane and gentle kind. He is therefore feigned to be double-faced, because he brought in another fashion of life than what formerly had been; and had a Temple built by *Numa* with two doors, that were shut in Peace, and open in War, as was before said. These things *Plutarch* relateth in the Life of *Numa*.

15. But *Livius*, and other considerable Authors, (a) *Solinus*, (b) *Macrobius*, and (c) *Censorinus*, write that the first *Roman* Year consisted but of ten months and 304 days; six of the months having 30 days, and the other four 31 apiece. But this account differing from the course of the Sun, *Numa*, to make them agree, added 51 days to the year. That he might make up the twelve months; from the fix, consisting of thirty days, he took one day apiece, and therewith made up 57, which were divided into two months, whereof the one contained 29, and the other 28 days; and so the Year began to have 355. Of this opinion, besides *Junius Gracchanus* and *Fulvius*, both *Varro* and *Suetonius* were, as appeareth out of *Censorinus*. Yet *Licinius Macer* and *Lucius Fensitella*, by the same testimony, (two antient Writers of *Annals*) delivered that the first *Roman* Year consisted

(a) G. 2.
(b) Saur. lib. 1.
(c) cap. 12.
(d) cap. 20.

consisted of 12 months, agreeable to the former opinion related by *Plutarch*. This a noble pair of modern Critics prove to have been the truer opinion, affirming that *January* and *February* were not added by *Numa*, but transferred from the end to the beginning of the year; and endeavouring to shew, that they who would have the year to consist but of 10 months make it no shorter than they that are for 12, distinguishing it not so much in number as placing of days: for the *Romans* in *Romulus* his time filled up the year, either by assigning more days than thirty to the months, or adding so many in the end thereof as seemed to be wanting. But it sufficeth to have touched these things for the direction of beginners.

16. *Numa*, to gain credit and obedience to his Constitutions, feigned that he had converse with the Goddess *Egeria*. He married *Tatius*, Daughter to *Tatius* the King, by whom he had a Daughter named *Pomptia*. Some said he neither had any other Wife nor any more Children: but others both as to Wife and Children differed from them. He lived above 80, reigned 43 years; and at his death was buried with great honour. His body was not burned, (which he forbade) but buried in a Stone-Coffin under the *Janiculum*; and the Books of his Ceremonies laid by him in another, which being twelve written in *Latine*, and as many in the *Greek* tongue, were 400 years after, when *Publius Cornelius* and *Marcus Baebius* were Consuls, by water wrought out of the earth, and, for that it was thought wickedness to have such things discovered to the multitude, (from whom he also kept them, after the fashion of the *Pythagoreans*, not communicating discipline by writing, but only by word of mouth) burned by command of the *Senate*. He kept the State in constant Peace, and his ability herein contributed to the general quiet of *Italy*; so that, by the example of his Reign, *Plutarch* judgeth that saying of *Plato* to be verified, That the only means whereby men should be made happy, would be, to have a Philosophical mind and Regal power concur in a Prince, who would make Virtue superior to Dishonesty. But the fortune of the succeeding Kings added to the lustre of his glory: For of the five which followed, the last was cast out, and died in exile; and none of the rest obtained a natural and quiet end, according to *Plutarch*.

Tullus Hostilius.

17. *Numa* being dead, and the Government devolved upon the *Senate*, after several *Inter-reges*, at length *Tullus Hostilius* was created King by the universal consent of the City. His Grand-father was that *Hostilius*, who most gallantly behaved himself against the *Sabines* at the *Cittadel*, and married of that Nation the Daughter of *Herfilius*. After much valour shown, he was slain in battel, and left a young Son, who at ripeness of age, of a noble Matron, begat this *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King of *Rome*; whose beginning, according to the account of *Dionysius*, was in the second year of the 27. *Olympiad*, wherein *Eurybates* the *Athenian* was *Vicitor*, when *Leostreus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, in the 82. year of the City, and the 31. of *Manasse's* King of *Judah*. At his first beginning he purchased the favour of the poorer sort, by dividing unto them, man by man, that portion of Land which the two former Kings had kept to bear their charges, saying, that his own inheritance would suffice for his own expences. Left these should want room, he took in the Hill *Caelius*, where such as wanted habitation, and now had gotten grounds, built them houses, and he also dwelt himself. He was not only of a different temper from *Numa*, but, as *Livius* describeth him, more fiery than *Romulus*, being as well moved by his proper Inclination, as the glory of his Grand-father; so that he fought, and greedily embraced, all occasions for War. It was not long ere one was presented from the *Albans*, who made Depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and were again robbed by the *Romans*. At that time *Cainus Chulius* governed *Alba*, who envying the growth of *Rome*, fought to stir up Division, and raise War betwixt the two Cities. *Dionysius* writeth, that for this end he privately procured some to prey upon the *Romans*, knowing they would revenge the injury; and when they did so upon such as they could take, he perswaded the *Albans* that they had received a great affront, and excited them to take up Arms.

His War with the Albans.

18. Embassadors were sent to *Rome* to demand Restitution, and such as had been Authors of the injury to be given up into their hands. This *Hostilius* being aware of, and knowing that they who first refused to make satisfaction would bear the Odium of the War, caused some of his friends kindly to entertain the Embassadors, pretending he was by necessary occasions hindered from giving them audience, till he first sent some of his own to *Alba* to demand Restitution. They received a sharp repulse from *Chulius*; whereof *Hostilius* having notice, then gave audience to the *Albans*, told them how those that he sent had already received such an answer as argued the League quite broken: whereupon he

SECT. 2.
* Joseph. Scalig.
de Emendatione
Temp. lib. 2. c.
14. *Optatus* de
vita avarum for-
mis, cap. 17.

A. M. 3333.
V. C. 82. Olymp.
27. an. 2.

Dionysius l. 3.
Livius l. 1.

SECT. 2. denounced a just and necessary War against the *Albans*, which he would carry on not only with his domestick forces, but by the aid of his other Subjects and Dependents. Both parties then made all possible preparations, and drew out their Forces to a place afterwards called the *Ditch of Clulius*, some five miles distant from *Rome*. When they expected suddenly to decide the quarrel, *Clulius* was found dead in his Tent, whether by some secret practice upon himself, by grief, or any other means, is uncertain. Into his place was chosen *Metius Sufpetius*, a man of a turbulent spirit, and scarcely able for warlike matters, but thought fit for the place, because as great an Incendiary as his Predecessor. Yet sensible of danger that hung over his head from the *Fidenates*, (who gaped after the destruction of both) he drew out the War in length, and at last fearful to lose all, was inclinable to a present Composition. *Hoftilius* was now also not averse to a determination of the business, being desirous to punish the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who, formerly overcome by *Romulus*, had submitted to the obedience of *Rome*, and in the days of *Numa* taken occasion of his peaceable Government, to provide for the absolute shaking off of the yoke. This time they thought presented them with a fit opportunity; for, gathering together at *Fidena*, they were ready, when the *Albans* and *Romans* should in battle have weakened each other, to fall upon both.

19. This Plot discovered, wrought fo upon both the Captains, that they came to a Conference, wherein much being alleged for the justice and right of both parties, at length it was agreed, that three persons on each side should by Combat decide the quarrel, and that City, whose Champions should have the better, obtain preeminence and command over the other. Whilst every Officer desired to be one of the three, *Sufpetius* bethought himself of two terms of Brothers who were most fit, as he thought, to take it upon them. One *Sequinius* of *Alba* had two Daughters, whereof one he married to *Curvius* his Fellow-citizen, and the other to *Eloavius* a *Roman*. It happened that both being with child at the same time, brought forth each of them three Sons at the first birth, whom their Parents educated as the hope of their Families. To these it was that *Sufpetius* thought the Combat concerning Principality was to be committed, being of equal years, strength, and courage. The motion was embraced by the parties, who dispensed with their private Affection, (no whit unsuitable to their Consanguinity) now that the honour and welfare of their Country was concerned. In the Combat two of the *Horatii* were slain first, and the third left to deal with three adversaries, spirited afresh by the great advantage they had of him; but warily retreating, so as he might have but one upon him at a time, he slew them all, and *Rome* in him remained Conqueror. As he returned into the City, he was met by his Sister, who fell upon him with chiding and outrageous words, for imbruing his hands in the blood of his Cousin-germans, whereof one was contracted to her. Now elevated by his success, and transported with a certain kind of ecstasick love to his Country, he killed her in the place, as one that, preferring private respect before publick good, was unworthy to live. Hereof he was accused, and *Tullus* neither thinking it seemly to quit or condemn him, as some say, created the *Duumviri* for capital Judgement, who condemned him: but, if so, there lying Appeal from these Officers to the People, the Multitude granted his life to the tears of his Father, who not only took not ill his Daughter's death, but esteemed it an heroic act, and gave her an ignominious Burial.

20. *Hoftilius* dealt moderately with the *Albans*; but *Metius Sufpetius*, their Dictator, or King, thinking his credit much impaired by the event of the Combat, fought how he might betray the *Romans*, and wrest the Power out of their hands. He dealt therefore underhand with the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, who now, called to account for their Double dealings, brake out into open Rebellion, and by promise of assistance, encouraged them in their enterprise. And when the *Romans* and the other came to engage, he resolved to stand neuter till he saw which party had the better, intending then to close with it. The *Romans* were discouraged to see their Friends stand aloof, suspecting the Treachery; which *Tullus* also apprehending, gave out, that it was by his order, as meaning by some Stratagem to surprize the Enemy: upon which report the *Fidenates* and their Companions were discouraged, and at length by the *Romans*, who resumed their courage, put to the rout. After the Victory *Hoftilius* called the *Albans* together, and laying open the Treachery of *Sufpetius*, (which favoured the more of Treason, because he had trusted him as his inward Friend, and kept him three years in his place) caused him to be pulled in pieces; having beforehand sent *Marcus Horatius* to *Alba*, who

The Horatii
and Curiatii.

who razed the City, and translated the Inhabitants thereof to *Rome*, after it had stood about 487 years, according to the account of *Dionysius*, which is to be preferred before the other of *Livie*, or that of *L. Florus*, an Author not to be relied on, either as to Chronology, or order and disposition of matters, to say no more.

Alba destroyed.

21. To this then came *Alba*, through the power of its own Colony, having flourished with Riches, numbers of Inhabitants, and been the Mother of thirty *Latin* Towns. After this, *Tullus*, having fully brought under the *Fidenates*, moved War against the *Sabines*, for robbing such *Romans* as used to traffick into the Country, and refusing to make restitution of the goods. He overthrew them at the Wood called *Malitiosa Sylva*, and forced them to beg Peace. Now also the *Latines* and *Romans* fell out, because they refused to yield obedience to these, who challenged it as due to their City, which had conquered the *Metropolis*. The War was managed for five years with great moderation; only, besides continual Depredations, *Hoftilius* punished *Medullia* for an example, which in the time of *Romulus* had received a *Roman* Colony. Otherwise no Battle was fought, nor any Town taken and plundered; which made both inclinable to Peace. But at this time *Tullus Hoftilius* died, having reigned 32 years; some say by Lightning, with his whole Family, for neglect of the Religion instituted by *Numa*: but most believed him taken away by the practices of his Successor, though *Dionysius* holdeth their opinion to be improbable.

Ancus Marcius.

22. After the death of *Tullus*, the State fell into an *Inter-regnum*, according to the custom, and, by the *Inter-rex* and *Senate*, *Ancus Marcius* was elected King; who being confirmed by the People, began his Reign in the second year of the 35. Olympiad, wherein *Spherus* the *Lacedaemonian* was Victor, at what time *Damias* was annual Archon at Athens. He (who, according to what *Festus* writeth, had the Surname of *Ancus* from his crooked Arm, which he could not stretch out in length) was Grand-son to *Numa*, by his Daughter *Pompilia*. She was married to *Marcus*, the Son of that *Marcus*, who, being the Kinsman of *Numa*, came with him to *Rome*, after he had earnestly perswaded him to take upon him the Kingdom; and being elected into the Senate, after the King's death, stood in competition with *Hoftilius* for his place, and missing of it laid violent hands on himself. *Marcus* his Son marrying *Pompilia* the Daughter of *Numa*, (whether by *Tatia* or *Lucretia*, is uncertain) begot on her this *Ancus Marcius*, who was five years old at the death of both his Grand-fathers. *Ancus* considering that much of the Superstition brought in by *Numa* was neglected, set himself to restore the use thereof, alleging to the people, that the Diseases, Pestilence, and other innumerable Calamities which had lately fallen upon the City, together with the disastrous end of *Hoftilius*, proceeded from neglect of their Gods. He advised them to return to Husbandry, and other peaceable employments, neglecting violence, and the profit that cometh by War. The State being thus restored, he thought, as his Grand-father had lived, so to pass his time free from all War and molestation: but he found his expectation crossed, for that he was compelled to be a Warriour against his will, and was never free from peril and tumult. Scarcely had he begun to reign, and modelled the Commonwealth, when the *Latines*, contemning him as a Sluggard, and unfit for military employment, made Depredations upon the *Roman* Territories. Making preparation for War, *Livie* writeth, that he first denounced it, sending to the *Latines* beforehand, and now constituted the Office of the *Feciales*, the Rules whereof he took from the *Equicoli*, an ancient People.

23. He surprized *Politorium*, a Town of the *Latines*, the Inhabitants of which he translated to *Rome*, where (for that the ancient *Romans* inhabited the *Palatine*, the *Sabines* the *Capitoline*, and the *Celians* had been given to the new Denizens of *Alba*) to them was granted the *Aventine* Hill to polities, other Neighbours being added, when, within a while, *Tilene* and *Sicania* were taken. The *Latines*, much concerned at this loss, conspired against him for the Spring following; but at several times he defeated their united powers, and forced them to ask Peace: so did he the *Fidenates*, *Volsci*, *Veientes*, and such *Sabines* as, not yet having felt the strength of *Rome*, sorely repined at the success of an upstart City. He laid a wooden bridge over the River *Tiber*, and fortified the *Janiculum* on the other side with a wall, having by a bridge united it to the City: and in the middle of *Rome* he made a Prison for Malefactors. Neither did he only extend the *Pomerium* or Area of the City, but enlarged its Dominion. For having taken from the *Veientes* the *Messan* Forrest, his Territories reached to the Sea, upon which, at the mouth of *Tiber*, he built a Town called *Osia*, to secure the profit of Navigation unto his Subjects; for thither Commodities being brought by Ship, were in lesser Vessels

A. M. 5051.
V. C. 150.
Olymp. 31. an. 4.
Mandili. 48.

Livie.
Pliny.
Plutarch.

Dionys. l. 3.

A. M. 3356.
V. C. 115.
Olymp. 35. an. 2.
Jolia 6.

Livies l. 1.
Plutarch, in
Roma.

Livies lib. 1.

Dionys. l. 3.

SECT. 2. conveyed to the City. *Ancus Marcius* reigned 24 years, coming behind the commendations of none of his Predecessors, either for the glory of Peace or War.

24. *Ancus* being dead, (Of a natural death, as should seem by Historians, save that *Plutarch*, as was said, included him in the number of those four that came to untimely ends) the *Senate* received power from the People to order the Affairs of the Commonwealth, and created certain *Inter-reges*, who holding the *Assemblies* of the Commonwealth, *L. Tarquinius* was chosen King, and began his reign about the second year of the 41. *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleomidas* the *Theban* was *Victor*, *Enioclides* being *Archon* at *Athens*, the 139. of the City, and the 30. of *Josiah* King of *Judah*. This man being of foreign extraction, what his Original was, why he came to *Rome*, and how he attained to the Kingdom, is to be considered. There was a *Corinthian*, by name, of the race of the *Bacchiade*, who trafficking much into *Hetruria*, changed his Merchandise for *Tuscan* Commodities, and thereby growing very wealthy, when Troubles arose at home by means of *Cypselus* his Tyranny, with all his goods failed from *Corinth*, and fixed himself at *Tarquinius*, a City of *Hetruria*; where marrying a noble Matron, of her he begat two Sons, called by the *Hetruscan* names of *Aruns* and *Lucumon*. *Aruns* died without hope of issue; *Demaratus* with grief followed him not long after: so that *Lucumon*, possessed of the whole Inheritance, began to elevate his designs, and to look after some place of Magistracy in his Country. Here he received a repulse, not being able to procure any mean Office; at which sorely disdainful, he heard that *Rome* received Strangers with great courtesy, and gave them free admission unto Honours. He then resolved to remove thither with his goods and friends, and after his arrival, was much made of by *Ancus*, to whom offering his Patrimony for the publick good, as exceeding that of a private man, he received Freedom of the City for himself and followers, with ground to build houses, and for their sustenance. Now he changed his name from *Lucumon* to *Lucius*, and his Wife from *Tanaquil* to *Gaia Cecilia*, and from the place of his birth superadded that of *Tarquinius*. During the reign of *Ancus*, who chose him into the *Senate*, he flourished in great esteem with him, and in the favour of the People; in War no man shewing himself more hardy, nor in Council more dextrous, prudent, or successful: and his Integrity seemed such unto the King, that he left him Guardian to his two Sons, whereof both were under age, and one but yet an infant.

25. He took advantage at the Minority of the eldest, as yet scarcely fourteen years old, whom sending out of the way, under pretence of hunting, he made a Speech to the People, faith *Livius*, wherein he plainly begged the Kingdom, drawing to his private interest the example of *Tatius* and *Numa*, whom, being meer Strangers, they had chosen to reign over them: whereas He was not absolutely such, having lived a good space in *Rome*, and been trained up both in civil and military Affairs under *Ancus*. He urged then his Liberality towards them. Which things not being merely pretended, he obtained his end, and was the first that came to the Government through his own ambitious seeking. His first War was with the *Latines*, from whom he took several Towns, and amongst the rest *Collatia*, over which he placed Governour his Nephew *Aruns Tarquinius*, the posthume issue of his Brother, and furnished *Egerius* from his poverty, (having no Patrimony) and *Collatinus* from this place, which Surname continued to his Posterity. Having forced the *Latines* to beg Peace, notwithstanding their supplies out of *Hetruria*, he turned his Arms against the *Sabines*; whom after he had also forced to submit, all *Hetruria* combined against him, because he retained such prisoners as he had taken of the Auxiliaries by them to the *Sabines*. It was decreed amongst them, that what Town sooner refused to joyn against him should not be accounted of their Body; and they presently possessed themselves of *Fidene*, a *Roman* Colony. But he so ordered the matter, that overthrowing them in sundry Battels, and preparing for another Expedition, they were humbled; to purchase Peace owned him for their Prince, and, as tokens of fealty and allegiance, sent him the Ensigns of Sovereignty wherewith their Kings had wont to be adorned. These were a Crown of Gold, an Ivory Chair, a Scepter on the top of which was an Eagle, a Coat of purple wrought with Gold, and a purple Gown pinked; like to the Robes of the *Lydian* and *Persian* Kings. Save that it was not four-square, but of a semicircular figure. Some wrote also that they sent 12 Axes for so many Cities, it being their custom for every Magistrate in his own Town to have an Axe with Rods carried before him, and in a common Expedition twelve to be born before their General. Others contended that *Romulus* used these Axes and Rods as a badge of his Authority to punish Offenders; but *Dionysius* replieth, that *Romulus* might learn this custom of the *Hetruscans*;

The pedigree of
Tarquinius Priscus.

He obtained
the Kingdom.

His Wars.

A. M. 3350.
P. C. 1359.
O. L. 41. an. 2.
Jysa 30.

Festus in
vita
Gaii.

SECT. 3. and if not, yet might *Tarquinius* have these sent to him, seeing the People of *Rome* afterwards used to send Diadems and Scepters to such Kings as they confirmed; which these Princes received, although they had worn the same Ornaments before.

26. In nine years he finished the *Hetruscan* War, and then fell again upon the *Sabines*, (who alone contended with the *Romans* for Superiority) a warlike Nation, possessing a large and fertile Country not far distant from *Rome*. Over them he obtained his third Triumph, and providing for another Expedition, they prevented him by their intreaties, giving up themselves fully into his power, whom he received on the same terms as formerly he had done the *Hetruscans*. These were his Military actions. At the beginning of his reign, that he might bind the People to him, he chose out an hundred of the *Plebeians*, who for valour or wisdom were most eminent, and added them to the *Senate*, which now first consisted of 300. *Romulus* at the beginning chose 100 out of the first Planters, then added 100 more of the most noble of the *Sabines*, who with these of *Tarquinius* were called *Patres conscripti*, and the last *Patres minorum gentium*. *Zonaras* agreeth with *Dionysius* concerning the number of *Senators* made by *Romulus*, adding, that *Tatius* and he at first consulted with their *Senators* apart, but at length they were joyned together; so that those are not to be heard, who will have but 200 in all during the time of the Kings, and 100 afterwards added by *Brutus*. He increased the number of the *Vestal Nuns* from four to seven, adorned the *Forum*, built the Walls of the City (before patched up in haste) with four-square stones, whereof each was a Cart-load. He caused the common Sinks to be made for voiding the filth of the City into *Tiber*; a work so admirable, that *Dionysius* thinketh, from the magnificence of it, as from the *Aqueducts*, and the bigb *Cawled ways*, the Amplitude of the *Roman* Empire appeared. And this is manifested from what *C. Aquilius* wrote, that those Sinks being once stopped, the *Censors* spent 1000 Talents in cleaning them. In the *Circus Maximus* (a place dedicated to the beholding of Games and Exercises, betwixt the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills) he caused Seats to be raised for Spectators, whereas, before, all stood; and he distinguished their places according to their dignity.

27. *Tarquinius* intended to add three Centuries of Horsemen, named after himself and his friends, to the former three instituted by *Romulus*. That King first chose 300 out of the three *Tribes*, or Legions, and, after the taking in of the *Sabines*, increased the Legions, so that each contained 4000, whence it was called *Quadrata*, as *Festus* observeth. Yet afterwards a Legion comprised full 60 many men as were found convenient for the service of the Commonwealth. But he was forbidden by *Astius Nevius* to change the Constitution of *Romulus*, and therefore, without increase of the Centuries, doubled the number of the men. This *Nevius* was the most famous *Angur* that *Rome* ever knew, and so well versed in his Art, that he never missed in his Predictions. *Tarquinius* on a time, to try him, asked if that was possible to be done which he had in his thoughts; who answering, *Yea*, he laughed him to scorn, saying, that he had thought of cutting a Whetstone with a Razor which he held in his hand: but *Nevius* still replying he should do it, and bidding him to strike hard, he cut through it. This much enhanced the reputation of his skill, and he flourished thenceforth with great honour, till at length he was suddenly missing, and his body never could be found, which turned to the disquiet of *Tarquinius*. For the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, now grown men, grudged him their Father's Kingdom, and often thought of thrusting him out, expecting much from martial men, who generally bore love to their Father's memory. Now they accused him to the People of having made away the *Angur*, (because he had contradicted his devices) and created him some trouble; till *Tullius* his Son-in-law answered the objections, and cleared him of the Calumny. Missing of their design this way, they counterfeited repentance; and being easily reconciled to the old man, out of respect to their Father, cloaked their malice for three years. Then they clothed two of their Companions like Shepherds, who going to the Court, and pretending to be slain out, did beat each other, and called loud upon the King for Justice, having at their backs other Conspirators apparelled also in rustick weeds, who offered to give Testimony on both sides. Being called in to the King they wounded him to death, and betaking themselves to their heels were caught, confessed who were authors of the Plot, and received their just reward. To this end came *Tarquinius* (surnamed *Priscus*, after his Grand-son of the same name had obtained the Kingdom) about 80 years old, when he had reigned 38 years, and done many and great good Offices for the Commonwealth.

He encreaseth
the Senate.

The Vestal Nuns.

Chase, or common Sinks.

Astius Nevius.

Tarquinius murdered.

SECT. 2.

Servius Tullius
his descent and
education.

28. *Tarquinus Priscus* being dead, *Servius Tullius* his Son-in-law succeeded him in the fourth year of the 50. Olympiad, wherein *Epitides* the *Laconian* was Victor, when *Archestratides* was *Archon at Athens*: concerning whose Original, and private life, something is first to be spoken. A certain man of *Corniculum*, a Town in *Latium*, of Royal blood, was slain when *Tarquinus* took the place, and left his wife *Ocrisia* big with Child; which Woman *Tarquinus* gave to his Queen *Tanquil*, *Ocrisia* then was delivered of a Son in the King's house, named *Tullius*, and furnished *Servius* by her in remembrance of her Bondage. When being an Infant he lay in the Cradle, a flame of fire is said to have appeared, and accompanied his head; which raised great expectation of him in *Tanquil*, a Woman skillful in the mysteries of her Countrey. She brought her Husband into a great opinion of him, so that he was educated by them, and answering what had been conceived of him, at length was made their Son-in-law: then abroad he had Command in the Army, and at home managed publick Affairs for the King when grown old; in all things behaving himself with such integrity, valour, and prudence, as purchased him the love of all the people. Now whereas *Tarquinus* had at his death no Sons (as *Dionysius* maketh most manifest) but left two Grand-sons both Infants, *Tanquil* having a desire that *Tullius* should succeed him, kept his death private for some time, till he had procured the people to banish the *Marcii*: giving out that the King, dangerously wounded though not dead, had referred all business to him according to his custom. Being secure of the Faction of the *Marcii*, he then carried out *Tarquinus* to be buried, as newly dead; and, as *Tutor* to the young Children, executed the Office of King: which *Tanquil* out of the window had told the people was her Husband's will, when yet he feigned him to be living. But the *Patricians* grudging *Tullius* this honour, conspired how, the next time he assembled the *Senate*, they might constrain him to leave off all the Royal ensigns, and then go to an Election, according to the usual manner.

29. He, coming to the knowledge hereof, assembled the People, and producing the two Boys, pleaded their cause and his own: he promised them to pay all their Debts, and divide to those that wanted the publick Grounds. Hereby retaining the power under the notion of *Guardian*. The *Patricians* were sore aggrieved thereat, but the wisest sort thought it not good to stir, though they plainly saw the Authority of the *Senate* much infringed. For they considered, that if they should make a King of their own Body, the people would not approve the choice; and if it were referred to the Multitude, *Tullius* would assuredly be the man: wherefore they thought it more wisdom to suffer him to reign in an unlawfull manner, that so they might ever have some just pretence against him, than by stirring in the matter to procure him a legal Title. But he prevented this their design, going with his Mother, Mother-in-law, and all his Kindred, in mourning habits unto the *Forum*; where he shewed the People how lamentable his condition was through the plots of the *Patricians* against him, which he deserved no otherways than by his good deeds towards the Commonalty. He laid to their charge that they would call in the *Marcii*, that had murdered *Tarquinus*, and expose his Posterity, who had so well deserved of the State together with himself, to the same cruelty: and in conclusion, offering to lay down all, if such was the pleasure of the People, and undergo any hardship rather than be troublesome, he offered to defend from the Tribunal. A great clamour then arose mixed with prayers and tears of those that besought him to retain the Government: and presently some, that were provided beforehand, began to cry out that he was to be chosen King, and the *Curia* were to be called the Vote; which thing was instantly resolved by the Multitude. He gladly took hold of the opportunity, thanked them that they were mindful of the benefits received from him, promised larger if he were elected King, and appointed a day for the *Comitia*, or *Assembly*, whereat he intended to have present those also that were abroad in the Countrey. At the day appointed for the *Assembly* of the *Curia*, (called *Curia Comitia*) he was chosen King by the Suffrages of them all, and so, in despite of the *Conscript Fathers*, who refused to confirm the choice, as the manner was, obtained the Principality.

30. Presently after his settlement he accomplished his promise, concerning the division of the publick Land to such as were forced to preserve themselves by daily labour in other mens grounds; and in the *Curia Comitia* preferred five Laws concerning Contracts and Injuries. He added two Hills to the former five, viz. the *Viminal* and *Esquiline*, in the latter whereof he lived himself; and was the last man, if some rightly observe, that enlarged the *Pomerium* of the City, the Wall whereof was never any farther stretched out, though very large Suburbs were afterwards added.

Dionysius l. 4.
Livius l. 1.
Florus l. 1. c. 6.

The *Census*.

Lustrum.

The *Centuries*
and *Centuriate*
Comitia.

ded. After he had compassed all the Seven Hills within one Wall, he distinguished the City into four parts, and, in stead of three, made four Tribes. And as *Romulus* distinguished the People, according to their Seats and Communion in Sacrifices, into Tribes and *Curia*; so *Servius*, making every one give an account how much he was worth, according to their riches divided them into fix Ranks, or *Classes*. Of these, the first and highest consisted of such as were worth 100000 Asles (each of which answereth to ob. g. of our money,) the next four decreased in value a fourth part; and in the last were contained all such whose Estates were of little or no value.

31. The *Classes* he did also fo subdivide into *Centuries*, that 193 were made in all: his design herein being to know certainly how many were fit to bear Arms, and what Treasure might be supplied for Wars, or other occasions. He also first ordained the *Lustrum* (so named à *Luendo*, (from paying) faith *Varro*, as *Flugtrum* à *Fluendo*) to be celebrated after this *Census*, or value of each according to their substance. On a certain day after the valuation, he enacted that all the Citizens should meet in their Armour in the *Campus Martius*, every one in his several *Classis* and *Century*; where by sacrifice the City was expiated, or *Lustrated*. This Solemnity was termed *Suovetaurilia*, (or rather *Suovetaurilia*), because an *Hog*, *Sheep*, and *Oxe* were sacrificed, as we read in *Quintilian*. These things being performed, the *Lustrum* was finished, which, because of continual change of mens Estates, he ordained should be reiterated every five years; so that he (who begun it according to *Lipius*, in his twelfth year) celebrated it himself four times, according to *Valerius Maximus*. Every fifth year the *Tribute* or *Tax* (called *Census*) was paid; and thence *Lustrum* seemeth to have had its name. After the Banishment of the Kings, the *Centurians* managed this business, till the *Centors* (Magistrates proper to the work) were brought in. Lastly, *Joseph Scaliger* telleth us, we must distinguish the old *Roman Lustrum* from the later or *Julian*, which is only a Systeme of four *Julian* years, whereof the last consisteth of 366 days absolutely without any overplus of hours. For the old and proper *Lustrum* contained five years compleat, which that cited by *Cicero*, concerning the *Centors*, out of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, Let them be two, Let them obtain the Magistracy for five years, maketh manifest: so that this *Lustrum* cannot answer to an Olympiad, properly so called; of which beginners are to take notice.

32. Of the six *Classes*, which contained 193 *Centuries*, the first and richest was divided into 98, the *Equites* or *Horsemen* being counted in; the second into 22, taking in *Artificers*; the third into 22, the fourth 20, the fifth 30; and the sixth and last, of the poorer sort, made up but one *Century*. Men and monies being levied according to these *Centuries*, and not by poll, (each *Century* such a quantity) it came to pass, that the richest being fewer, yet divided into more *Centuries*, (here the word is not to be taken for 100 persons precisely, being made use of onely to express such a Division) were never free from warfare, and contributed also more money than the rest: they that were but moderately or meanly provided of wealth, being exceeded by the other in twenty *Centuries*, went to the War by turns, and paid but little *Tribute*: and they that had not any estate to speak on undermost no burthens. This seemed very just and equal to him, that they who were most concerned should take most pains, and bear the greatest charge; the *Romans* at that time maintaining themselves in the Wars without any pay from the publick. But the richer sort, something grieved to undergo all charge and danger, for the preservation of others as well as themselves, *Servius* sufficiently satisfied and requited, by giving them in a manner the whole prerogative in matters of State, the poorer being almost wholly removed from any power in the Commonwealth, though at first they did not perceive it.

33. This Secret lay in the *Comitia* or *Assemblies*, where the People resolved about the most important affairs; these three things being in their power, viz. Creation of Magistrates as well Military as Civil, making or abrogating Laws, and decreting Peace or War: concerning which things the Suffrages of the several *Curia* were wont to be gathered, and the Vote of the poorest availed as much as that of the richest person; whence the poorer sort, being much more numerous than the rich, ever prevailed by their Multitudes. *Tullius* understanding this, in stead of those of the *Curia*, called the *Comitia* of the *Centuries* upon such occasions. First of all were called the *Centuries* of the first or richest *Classis*, viz. the 18 of *Equites* or *Horsemen*, and the 80 of *Footmen*; which being three more in number than all the rest besides, if they all agreed, they overcame in number, and there was no need of calling any of the others to the vote: if they disagreed, the 22 *Centuries* of the second *Classis* were called, and, if need were, the third *Classis*, and the fourth, till

SECT. 2.

97 Centuries agreed in their Suffrages. If this happened not after the calling of the fifth, (192 Centuries being divided equally in number, and of several opinions) then was the sixth *Clasfis* called, containing the last Century, free from Tributes and War; and to which side it joyned, that overcame.

34. This rarely happened, and was almost impossible, the *Comitia* being ended most commonly by the first call; but however, seldom came it to the fourth *Clasfis*, so that the two last were superfluous. By this Constitution the poorer sort were deceived, thinking it enough that every man, as well one as another, gave his Suffrage, and not considering that the Suffrage of the whole Century was but one, whether it contained more or fewer persons in it. But at length, seeing themselves freed from danger and charge, they were content; and the richer, enjoying such privileges for their pains and cost, were well satisfied. And this order was kept for many Ages; till afterwards, by the violent actions of some, the Common sort got more power, as *Dionysius* himself observed the Innovation to have broken in at his time. At the first *Lustrum* were found 84700 Citizens; but to increase their number, he brought in the custom of making Slaves free of the Commonwealth, whom being before manumitted or set free, he distributed into the four Tribes of the City.

The custom of manumitting Slaves.

35. These Slaves were either made, or born such, as *Justinian* the Emperor distinguisheth them. The former sort were either taken in War, (then properly called *Mancipia*) or as such bought of the publick, or of some private man. The latter were those that were born either of both Parents being such, or of the Mother only. At first they obtained their Liberty *gratis*, by well deserving some way of their Masters, or some by payment of money earned by their honest labours, they having a certain *Peculium*, though all was said to belong to their Masters. But in process of time, when the *Romans* degenerated from their former worth and honour, some by Robberies, others by breaking of houses and other villanies, got money, whereby they purchased their Freedom. Some by helping their Masters in these things obtained Liberty as a reward; others on condition to let them enjoy the monthly allowance of Corn out of the publick purse, or other Largesses conferred by Princes upon poor Citizens. Sometimes they were manumitted through the levity and vanity-glorie of their Lords; some having by their Testaments set at liberty all their Slaves, to obtain a fame of clemency after their death, and that their Funerals might be celebrated by a great train of such as wore caps upon that occasion; in which pomp a thousand Rogues have been seen, who much better deserved hanging. This was laid to the charge of the Mistress of the World, that challenging the Empire over all, she should defile her self with such impure Citizens: which custom might have been reformed, as *Dionysius* observeth, by the care of the *Censors*, who, inquiring into the lives of *Senators* and *Knights*, never considered what persons were unfit to be admitted *Free-men*.

36. *Tullius* not only clipped the power of the *Patritians* and *Senate*, but took away half of the King's Prerogative also. Whereas the former Princes called before themselves all Controversies, and took cognizance of crimes as well committed against particular persons as the publick, he separated these Causes, making himself Judge of such as respected the Commonwealth, and referring the quarrels of private persons unto others, to whom he prescribed Laws and Rules to go by. After he had thus ordered the Commonwealth, he caused the *Latines* to build a Temple at *Rome* to *Diana*, upon the *Aventine* Hill, whereto they should meet and feast every year, and so preserve themselves as one body politic in unity and concord. If any controversy arose betwixt particular Towns, it was to be decided by the judgement of others, in such a manner as the *Amphitryones* in *Greece* were wont to proceed, the Council of the *Ionians* at the Temple of *Ephesus*, and that of the *Dorians* in the Temple of *Apollo*, built by common consent at *Epiriprium*. These things were done by *Tullius* at home, according to *Dionysius*, *Livie*, and others: to which we may add from *Pliny*, that he first stamped money with the image of Cattel, whence it was called *Pecunia*, whereas the *Romans* before his time used it in a rude lump or Mass. As for his actions abroad; he warred with the *Hetruscans* 20 years, who refused to obey him, as an obscure man, and renounced the League formerly made. In all Battels, both with the united Nation and particular Cities, he ever had the better, triumphed over them thrice, and at length forced them to submit to the yoke on the same terms as formerly *Tarquinius* had imposed it, except that from three Towns, that had been principal in the Revolt, he took part of their Grounds, which he divided to those that had newly been made free of the City. Having done these things at home and abroad, when he was grown old and not far from the natural period of his life, he perished by the devices of *Tarquinius* his Son-in-law, and of his own Daughter.

Is murdered by his Son-in-law and his own Daughter.

37. *Tullius*

SECT. 3.

37. *Tullius* had two Daughters by his Wife *Tarquinia*, which he married to their two Cousin-germans, the Grand-sons of *Tarquinius*, joyning them in wedlock according to their age, as he thought it most equal and convenient. But it happened that they were matched together with those of dispositions clean contrary to one another. *Lucius*, the elder, a man of a bold, arrogant, and tyrannical nature, had an honest, modest Wife, and one most dutifull towards her Father: on the contrary, *Aruns Tarquinius*, the younger, being of a mild and sweet disposition, lighted on a wicked Woman, one of a bitter spirit against her Father, ready to attempt any thing. *Lucius* breaking out into passion against his Father-in-law, for keeping the Kingdom from him, was still appeased by his Wife: but *Aruns* being content to stay his time, and averse to any thing that might favour of disrespect to *Tullius*, was importuned ever and disquieted by his Wife's earnest and tedious solicitations, to attempt the utmost, though with the destruction of her Father, for the obtaining of the Sovereignty. This Woman being impatient of her Husband's backwardness, and bewitched by the fury of Ambition, resolved to change Husbands, if it might be, and match her self to the other *Tarquin*, who suited well with her own humor. She brake her mind to *Lucius*, telling him of what a sordid spirit they were, to suffer an Usurper so long to possess their Patrimony, railing against her own Husband, as a man of a poor and degenerate disposition; and at length made a proffer for them two to dispatch out of the way their present unequal Yoke-fellows, and then unite themselves in that relation, thereby to bring about their noble and gallant Design. He was not backward to a compliance, and the device was accordingly brought about. After which, they resolved by force to expell *Tullius* from the Kingdom, if he would not give place on his own accord, raising a Faction of the *Patritians*, that were discontented with the King's new modelling of the State, and the poorest *Plebeians*, whose assistance they purchased openly, without any respect to right or modesty. *Tullius* was not ignorant what they intended, and feared also to be destroyed ere he could provide for his defence; yet thinking it an unseemly thing to make War upon his Son-in-law and his own Daughter, and punish them as Enemies, he indeavoured by fair means to take them off; before their Friends, blaming, admonishing, and exhorting *Tarquinius* from the intended injury.

38. Effecting nothing hereby, but the other saying, that he would plead his cause in the *Senate*, he called together the *Fathers*, and gave him liberty to speak. *Tarquin* laid his claim to the Kingdom, as his Grand-father's Heir, and alleged, that *Tullius* kept it from him unjustly, having got all his preferment from their Family, and obtained the place illegally, without the consent of the *Senate*. *Tullius* replied, that the Kingdom was in the power of the People, to dispose of it to whomsoever they would; which he proved from the Example of *Tarquinius Priscus*, who, being a Stranger, was preferred before the *Marcius*. He mentioned how well he had deserved of him, by protecting and taking care of him in his Minority; and as for his coming to the Government without the ordinary assent of the *Senate*, that concerned the *Fathers*, and not him. He then appealed to the *Senate*, whether ever he had wronged or carried himself arrogantly towards any of them, that they should conspire with his Son-in-law against him; and in conclusion told them, that if they thought *Tarquinius* the fitter man, he should not be against the profit of the Commonwealth, but retire to a private life, and let the World see, he could as readily obey as be obeyed, after he had restored the Honour to those from whom he had received it. Having struck a great reverence of him into the *Senate*, he assembled the People, to whom, after a great complaint against *Tarquin*, and a recital of what good things he had performed for the Publick, he offered to resign his place; but was confirmed therein, and after he had refused to give ear to such as would have *Tarquin* dispatched, with great acclamations brought home to his house by the multitude.

39. *Tarquin* thus prevented of what he expected from the *Patritians*, counterfeited repentance, and a desire to be reconciled to the King, which was easily obtained. Covered with this Cloak he laid his designs anew, and being continually solicited by his Wife to attempt something worthy of a Kingdom, took his opportunity on a day when most of the people were out of the City, with the Robes of Estate, and all Royal Ensigns as King, to go to the *Senate-house*. There he presumed to call together the *Fathers*, and, such being assembled as were appointed beforehand, he took possession of the King's Seat. *Tullius* having notice hereof, unadvisedly with a few followers hastened thither, admiring the young man's impudence, whom seeing in his Chair, he fell of raving, and received as bad language; then going about to thrust him out, *Tarquin* took him up by the middle, and halting

V 2

him

SECT. 2.

him to the door, threw him down the stairs into the *Comitum*. The old man hardly recovering his spirits was led homewards, when his Daughter, *Tarquin's* Wife, being come in her Chariot to see the event, saluted her Husband as King, but told him his Principality would be but uncertain, except, perfecting what he had begun, he would send some who should overtake and dispatch *Tullius*. He took her advice, and the feat being done, she presently returned home the same way. In her passage when she came to the place where the body lay as yet almost gasping, her Chariot-driver stood still, confounded at the sight, and not having room to pass besides it. Hereat the reviled him, and caused him to drive her over it, after she had first thrown her footstool at his head. The place, formerly called *Cyprius Vicus*, was afterwards named *Sceleratus*, from that occasion. To this end came *Scervius Tullius*; after he had reigned 44 years, a man just and moderate, who abolished the envy contracted in his illegal assumption, by his afterwards, and was thought, if he had not been prevented, to have intended to lay down his Office, and restore absolute Liberty with the care of the Commonwealth to the People; which some of the *Patritii* perceiving, took in the interest of *Tarquinus*, that they might preserve their own power.

Lucius Tarquinus, furnished Superbus.

40. *Lucius Tarquinus* obtained the Kingdom by violence in the fourth year of the 61. Olympiad, wherein *Agatharchus* was *Victor*, when *Heracles* (or rather *Heracles*) was *Archeon* at *Athens*. By his Tyrannical and impetuous carriage he soon got the surname of *Superbus*, as that of *Priscus*, for distinction, was given to his Grand-father. He would not suffer his Father-in-law's body to be buried publicly, for fear it should give occasion to the people to rise against him, saying, that *Romulus* died without Burial. He murdered such as he suspected to favour the cause of *Tullius*, and fearing what end his wickedness might bring upon him, got to him a strong Guard which continually attended his person. He reigned only by his own arbitrary will, neither standing upon the consent of the *Senate* nor People. As for the former, he much diminished it by the murder of the richer sort, whose wealth he seized on for his own use, and resolved to chuse no more in, that it might wear out, and grow contemptible. All Controversies he decided himself, assisted by his intimate friends, and took cognizance of all Offences, so as he might kill, banish, or fine at his pleasure. He fought to establish himself and confirm his Tyranny by great Alliance, marrying his Daughter to *Octavius Manilius*, the greatest man amongst the *Latines*, (being descended from *Telegonus* the son of *Ulysses* by *Circe*;) and by false accusation and a cunning device caused them to stone *Turnus Herdonius*, who had discovered to them his baseness and villanies. He began a War with the *Volsci*, which ended not with him, but lasted above 200 years; and subdued the *Sabines*, who refused to obey him. From the *Volsci* he took *Sueffa Pometia*, (where getting much plunder, he first cast in his head the design of building a Temple to *Jupiter*, which his Grand-father had formerly vowed) and afterwards the City *Gabii* by treachery, making *Sextus* his eldest Son to counterfeit flight from him for hard usage, whereby he was made their General, and having, according to the secret advice of his Father, (who, in imitation of *Thersites* the *Milesian*, carried the messenger into the field, and cut down the tallest Poppies, dismissing him without any other message) put to death the most principal Citizens, at length easily betrayed it into his hands. After this he made peace with the *Aequi*, and renewed the League with the *Tuscani*. Then went he forward with the work of the Temple formerly designed.

Buildeth the Capitol.

The Capitol.

41. *Tarquinus Priscus*, in his last War with the *Sabines*, made a Vow, that if he got the Victory, he would build Temples to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; and with great cost had in his life-time levelled the Rock, and formed a plot for the Building; but died before he could finish the work. *Tarquinus* his Grand-son, resolving to perfect what he had begun with the plunder of *Sueffa*, set on all sorts of workmen; at which time, as they were digging to lay the foundation, a man's Head was found bleeding afresh, which belonging to one called *Tollus*, thence the building had the name of *Capitol*. He perfected a great part of the Temple, but could not consummate the work, being prevented by Exile; which was finished by the City in the third Consulship after its Freedom. It was seated upon a high Cragge, eight Acres in compass, almost two hundred foot wide on every side, and almost of the same length and breadth, as differing only in fifteen feet. After it had stood 425 years from its Dedication, it was consumed by fire in the days of *Sylla*, when *L. Scipio* and *Cains Norbanus* were Consuls, as *Tacitus* writeth: Yet it rose again with greater cost and ornament on the same foundation. Its front looking toward the South had a Porch, or Gallery, with three rows of Pillars: on each side were

Diogen. lib. 4.
Livius l. 1.
Florus l. 1. c. 7.

A. M. 3471.
V. C. 420.
Olymp. 61. an. 4.
Chr. 25.

Hist. l. 3. c. 14.

also a double row. The three Temples were contained within the same Walls, the middle belonging to *Jupiter*, and the other two to *Juno* and *Minerva*, under the same roof.

Sibylla.

Sibylla books.

42. In the time of this *Tarquinus*, another great blessing, as it was counted, happened to the *Romans*. A certain strange Woman came to the King, offering to sell nine Books of the Oracles of *Sibylla*: which when he refused to buy at her rate, she went away, and burning three of them, returned; and demanded as much for the six. Being denied for a mad woman, she departed, and burning half of them, returned with the other three, still asking as much as at the first. Whereat *Tarquin* astonished, sent for the *Augures* to know her meaning; who answered, that the Nine ought to have been bought, and the Three were to be purchased at the same Rate. The Woman after the sale and delivery vanished, and never after could be seen. *Tarquin* chose two men out of the Nobility to keep them, to whom he allowed two publick servants. After his Expulsion the people elected most noble persons, who all their lives executing this Office were freed from all other burthens, both Military and Civil, to whom only it was lawful to look in them. No sacred thing was so carefully kept as these *Sibylline Oracles*. They were consulted by decree of the *Senate* when the Commonwealth was disturbed by any Seditions, when any great Overthrow was received in War, or any Prodiges happened. They were kept by the *Decemviri*, or Ten men appointed to this Office, within a Vault under the *Capitol*, in a stone Chest, till they perished at the burning of the place. Those that the *Romans* used afterwards were copied out of such as belonged to other Cities, and private persons, wherein were some supposititious things, which they distinguished by the difference of the *Acrosticks*.

43. The Woman that brought those Books to *Tarquin* having the name of *Sibylla*, and there being many found to whom it hath been given besides, something is to be said of those Women, for distinction. The first *Sibylla*, or Woman-Prophetess, (to which the * Counsell of *Jupiter* was communicated, as the word importeth) was a *Persian*, according to (a) *Varro*, or else a *Chaldean*, or an *Hebrewess*, born at *Noe*, a City near the Red-Sea: her name was *Sambeba*, her father called *Borossus* and her mother *Erymantha*. The second was a *Libyan*. *Themis* of *Delphos* was the third. The fourth was called *Cumea*, because she was born at *Cimerium*, a Town of *Campania* in *Italy*, near to *Cuma*. The fifth of *Erythrae*, a City of *Ionis* in *Asia*, at this day called *Cabo Bianco*. The sixth was of the island *Samos*, her name being *Phyto*. The seventh of *Cuma*, and called *Cumana*, her proper name being *Amalthea*, according to some; but *Herophile* and *Demophila* according to others. *Suida* calleth her *Hiereophile*, and saith she brought nine Books to *Tarquinus Priscus*, and demanded for them 200 Philipppines, being Gold Coyne of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. *Pliny*, contrary to the common account of Writers, mentioneth three books, not nine, and writeth that she burnt two of them. But the eighth was called *Hellesponticae*, being born in the *Trojan* Country upon the *Hellespont*, in a Village named *Marmissus* near to *Gergetium*, which *Heracles* of *Pontus* affirmed to have flourished in the days of *Solon* and *Cyrus*. The ninth was a *Phrygian*, and prophesied at *Ancyra*. The tenth was of *Tybur*, by name *Albanica*, being worshipped for a Goddess at that place, near the Banks of the River *Aniene*, wherein her Image is said to have been found holding a Book in one hand. These ten are reckoned by *Varro*. There were several others also. (b) *Strabo* maketh the two to have lived at *Erythrae*, whereof the latter flourished in the time of *Alexander*. There was another of *Colophon*, a City of *Ionis*. *Elissa*, and *Cassandra* the Daughter of *Priamus*, were accounted *Sibylls*. There were also a *Thessalian*, *Manto* the Daughter of *Tiresias* the *Theban*, and another of *Epirus*. Moreover, *Carmenitis* the *Arcadian*, the Mother of *Evander* and *Fauna*, or *Fauna*, the Sister and Wife of *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigenes* in *Italy*, might be reckoned in the number.

The siege of Ardea.

44. In the work of the *Capitol* *Tarquin* employed the people, and in other bawf works, wherewith he even tired them out; so that to appease them, and especially to recruit his own Coffers, he made War against the *Rutuli*, and besieged the rich City *Ardea*, five German miles, toward the East, distant from *Rome*. The Quarrel he pretended to be, for that they received the *Roman* Exiles, and endeavoured to restore them; but the true cause was his thirst after the Riches of this most flourishing place, once the Metropolis of the *Rutuli*. While he lay before this Town, taking great pains to gain it, and the other as eagerly resisting, (yet so as he seemed to have hope to carry it) an act of his eldest Son *Sextus* occasioned both the freedom of the one and other City. *Dionysius* writeth, that he was sent to *Collatia* about some business concerning the War, and going to the house

* Vide Boiss.
(a) Vide Lactant.
Videm in Aug.
Sine de Civitate
Dei, lib. 18.
cap. 23.

(b) Lib. 14.
p. 633.

SECT. 2. house of *Tarquinius Collatinus* his Kinsman, (Grand-son to *Egerius* the Nephew of *Priscus*) he ravished his Wife *Lucretia*, the Daughter of *Lucretius* a Noble Roman. *Livy* and *Aurelius Victor* relate, that the Courtiers drinking together in the Camp before *Ardea*, and with them *Tarquinius Collatinus* the Son of *Egerius*, they fell severally on praising each one his own Wife inasmuch as proceeding to an earnest dispute, *Collatinus* said there needed not many words, for that they might see within a few hours how far his *Lucretia* excelled them all; and he desired them to ride to the several places, and judge according as they should find. Being well heated with wine they agreed to this motion, and away they rode. They found not *Lucretia* junketing, and idly spending her time as the King's Daughters-in-law, but late at night hard at work amongst her Maids; so that by consent of all the far excelled the rest, and *Collatinus* nobly entertaining his Guests returned with them to the siege.

45. Now was *Sextus Tarquinius* inflamed with a lustful desire after *Lucretia*, because of her Beauty, and, as it happeneth towards difficult or forbidden things, the more because of her eminent Chastity. Within few days, without the knowledge of her Husband, accompanied onely with one servant, he returned to *Collatia*, where being kindly entertained by her, he was brought to his Bed-chamber: but when he thought all asleep, having observed where the lay, with a naked Dagger he went to her, and laying his hand on her breast, threatened her with death if she offered to stir. He mixed threats with fair words, but yet could not prevail, till he told her he would first kill her, and then his Slave, whom laying by her side, he would report it was for having surprized her in Adultery with him; whereby obtaining his prey, in the morning he departed. When he was gone, the sent for her Father from *Rome*, and her Husband from the Camp, (or say some, went her self to the City) desiring they would call together some friends, for that a matter of great importance had befallen her. With *Lucretius* came *Publius Valerius*, and with *Collatinus*, *Junius Brutus*; who finding her in her Chamber in a sad and afflicted condition, told them the whole matter, refused to admit any comfort, and intreating them to revenge her cause upon the Author of her sorrow, stabbed her self to the heart before them, with a knife she had kept close about her for that purpose.

Lucretia killeth
her self.

Junius Brutus.

46. *Lucius Junius*, surnamed *Brutus*, was the Son of *Marcus Junius*, who being defended from one of the Companions of *Reneas*, and, for his Vertue, very eminent amongst the Romans, married *Tarquinia* the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priscus*, of which he begat this *Lucius*. This *Lucius* was nobly educated, instructed in all disciplines of the City, and of a pregnant wit. But after that *Tarquin* had privily murdered his Father, (not for any offence, but to possess his great estate, as he did several others) and with him his eldest Brother, who seemed to bear such a mind as would revenge the injury, he being young, and destitute of any assistance from his kindred, counterfeited himself a fool, which he acted all along, and thence had the surname of *Brutus*; this being the sole remedy against the cruelty of the Tyrant, who thinking his folly not feigned but real, despised the man, and having spoiled him of his Patrimony, kept him as an Idiot in his house, and suffered him to converse with his Children, not out of respect as a Kinsman, but to make them sport by his ridiculous words and actions, as true Idiots are wont to doe. On a time a great Pestilence having seized on the City, he sent him to *Dolphor* with his two Sons *Sextus* and *Titus*, to consult the Oracle. They were glad they had him to make them merry, and laughed at him for offering to *Apollo* a wooden staff, wherein yet he had secretly put some Gold, having made it hollow for that purpose. Having privately enquired which of them should be Prince of *Rome*, it was answered, he who first of all should kiss his Mother; which the young men misunderstanding, agreed betwixt themselves, that at their return they would doe it, and so reign, joyntly together. But *Brutus*, as soon as they arrived in *Italy*, knowing the meaning of the Oracle, fell and kissed the Earth which is Mother of all. When, under the Vizard of a Fool, he waited for an opportunity to revenge himself and Family upon *Tarquin*, this disaster of *Lucretia* at length presented it self.

47. Being sent for beforehand, or coming in with *Collatinus* his Kinsman after the death of *Lucretia*, as *Dionysius* writeth, while her Husband and Friends were lamenting over the dead body, he told them it was not time now to weep, but to study how to revenge the injury. He acquainted them with the cause of his assuming the name and behaviour of an Idiot, and manifesting himself to be a most cunning man, desired they might unanimously joyn for the Expulsion of *Tarquin*.

He urges the
banishment of
Tarquin.

nius and his Friends from the City, speaking many things efficacious to persuade them to it. Finding every one very ready, he said there was no need of words and promises, but real deeds, if they meant to perform any thing, and that he first would begin. Then went he to the dead body, and taking the bloody knife in his hand, swore by *Mars* and the rest of their Gods, to cast out *Tarquinius Superbus* with his wicked Wife and Progeny, to prosecute them or their Friends with fire and sword, or any other way, and never after that to suffer the *Tarquins*, or any other to reign in *Rome*. He made them all successively take the same Oath; then for the way how to bring the matter about, said, the Gates of the City should be safely kept, that the King might not hear the least word, till he who was Prince of the Sacrificers, should, as he might by his place, assemble the people, to which the dead Body being exhibited, and *Lucretius* with *Collatinus* deploring their condition, they might procure the Banishment of *Tarquin* by a publick Decree, that should be presently dispatched to the Army for its concurrence.

48. But before *Tarquinius* should be removed, they thought it Wisdom to consider what Magistracy was fit to succeed his; left they should pull down the present dwelling before another house was prepared. Some were for Monarchy, as indeed the best of Governments; others for Aristocracy, or the Rule of the Senate; and others would have the whole Power put into the hands of the People: each party bringing examples of good Government in the several kinds. *Brutus* said the time was short, and these matters required mature deliberation, which neither at length could produce such a form as would be void of all inconveniences. He said, he hoped that after the expulsion of the Tyrants, they should have leisure to consider how they might best reform the Commonwealth, if any better way could be found out than what *Romulus*, *Pomilius*, and the other Kings had chalked out to them, wherein proceeding, till *Tarquin* forsook the path, the City had been happy and famous, both for its Acts abroad, and Constitutions at home. This he could not deny: yet however, he thought those inconveniences, as he called them, had procured the Kingly power to degenerate into Tyranny; and therefore were at present to be abolished, and to be taken heed of for the time to come. As first, because some men made a great matter of very Names, he thought that of a Kingdom was to be left off, and the other of Commonwealth to be assumed; and that for the Title of King and Monarch, some more modest and popular was to be invented. Then the Regal power he judged not safely to be intrusted with a single person; but that two were to be chosen, who should Govern with equal command and authority, and so be a counter-poize each to other. Of all royal Emblems or Ornaments, such as procured the envy and grudge of the People were to be laid aside, viz. Scepters, golden Crowns, and purple Robes of Cloth of gold, except upon Festival days, and in triumphal Pomps; which rare use of them would not be at all spoken against: but as for the Ivory Chair in which they sat in Judgment, with the white Robe edged with Purple, called *Prætexta*, and the twelve Lictors or Sergeants, bearing Rods and Axes, they were to be continued. He added, that the main thing to keep these Magistrates in order, was, to prevent their perpetual Power, which would keep them from giving account of their Actions: therefore he thought fit their Magistracy, after the manner of Athens, should be but Annual; that so each one might learn as well to be subject as to govern, and this would preserve the mind from being drunk with too much liberty. Lastly, that the name of King might not utterly perish, (whence may be concluded, that his judgement was not against the Office, though his passion was) he would have the title given to one who should be called *Rex Sacrorum*, and having this honour for his life, with immunity from warfare, should meddle with nothing else but these superstitious Rites, of which the Kings had charge before.

49. Having first got a Decree of the Senate for the King's Banishment, according to the custom of publick proceeding, the Comitia were assembled by *Brutus*, and the Body of *Lucretia* brought in her goro into the meeting-place, where it was set for a spectacle to all. *Brutus* then discovered himself, told them why he had seemed what he now appeared never to have been; and then declared the occasion of their meeting to be, that the Patritians might have their assent for banishing *Tarquin*, who, having obtained the Principality illegally, had abused it more than any Tyrant that was ever heard of. He illustrated his assertion by a relation of his Crimes: as of his poisoning his own Brother before he was King, together with his lawfull Wife, and marrying the other Sister that was partaker with him in his wickedness; his killing *Servius Tullius*, and strangling his Wife whom he ought to have respected as Parents; then his invading the Government, without Decree

SECT. 2.

Dionysius.

The people decree *Tarquinius* his Banishment.

He is driven into exile.

A. M. 3496.
V. C. 245.
Olymp. 67. an. 4.
Davii 12.

AN

2. In the second year of the *Persian* Empire, and the second moneth, when all things were in a readineſs, according to Commiſſion given by the King (who defrayed the charge out of his own Revenue, and reſtored the Golden Veſſels carried away by *Nebuchadneſar*) the *Levites* were ſet over the work of the

ETA. I. II.

Amique, l. 11.
c. 1.

Sect. i.

The second Temple built at Jerusalem.

Lords house, and *Zorubbabel* laid the foundation of the second Temple, to the joy of the younger sort born in Captivity, but with the lamentation of the elder, who had seen the glory of the former house. When the *Chuthites* (whom *Ezrahaddon* planted in *Samaris*) heard of their progress in the work, they first fraudulently offered their assistance, pretending the same religion, and being rejected, so corrupted the Courtiers (who either kept the thing from God, or he was then busied in his Wars, as *Josephus* writeth) that the building was hindered for several years, until the second of *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*. For this the Prophet *Daniel* (who was yet alive, and nigh 90 years old, as having been carried into Captivity 73 years before) mourned, and fasted three weeks, and had the great, and last Vision concerning the future Kings of *Persia*, of *Alexander* the Great, and his Successors in *Misra* and *Egypt*, until the time of the *Hajmonians*, of *Maccabees*. But whether he lived past the third year of *Cyrus* or no is uncertain.

The end of Cyrus variously reported.

3. Concerning the end of *Cyrus* many and several things are written. According to *Herodotus*, *Trogus* and others he invaded the *Maffages*, and perished in their Country. The Queen of this *Scythian* people named *Tomyris* he first made a pretence to sue to for marriage, but the being aware of this design to entrap her forbad him entrance; whereupon betaking himself from wiles to force he laid a Bridge over the River *Araxes*, and provided for the passing of his Army over. Whilst he thus employed himself, she was so hardy as to send him a message, offering him either to invade her Country, or else to permit her a passage into his. Amazed at it, he referred the matter to his Council what should be done therein, where some advised him to suffer her to pass the River, but *Cresus* stiffly opposed it, shewing the danger in case he were overthrown but in one battle, and advised him after he had set over his men, and discovered the Enemy, to leave the weakest sort amongst his Army there in the Camp plentifully provided of strong Wines, with which liquor being utterly unacquainted, they would make themselves drunk, and so might be easily destroyed. This advice succeeded accordingly, and amongst the rest *Sargapiles* the Queen's Son was taken prisoner, who as soon as he came to himself desired to be loosed, and put an end to his life with his own hands, out of a deep sense of his condition. His Mother knowing nothing of his death, with threatening language required *Cyrus* to dismiss him, and when the law he returned not, gathered together all her forces, wherewith counterfeiting flight he trained the King into streights, and by an ambush laid in the Mountains, cut him off with his whole Army to the number of 200000 men. His head the cast into a Basin of Blood, upbraiding him with cruelty in these words: *Satisfie thy self with blood after which thou hast thirsted.* To this story *Diodo-*

4. But *Cresus* wrote that the last War he made was against the *Derbices*, a people also of *Synthia*, whom though he overcame, yet he received a wound in fight, of which he dyed three days after. *Xenophon* saith he died aged, and in peace, and how finding himself almost spent, he called to him his friends, and with his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, whom (after a long Oration, wherein he discoursed much concerning the immortality of the Soul, and the punishment and reward which is due to things committed in this life) he exhorted by the strongest arguments to perpetual concord and love. If so, he acted like one that had received the knowledge of the true God, which he had opportunity also to know from *Daniel* and others, being by them instructed in the Scriptures. Some think that the variety of these reports proceeded from the study of the *Persians* to conceal the shame of his being overthrown by the policy of a woman. Others observe, that had he lost his whole Army in *Synthia*, it is scarce probable that his Son would have transported all his remaining Forces into *Egypt* so soon, and hereby leave that side of his Kingdom destitute and naked, when the *Scythian* Nation bordering upon *Media* was so victorious: not to add that *Cambyses* would not have been able to undertake, and perform such a Conquest in so little a space. Considerable certainly is that which the Writers of *Alexander's* Acts have committed to memory, as *Curtius*, *Plutarch*, *Arianus*, and even *Aristobolus* (who by command of the King was an eye witness of it) as he is cited by *Strabo*: That he was buried in his own City *Pasargardis* in *Persia*, where his Epitaph was plain to be read, in which after telling the Traveller who he was, he desired him not to grudge him that Earth wherewith his Body was covered. The Tomb was opened by *Alexander*, either

Lit. 15. p. 750.

Vide Plutarch in Alexander.

Sect. i.

ther out of hope to find some Treasure, or (what was pretended) out of desire to honour his dead body with some Ceremonies, and in it were found an old Target, two *Scythian* Bows and a Sword. The Coffin wherein he lay *Alexander* caused to be covered with his own Robe, and a Crown of Gold to be set thereon. These things something weaken the credit of that opinion which *Herodotus* relateth as the most probable of those that were held in his time. But less credit is to be given to that * which will have him slain in a Sea-fight against the inhabitants of *Samus*; and *another that lengtheneth his life to 100 years, whereas he scarce passed 70. *Herodotus* giveth to his reign 29 years; but most agree that he reigned 30. which must be counted from his first obtaining the Kingdom of *Media*.

* Mela: Lucian in Macrobii.

5. What time passed from the Conquest of *Babylon*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, unto his death, is controverted amongst learned Writers. Some reckon ten years, or thereabouts, and others but three, of which number was once *Joseph Scaliger*, who afterwards retracted it as an error; but *Ludovicus Capellus* hath renewed the assertion, making it probable by arguments drawn from Scripture, who therefore is to be consulted in his sacred * *Chronology*. *Cyrus* had issue two Sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, or *Tanaoxares*, with three daughters, *Aossa*, *Meroe*, and *Arystona*, to which *Cresus* addeth *Amytis*. *Aossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* afterwards married; and *Darius Hystaspis* obtained *Arystona*, as also *Aossa* after the death of *Cambyses*. Of the two sons, to *Cambyses* he left his Kingdom, and to *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* assigned the Government of *Media*, *Armenia*, and the *Cadusians*, according to *Xenophon*.

His issue.

* In notis ad Tab. 13.

Cambyses makes War upon Egypt.

6. *Cambyses* presently after he came to the Government, made all possible provision for a war with *Egypt*, the cause whereof is to be enquired after. *Herodotus* telleth a story how he sent to *Amasis* King of that Country to desire his daughter *Nitetis* in marriage, which he not daring to deny because of the then formidable Power of the *Persians*, and not willing to gratify him absolutely, for that he conceived his daughter would be entertained but as a Concubine, he found out a way as he thought to satisfy *Cambyses*, and yet keep his daughter. There was one of *Apries* his predecessor's daughters yet unmarried, her he sent to him under the name of his own, who when he had sufficiently ingratiated her self with *Cambyses*, told him how indeed she was nothing a kin to *Amasis*, but begotten by his Lord and Master; whereat the *Persian* conceived such indignation, that, to be revenged on him, he invaded *Egypt*. But that which moved *Cambyses* to send for this woman, seemeth something strange. He had formerly desired from *Amasis* a Physician for the Eyes; the best that could be procured in *Egypt*, wherewith he gratifying him, the man took it for ill of *Amasis* to be sent out of his native Country, that in way of revenge, he moved the matter to *Cambyses*, concluding with himself, that the King of *Egypt* would not send his own daughter: This was the saying of the *Persians*; which *Herodotus* rather approveth than what the *Egyptians* alledged, that *Cambyses* was son to *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries*, and that the *Persians* ascribed that to the Son which belonged to the Father, because they would have *Cambyses* born of *Cassandane* the daughter of *Pharnaspes*, of the noble race of *Achamenes*; and yet he confesseth there was a report, that besides *Cassandane*, *Cyrus* kept *Nitetis* as his Concubine, whom he most affected, and that to revenge his Mother upon her, *Cambyses* when but young threatened, and after his Father's death made War upon *Egypt*. However things might go in reference to the daughter of *Apries*, *Cambyses* seemeth to have invaded that Kingdom, upon pretence of the right he had to it as Heir by conquest to *Nebuchadnezer*, who subdued it, though it revolted from his Successors, which might be concealed from *Herodotus* by the Priests, who spared not to invent lyes for a cover to the disgrace of their Country.

Lit. 5. cap. 1.

A. M. 3475. Olymp. c. 2. an. 4. P. 625. Cambys 1.

Vide Polytaen lib. 8.

7. While *Cambyses* was yet busie in his preparations, one *Phanes* an *Hylander*, *nallan* by birth, taking something in distaste from *Amasis*, whom he served, fled out of *Egypt* by ship, and coming into *Persia*, advised this King, that for his better passage of the sandy Desarts, he should send to the King of the *Arabians* for safe conduct, who being no good friend to the *Egyptians*, came and met him with Camels bearing abundance of water, which was necessary for the sustenance of the Army in that hot and dry place. Ere *Cambyses* could arrive in *Egypt*, *Amasis* had prevented captivity by a natural death; and *Phanemius* his Son having succeeded him, expected his coming at *Pelusium* one of the mouths of *Nile*. Here a Battle being fought, the *Egyptians* were overthrown

Fled through the sandy Desarts.

A 2

SECT. 1.
Conqueror
4677.

thrown and fled to *Memphis*, whither *Cambyfes* sent after them to yield up themselves to him; but they tare in pieces the Messengers, and then being besieged, stood out for some time; but at length the City was taken. *Plammenius* had his Son put to death before his eyes, to try his patience, though the Conqueror too late repented of it, and had given him his life with the Kingdom to govern, as a Province, had he not attempted new matters, for which he was forced to drink Bulls blood, and so died, having reigned six months after his Father.

His extra-
vagant practices.

8. This work done in *Aegypt*, *Cambyfes* betook himself to extravagant practices. The dead body of *Anafis* he caused to be brought forth, to be beaten, pinched, and then burnt, contrary to the practice as well of the *Persians* as *Aegyptians*, who abhorred such a thing, because the former accounted Fire a God, and the latter a ravenous beast, perishing with the thing devoured by it. Then resolved he to make a three-fold War: One upon the *Carthaginians*, another upon the *Ammonians*, or the Inhabitants of the place situate about the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and the third against the long-lived *Ethiopi*ans, who inhabited *Africk*, near to the Southern Sea. He resolved to send a Fleet against the *Carthaginians*, an Army of Foot against the *Ammonians*, and as for the *Ethiopi*ans, he would first send to discover their Country. While his Messengers were dispatching towards *Ethiopia*, he gave order to the *Phenicians* (who having yielded themselves, were his only strength at Sea) to fight against *Carthage*, which they flatly refused, because that City was a Colony of their own, and thereby this design was dashed. After the return of his messengers, who brought him word how he was fought by the *Ethiopi*an King, in great rage and haste he set forwards against him, without all thought of victualling his Army, commanding all his foot to follow, except the *Grecians*. When he was come to *Thebes*, he sent about 50000 men against the *Ammonians*, with command after they had spoiled them to burn the Temple; and so he marched on with the rest of the Army. But ere he had passed the fifth part of his journey, all provisions failed, and all the beasts that carried burthens were eaten up; yet did he not now recollect himself, but proceeded till they were constrained to eat up every tenth man, and then returned he with great loss and disgrace to *Memphis*, where he dismissed the *Greeks* from his service. The forces sent against the *Ammonians*, never reached thither, neither ever returned, being all overwhelmed, as was reported, in the Sandy Wilderness.

His fruitless
Expeditions.

9. *Cambyfes* at his return to *Memphis*, found the Citizens in great mirth and jollity, for that *Apis*, their god had appeared to them lately; which he interpreting as an expression of Joy for his bad success, wounded the beast in the thigh (thinking to strike him into the belly) of which he died. He derided much the *Aegyptians* for such deities; those that were found rejoicing, he commanded to be slain, and the Priests to be beaten with rods. For such impiety they accounted him stricken with that madness, which afterward appeared. For not long after, he sent his brother *Smerdis* back into *Persia*, having conceived great indignation against him, because he alone of all the *Persians*, could draw a Bow that was brought him by his messengers out of *Ethiopia*. After this he dreamed, that one came and told him how *Smerdis* sat on the Throne, and with his head reached to Heaven, whereupon, he sent *Prexaspes* his greatest confidant to make him away, who murdered him in a pretended hunting, or as some said, drowned him in the *Red Sea*. To this he added the murder of his own Sister, whom, without any example, he had married, because the upbraided him with their brother's death. Memorable is the answer of his Judges, who, when he demanded, whether there was not a Law among the *Persians*, that a man might marry his own Sister, answered, they found no such Law, but one there was, *viz. The King might do whatsoever he listed*. Then married he one Sister, and afterwards another, whereof the younger he killed being great with Child, as the *Aegyptians* reported, so that the miserable double.

He murdered
his brother
and sister.

10. To this rage and madness against his relations, he added fury towards those that were nearest about him. Asking *Prexaspes* the Minister of his paricide, what his people thought of him, and receiving this answer, that they thought him too much given to Wine, that it might be seen how sober he was to do mischief, he said it should be a demonstration, if he could shoot with an arrow the Son of *Prexaspes* right into the heart, which accordingly he did. The day after he buried quick twelve other *Persians* for no fault at all, and commanded

SECT. 1.

commanded *Cræsus* the *Lydian* to be slain for admonishing him gravely concerning such enormities, having dispatched him himself with an Arrow, if he had not taken him to his heels. His servants notwithstanding preferred *Cræsus* alive, expecting a reward if he should afterwards repent of his death. And he really rejoiced in his preservation, when he returned to himself; but put them to death for their disobedience. Many more such like things he did whilst he remained at *Memphis*, and raged against the Images and Temples of the *Aegyptians*.

The Magi
usurp.

11. But whilst he thus spent his time, two of the *Magi*, *Medians* by birth, conspired against him. One of them he had left Overseer of his household affairs, named *Patizithes*, who having certain knowledge of the death of *Smerdis*, though it was kept very secret, took occasion thereat to rebel, because most of the *Persians* thought this Prince yet living. For, having with him in the Kings house a brother as like him in the lineaments and proportion of body as in name, him he placed in the Throne, and sent up and down through the Empire, to persuade every one rather to obey *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* than *Cambyfes*. One of these messengers coming down to the Army towards *Aegypt*, found it at *Ecbatane* in *Syria*, where standing in the midst, he proclaimed what was enjoined, *Cambyfes* being much startled, blamed *Prexaspes* for having neglected to execute his commands; but he protesting his obedience therein, and that he had buried his Brother with his own hands, the messenger was perfused and fetched back, out of whom *Prexaspes* getting out that he had not himself seen *Smerdis*, but *Patizithes* had given him instructions as from him, easily conjectured what was at the bottom, and therewith acquainted the King. Then too late did *Cambyfes* bewail his Brother, and resolving with all speed to march for *Susa*, as he mounted on horseback his Sword fell out of the Scabbard, and wounded him in the Thigh. Demanding the name of the place, he gave himself for lost, for that it had been told him he should die in *Ecbatane*, which he had ever interpreted of the place in *Media* so called, where he hoped it would be in his old age. Twenty days after, he revealed the whole matter concerning his brother to the Nobility about him, conjuring them not to suffer the Empire to return to the *Medes*, but rather recover it the same way it had been betrayed. Not long after his thigh-bone being putrified, he died, when he had reigned seven years and five months. He left no issue, and so the direct line of *Cyrus* in him received it's period.

Cambyfes dieth.

SECT. II.

From the death of Cambyfes to that of Xerxes.

1. *Smerdis* the Magician (called also *Mardus*, *Sphendadates*, and *Oropastes*) reigned those seven months which were wanting to compleat the eight year of *Cambyfes*, whom the *Persians* believed not as to his brothers death, but thought that indeed he was alive and reigned, because *Prexaspes* feared to confess that he killed him. In this time he, or rather his brother, wonderfully pleased all men, except the *Persians*, remitting to other Nations their Tributes, and excusing them from War for three years. But in the eight month he was discovered by the means of *Otanes*, a man of highest rank in *Persia*, who suspected him for a counterfeit, because he never would appear in publick, nor admit any of the Nobility into his presence. He having a Daughter then at Court, which had been Concubine to *Cambyfes*, and now was in the same quality to him that reigned, as all the rest of his wives, to her he sent to know, whether it was indeed the Son of *Cyrus* with whom the lay. She having had no acquaintance with that Prince, could give him no answer, and neither could the come near *Stossa*, who being Sister to *Smerdis* might easily know him, for that the

Legs third, 1.3.
cap. 67, &c.

A. M. 3483;
Ol. 64. an. 3.
P. C. 232.

The imposture
of the Magi
discovered.

Sect. 2.

the *Magician* to prevent intelligence, kept them severed one from another: This increasing the suspicion, *Otanes* sent to her again, charging her as he lay asleep to know whether he had any ears; for *Cyrus* had upon some account cut off the ears of *Smerdis* the *Magician*. She obeyed her Father when it came to her course, notwithstanding the danger, and the day following confirmed him fully in what he had suspected.

A conspiracy against them.

2. *Otanes* presently discovered the matter to *Apathines* and *Gobryas*, two men of prime rank also among the *Persians*, who easily giving him credit, as having suspected the same thing themselves, agreed to take three more, each of them one, into Council about it. *Otanes* brought *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas*, *Chus*, *Megabyzus*, *Apathines* took *Hydarnes*, and *Darius* being then arrived at *Susa* from *Persia*, which his Father *Hystaspes* governed, they also thought fit to add him to their number. *Darius* when admitted, signified, that he had been assured of the cheat, how he was come to Town upon no other account than to kill the impostor, and urged them to join with him and attempt it speedily. *Otanes* was much against such hasty proceedings, desiring further to consult about it, but *Darius* alleging the danger of delay, for which cause, if they would not attempt something that very day, he would go and discover rather than be discovered, at length they agreed.

3. But while they were thus debating the matter, the *Magi* knowing that *Prexaspes* had made away *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and considering how nearly it concerned them to make him their own, had sent for him, and by vast promises endeavoured to purchase his secrecy in that private affair. He seemed to comply, and desired that the *Persians* might be called together under the wall, that he might persuade them, that he who now reigned was the true *Smerdis*. But after he had mounted the Turret, he began to reckon up the Pedigree of *Cyrus* from *Achamenes*, related his kindness and good turns done to the *Persians*, and then telling the whole matter concerning *Smerdis* whom he had murdered, after he had laid many curses upon them, except they recovered the Empire, and revenged themselves upon the *Magi*, he threw himself down headlong and died. The seven Conspirators utterly ignorant of this, arrived at the Court, at such time as the *Magi* were consulting concerning what had happened, where the Porters easily admitted them, because of their dignity, nothing being suspected of them. But coming into the house, they were stopped by such Eunuchs as there waited, whereupon they forced their passage with their Swords, and were encountered by both the *Magi*, who having taken the Alarm, and perceived the matter, betook themselves to their weapons. One of them wounded *Apathines* in the Thigh, and put out the eye of *Intaphernes*: the other retired into another room, whither he was pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, *Gobryas* grappling with him, *Darius* stood idle for fear of wounding his friend; but *Gobryas* bidding him strike though it were throw his sides, he did it at adventure, and flew the *Magician*. Both of them being slain, they cut off their heads, and carrying them out, acquainted the *Persians* with what they had done. Then fell they upon such *Magicians* as they could meet, which the *Persians* taking as an example, did the like, so that if night had not intervened, all that sort of men had perished, and this day was observed annually as a great Festival, in which none of the *Magicians* stirred abroad. This was the end of the usurpation, wherein seven *Magi* are said by some to have been partakers; but if so, those two brothers are to be accounted the chief, one of them counterfeiting the right Heir.

The *Magi* slain.

The Conspirators consult about a settlement.

Circulations.

4. This tumult being over in five days time, the seven Conspirators fell into consultation about a settlement. *Otanes* spoke for the taking away of Monarchy, which he urged, from the example of *Cambyses* and the *Magician*, was apt to degenerate into Tyranny, and would have had the Government renitted to the people in a Democratical way; *Megabyzus* was for *Oligarchie*; but *Darius* of all the three sorts preferred Monarchy, as that into which at length the other would pass, through seditions and the ambition of such particular men as should be able to advance themselves above their Neighbours. The other four subscribed to his opinion as best, which therefore being agreed on by the major part, several capitulations were made in order to the election. *Otanes* desired that both himself and family might be exempted from the regal jurisdiction, which was granted, and all possible honour further decreed to him for his pains taken in the discovery. It was agreed amongst the other six, that it should be lawful for them at any time to come into the Palace, except the King were with his wife, and the King was prohibited to

Ptol. Max. lib. 9. cap. 2. Aristot. l. 3. 5.

Herd. l. 3. c. 85.

Sect. 2.

to take a wife any where but out of their Families. As for the election, it was resolved, that all the next morning by Sun-rise riding into the Suburbs, he whose Horse first neighed, should obtain the Empire of *Cambyses*.

Darius obtains the Kingdom.

5. *Darius* obtained it through the winning of *Ochares* his Groom, who having knowledge from his Master of the business, the night before the controversy was to be decided, put his Horse to Mare in the place, whither they were to ride. The Horse the next morning remembering his mate neighed, for which, as coming by accident, the other five adored *Darius* as King. Having thus obtained the Kingdom, though he had children already by a daughter of *Gobryas*, yet the more to strengthen his title, he married the two daughters of *Cyrus* which remained; *Aioffe* the wife of her brother *Cambyses*, and of the *Magician*, and *Artystona* yet a Virgin: he also took *Parinys* daughter to *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and *Phedaina* the daughter of *Otanes*. This he did, being also himself of regal extraction, both allied to ancient and modern Kings. He was issued from *Achamenes*; *Cyrus* and his Father *Hystaspes* being brother's sons, the one to *Cambyses*, and the other to *Artamenes*, as some have reported. This translation of the Kingdom is said to have been first revealed to *Cyrus*, at such time as having passed the river *Araxes*, he was marching against the *Massagetes*; For he dreamed that he saw the eldest Son of *Hystaspes* (which was this; for he had three younger sons, *Artabanus*, *Ararnes*, and *Artaphernes*), having wings on his shoulders wherewith he overshadowed *Asia* and *Europe*. At that time he was about twenty years old, and Armour-bearer to *Cyrus* (according to * *Ælian*) who sent him back into *Persia*, and as some said, caused him to be imprisoned. After his death he was delivered out of Prison, and made governor of the *Persian Magi*, accompanied *Cambyses* into *Aegypt*, and when he had discovered the imposture of the *Magi*, joined with the other Princes against them, and then either by the neighing of his Horse, or by strong hand, as some have thought, obtained the Empire.

Herd. l. 3. c. 85; Ptol. Max. l. 7. c. 3; Ext. Examp. 2.

Ptol. Max. l. 7. c. 3; Ext. Examp. 2.

Sulp. Severus: l. 1. c. 1.

Herd. l. 1.

* Ptol. l. 12. c. 43.

6. Though thus *Darius* obtained the Sovereignty; yet it seemeth to some, to have been as a perpetual Dictatorship, who think it probable, that the other six had also by turns the exercise of Tributinal jurisdiction, together with him. First, because *Aeschylus* who fought against the Forces of *Darius* at *Marathon*, nameth two kings, viz. *Maraphis* and *Artaphernes*, betwixt the slaughter of the *Magi* and Empire of *Darius*, who seem no other than *Mardonius* and *Artaphernes*, reckoned by *Ctesias* amongst the seven. Then in the holy Scripture, together with the edict of *Darius* in the second year of his reign, the assent of *Artababna* King of *Persia* is joyned, which may well enough be taken for the said *Artaphernes*; though others do otherwise expound the place. And, to add something not altogether so material, the other Conspirators foreseeing how burthenom they should be to *Darius* (which in what other way could it be than this?) bound him with an * Oath most sacred amongst the *Persians*, that neither with Payfon, Sword, any other violence, nor by famine should he kill any of them; though it proved no so sacred as to be inviolable.

Vide diffinitionem in Arist. Polit. l. 1. c. 4. 157.

Ella 6. 12.

* Ptol. Max. l. 9. cap. 2. extra. exempl. 6.

The building of the Temple proceeded.

7. In the second year of *Darius* the building of the Temple which had been interrupted, began again and proceeded. The *Samaritans* bribed the Courtiers in the time of *Cyrus*, to hinder the work, and *Cambyses* having been formerly no friend to it, when he came to reign stopped it by express command, through the calumny of such as bore the Jews no good will. The *Magician* also forbade it upon the same account, it being clear from Scripture, that two several Princes named *Achabuerus* and *Artaxerxes* withstood it; and that betwixt the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. But when the adversaries now betook themselves to *Darius*, expecting from him a countermand to the Jews (who being reproved for their remissions by the Prophet *Haggai*, were fallen again to build upon the foundation formerly laid) he instead of any such inhibition, sent them an express command, not only not to hinder, but at his own cost to further the Structure, allowing also to the Priests expenses for the daily Sacrifices. The Jews therefore encouraged by this new Edict, and confirmed by the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Zacharias*, proceeded prosperously in the building.

Ella 6.

8. In the same year had the Prophet *Zacharias* a Vision, in which the Angel interceding for *Jerusalem*, and the Cities of *Judah*, mentioneth the Lord's having had indignation threecore and ten years. The rise or beginning of these years *Ludovicus Cappellus* fetcheth from the destruction of the Temple. For from the first Edict of *Cyrus*, and the end of the Captivity, to this time, passed about eleven years (*Cyrus* according to his account, reigning but three after the taking of *Babylon*,

Sect. 2.

lon, Cambyfes together with the *Magician* eight, and *Darius* one; from which must be deducted so much as the removal of the Jews would require) even so many as passed from the beginning of the Captivity to the defolation of the Temple, and so the Temple lay desolate full Seventy years. Hence is observable, that as the State and Policy of the *Fenish* Commonwealth was broken, and much impaired eleven years before the destruction of the Temple, so was it renewed at the end of the Captivity so many years before the re-edifying of it, which hitherto had been attempted without success, but now renewed, was happily finished in the sixth year of *Darius*, as to the house itself, though three years more seem to have been taken up in the building the porches and other appendices to it. And as the greatest part of the holy Vessels were carried away in the Captivity of *Fechoniah*, eleven years before the destruction of the Temple, so were they sent back again so many years before the restoration of it. Lastly, this also is observed, that as from the destruction of this typical Temple to the rebuilding of it, passed Seventy years, so from the Conception of Christ the true and spiritual Temple; to the final defolation of the shadow or typical one at *Jerusalem*, so many years passed, precisely Seventy.

The Empire divided into twenty Provinces,

Intemperance put to death

All the Conspirators made away.

Babylon rebelled,

And recovered.

9. *Darius* after his settlement in the Kingdom, divided it into twenty Provinces (which the *Persians* called *Satrapies*) over each of which he constituted a President, withal appointing what tribute each Nation should pay. For, hitherto, under the two former Kings, nothing was appointed concerning tribute, the several people contributing money by way of benevolence, whereupon, because of this new imposition, they stiled *Darius* an *Huckster*, *Cambyfes* a Lord, and *Cyrus* a Father. *Cyrus* was mild, and used them as children, striving to deserve well of them; *Cambyfes* was sharp and morose, and *Darius* by all ways possible purveyed for money. The next thing memorable concerning *Darius*, is, his putting to death *Intaphernes*, one of the Conspirators, for abusing the Porters, and violent intruding into the Palace, contrary to the Capitulations agreed on amongst them. Having an intention to go to the King, they that kept the gate stopped him, saying that he was with his wife, which he thinking to be a lie, drew his Sword, and cutting off their ears and noses, then tyed the reigns of an horse's bridle to their necks and let them go. They presenting themselves in this case to the King, he first suspected some treasonable design of all the six, but finding that the rest knew nothing of the matter, he put *Intaphernes* to death, with all his sons except the eldest, whom he granted to the intreaties of his Mother. But not only him, but all the rest also who were burthenfom to him, another teller that he made away by a new kind of death. He caused many aches to be laid betwixt some walls, over which laying a rafter, thereupon he feasted them very nobly; but being fast asleep the floor fell, and they therewith into the ashes, where they perished. If he destroyed them in this strange manner, probable it is, that he desired to be rid of them, because of some power to which they might pretend by virtue of a previous agreement, not enduring any incommbrance or restraint upon his prerogative; for that Sovereignty is impatient of any competition in the Throne.

10. About the tenth year of his reign the City of *Babylon* rebelled against him, having of late recovered that greatness of mind which sometimes possessed it's Inhabitants. *Cyrus* demolished not their walls, but left them intire with the gates standing, which putting them in a posture of defence, they took courage at the forein Wars of *Cambyfes*, and the firs that happened about the *Magi*. He gathered his forces together, with all speed, and laid siege to it; but they being resolved to stand out to the utmost, chose every one a woman to make ready their meat, and to save provisions, killed all the rest of that Sex except their Mothers. Then, as if they had made themselves impregnable, they derided the *Persians*, saying, they should be overcome when a Mule foaled: And above nineteen months they held out, notwithstanding all their attempts and devices. At length in the 10th, *Zopyrus* Son to *Megabyzus*, one of the chief Commanders in *Darius* his Army, being incouraged by his Mule that foaled, mangled his face, cutting off his ears and nose, and in gore Blood counterfeited a flight to the besieged, as thus abused by the King. The *Babylonians* believed, and according to his expectation chose him for their General, after which, he made several sallies, and the besiegers according to the former agreement fled; but within a while he betrayed the City to *Darius*. He demolished the walls, and nailing 3000 of the principal actors unto crosses, pardoned the rest, for whom 5000 women were fought out, by whom they might repair their decayed stock. *Zopyrus* was rewarded, as with other

Herod. lib. 3. cap. 118, 119.

Vide Vd. Mart. lib. 9. cap. 1. extra. temp. 6.

Herod. at prima cap. 150.

Sect. 2.

other things in greatest account amongst the *Persians*, so with the City of *Babylon* for his life. The son of this *Zopyrus* was *Megabyzus*, who afterwards conducted the *Persian* Army against the *Athenians* and their companions; and son to this *Megabyzus* was that *Zopyrus*, who revolted from the *Persians* to the *Athenians*.

Deus goeth against the Scythians.

11. After the recovery of *Babylon*, *Darius* wanting neither men nor money, undertook an Expedition against the *Scythians*, to be revenged on them for holding the (a) dominion of *Asia* 28 years, at such time as pursuing the *Cimmerians* they (a) *Vide* l. 1. c. 2. overthrew and kept under the *Medes*, whom they found Lords of all in the days of their King *Cyaxares*. This (b) *Herodotus* maketh the pretended cause of the War, but (c) *Fustian* from *Trogus* relateth, that it was because *Lanthius* the *Scythian* King denied him his daughter in marriage. *Darius* caused a bridge to be laid over the *Bosphorus* into *Europe* half a mile long, and thereon passing his forces crossed the Sea himself by ship, and gave charge to the *Ionians* his Subjects (who together with the *Boians*, and others that lived upon the *Hellespont*, A. M. 3497. Olymp. 68. an. 1. to make up the *Navie*) to fail up the Sea as far as the River *Ister* (which parted *Scythia* from *Thrace*) over which he also enjoyed them to make a bridge. In his march through *Thrace* all submitted to him except the *Getes*, who out of ignorance withstood him. The *Ionians* prepared the bridge against his coming, whom, after he had transported his forces, he commanded there to expect him Sixty days, at the end of which if he came not, he permitted them to return into their own Country.

12. The *Scythians* had no constant dwelling or habitation, removing with their wagons, wherein they lay, and cattle, from place to place, according as they were furnished with grass, living upon milk and raw flesh, without Towns or corn, and taking their conduct from the Pole-Star, as the *Chrim* Tartars their posterity at this day also live, the great *Chrim* himself having no other City than an *Agora*, or one of Carts. Having intelligence of his coming, they sent their wives, children, and cattle towards the North; then stopped all the Wells, destroyed all Fruits of the Earth, and sometimes appearing to the *Persians*, again retired on purpose to deride them. *Darius* seeing himself thus mocked, and despairing to come at them by reason of their perfect knowledge of the Country, and his ignorance therein, fearing also his provisions might fail, and especially lest the *Ionians* should forsake him at the Bridge, now that the Sixty days were expired, he thought how he might make a safe retreat. The *Scythians* getting knowledge hereof, laboured to remove the *Ionians* from the Bridge, telling them how good it would be for them to return home in safety; for that now the time prefixed by the King was expired. They fell into consultation hereupon, and *Miltiades* Tyrant or petty Prince of the *Chersonesus* besought them, that, having this opportunity, they would not let it slip, but free themselves from the *Persian* Yoke. But *Histiatus* Tyrant of *Miletus* a City of *Ionis*, and others, who had enslaved their own Citizens at home, fearing, lest if the power of the *Persians*, by which they were maintained, were broken, they should be reduced into a private condition or worse; by their own Country-men, resolved, that nothing more concerned them, than that the greatness of that Empire might be established. Yet it was judged convenient to break the Bridge so far, as to be out of bow-shot from the *Scythian* side, therein to comply with that People, who perhaps else might force them to do it. Beginning therefore to break it, the *Scythians* believed their promise of performing the whole, and returned to hunt out the *Persians*. Expecting them to retreat that way, which was best for Provisions, they missed of them; for *Darius* returned the same he went, and with great difficulty recovered the banks of *Ister*. Here he arrived by night, and was much discouraged when he found the bridge broken; but upon the first shour *Histiatus* came with all his Vessels and made it up for the transportation of the Army.

His retreat.

Earth and Water demanded of Amyntas King of Macedonia.

13. *Darius* passing over his Army marched through *Thrace* unto *Sesius*, and thence failed over into *Asia*, leaving *Megabyzus* in *Europe* with an Army of 80000 men. *Megabyzus*, according to order, subdued the *Perinthians* and *Pæonians*, whom he translated into *Asia*; and having reduced to obedience all the Maritime Coast, sent into *Macedonia* to demand Earth and Water of *Amyntas* the King. These were Symbols of subjection, signifying an acknowledgment of fealty, and voluntary homage, the chief Sovereignty over all wherein propriety lay, being yielded up with these two Elements. *Darius* had formerly sent to demand them of the *Scythians*, and they in return sent him a Bird, Frog, Mouse, and five Arrows, leaving him to make the interpretation, which he framing according to his

Herod. l. 5. c. 1. c. 2.

Fustian. lib. 7.

SECT. 2.

own wish, thought that they had yielded all those Elements wherein those Creatures live, and their Weapons withall into his hands. But *Cubyras* construed the meaning to be this: *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, dive under the water, or creep into the holes of the Earth, for else our Arrows will overtake you*, which exposition was accordingly verified. *Amintas* doubting of his own strength, kindly entertained the Messengers, and granting what they came for, magnificently feasted them, in so much that being well heated with Wine they desired that women, according to the custom of *Persia*, might be brought in to them. He replied, that it was not the fashion of *Macedonia*; but yet he would gratifie them therein, which being done, they began to be uncivil towards the Women, whereat he inwardly fretted, but for fear suppressed his indignation. But his eldest Son *Alexander* being present, a young man of prompt boldness and little experience, desired him to quit the room, and let him alone to entertain the Guests; and though he suspected him for his courage, and disfavoured him from any rash attempt, yet did he withdrew accordingly. *Alexander* then told the *Persians* they might have liberty to enjoy those women, but for that it now grew late, he desired they would let them go out to walk, and make themselves ready, which done, they should come again. They assenting, he dressed so many bare-faced young men in women's Clothes, who, being brought in, when the *Persians* began to dally with them, according to his command stabbed them with Daggers hid under their Clothes for that purpose. *Megabyzus* hearing nothing of his Messengers, sent one *Bubares* a *Persian* down with an Army to make diligent search after them, but him *Alexander* easily took off by giving him his Sister *Gygae* in marriage, with whom he had fallen in love; so that he suffering the matter to rest in silence, no farther inquiry was made after it.

The *Persian* Ambassadors killed.

Hippias.

The occasion of the *Ionian* Rebellion.

14. The year following, being the 16th of his reign, *Darius* sent as success for to *Megabyzus*, *Oranes* the Son of *Sisammes*, who took in the Cities *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and *Antander*, with the Islands *Lemnos*, and *Imbros*. He himself was now returned to *Susa*, whither he carried along with him *Hippias*, who stood so much his Friend at the Bridge of *Ister*. *Hippias* having begun to build a City of his own in *Thrace*, *Darius* out of colour of doing him honour, and using his advice in his most important affairs, drew him away from it, knowing his great abilities, and fearing his restless Spirit. There he continued for some years, till not being able to hear so much talk of Empire, and Rule, wherein he himself had no share, he much preferred his antient Dominion though but over one City, before this Real, though plausible imprisonment, and therefore sought how he might kindle a Fire in *Ionian*, that for his interest in that Country he might obtain to be sent thither to quench it, and so with his liberty get some notable advantage for a great achievement. It hapned that his endeavours did but tend to the blowing up of that Spark, which was already kindled without his knowledge, in *Arifagoras* his Son in Law, who Governed *Miletus* in his absence. The first fire was occasioned by the inhabitants of the Island *Naxos*, who having banished some of their principal Citizens, the Exiles fled to *Anaxagoras* for protection and succour. He knowing not well of himself how to restore them, sent to *Artaphernes* the brother of *Darius*, and his Lieutenant of *Ionian* then resident at *Sardis*, proposing the Conquest of that Island to him, and offering to subdue both it, and all the rest of the *Cyclades* to the obedience of the *Persian* Empire. *Artaphernes* acquainted the King with the business, and he approving of it, he lent him 200 Ships under the conduct of *Megabates* his Kinsman. They layled together towards *Naxos*, and it hapned in the way that *Megabates*, harshly used one of *Arifagoras* his followers, for which he sharply rebuked him, as having no authority to punish those under his command. This the *Persian* took to hainously, that he gave intelligence underhand to the *Naxians* of their coming, who being forewarned were forearmed, so that no good could *Arifagoras* do, but spending his time to no purpose, was forced at length to raise his Siege. For this fruitless attempt, fearing disgrace, on worse from the *Persians*, that he might prevent it, he studied how to revolt, and draw the *Ionians* into Rebellion.

15. While he consulted with himself, a Message came from *Hippias*, who because the ways were so watched that he could send no Letters, shaved close the head of his trusty Slave, and thereon with an hot iron engraved such marks as served to make out his sentence, and after his hair was grown sent him to *Miletus*. *Arifagoras* having his head again as he was commanded, (which was all the message that the Slave carried by word of mouth) presently and gladly apprehended the matter, viz. that

SECT. 3.

that he should excite the *Ionians* to rebel. Going now more cheerfully about his work, that the *Milesians* might more readily receive the motion, he restored them to a shew of Liberty, and to oblige the rest of the Cities by one means or other abdicated the power of their petty Princes or Tyrants, as they were called. But knowing how little able this strength would be to grapple with the whole power of *Asia* which presently would be upon them, he failed to *Lacedaemon*, there to desire assistance from *Cleomenes* the King; who refusing to intermeddle, he thence went to *Athen*, where, as before, he laid open the riches of *Asia*, with the imbecility of the *Persians* the present Masters thereof; and added, that the *Milesians*, as a Colony of the *Athenians*, might justly expect relief from their hands.

16. The conjuncture of Affairs at present were such at *Athen*, as he could not have had a more convenient opportunity: It hapned that *Hippias* the Son of *Peisistratus*, being expelled thence had withdrawn himself to *Sardis*, where he laboured with his whole might to make the *Athenians* odious to *Artaphernes*, and bring the City into the Command of *Darius*, that so it might return to his own Dominion. They sent their Embassadors after him, praying *Artaphernes* that he would give no credit to their Exiles; but he urging them, that if they meant to secure themselves, they would receive *Hippias*, they chose rather to become Enemies to the *Persian*, and therefore complied with the motion of *Arifagoras*. They agreed to send out twenty Ships under the Command of *Melanthius*, a man of principal note amongst them, with which the *Eretrians* (out of way of requital for aid formerly received from the *Ionians*) joyned other five. This was the beginning of those many evils, which afterwards fell both upon the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and of such wars as ended not till the destruction of the *Persian* Empire. It fell out in the nineteenth year of *Darius*, the second of the sixty ninth *Olympiad*, 501 before the *Age* of Christ, A. M. 3502.

The *Athenians* assist the *Ionians*.*Arifagoras* taketh *Sardis*.

Defeated in his retreat.

Cyprus revolteth.

And is recovered.

17. *Arifagoras* with this force went against *Sardis*, which he easily took all but the Castle, wherein *Artaphernes* secured himself: A Fire prevented the plundering of the City, which was all turned into Ashes by the means of a Soldier's burning one particular house. The Confusion being great, the *Persians* and *Lydians* met together in the Market place, through which ran the River *Pactolus* having Golden Sands, and embodying themselves prepared to charge the Enemy; which when the *Greeks* perceived they fled for fear to the Mountain *Tmolus*, and thence to their Ships lying at *Corefus* in the Territories of *Ephesus*. The *Persians* in the pursuit slew a great part of them, amongst whom fell *Eualcides* Captain of the *Eretrians*, so much Celebrated by *Simonides* the *Cean* Poet, and other eminent men: Those that escaped dispersed themselves through the Cities. *Arifagoras* could not by any means perswade the *Athenians* from returning home; notwithstanding, for what had hapned to *Sardis*, *Darius* was exceedingly incensed against them, inasmuch that he commanded one of his Servants wherever he fate at meat, thrice to found these words in his ears; *Sir, Remember the Athenians*.

18. At this time all *Cyprus* revolted from the *Persian*, except the *Amathusians*, whom also the Rebels besieged; yet *Darius*, blinded by the specious pretences of *Hippias*, let him go, thinking indeed that being present at he might do him special service in extinguishing the Rebellion. Though the *Ionians* were forsaken by their friends of *Athen*, yet they proceeded, and crossing the *Helle-spont* took *Byzantium* with the Towns adjacent, and thence went into *Caria*, a great part whereof they drew into Society with them in the War. But the scene of Affairs was presently altered: *Artybius* the *Persian* with a numerous Army was sent against *Cyprus*, and the *Ionians* followed with a Fleet to the Aid of *Onesilus*, who first procured the revolt, and now lay before *Amathusa*. Both Parties being well appointed by Sea and Land, they engaged with their Fleets and Land Armies: The *Ionians* had the better by Sea, but on Land the *Cypriots* were betrayed by *Stesanoor*, Tyrant of the *Curien*, and by the *Salaminians*, so that being utterly routed, *Onesilus* was slain, and *Arifagoras* Prince of the *Solians*, and Son to that *Philo-Cyprus* whom *Solon* commended in his Verses above other Tyrants, or *Reguli*. The *Ionians* receiving intelligence of this overthrow, and how all the Cities in the Island were besieged except *Salamis* (which the Inhabitants had already given up to *Gorgus* their ancient Prince) hastened away. Of all Towns *Soli* stood longest out, but in the fifth Month was taken by the *Persians* who undermined the Walls; and thus *Cyprus* was reduced into its former Bondage, a year after it had cast off the yoke.

19. The *Persian* Lieutenants or *Satrapes*, viz. *Daurises*, *Hymeeer*, and *Oranes*, who had married the Daughters of *Darius*, after they had driven the *Ionians* to their Ships, parted the revolted Cities which each of them should fall on. The two for-

Sect. 2. mer reduced many upon the *Hellefpont* and *Propontis*, and the latter by the assistance of *Artaphernes*, took *Clazomena* in *Ionia*, and *Cume* in *Æolia*, after which *Ariftagoras* was utterly discouraged, and thought of nothing but flight. *Pleacates* the Hittorian, who had formerly dissuaded him from Rebellion, now advised him to build a Fort in the Island *Zeris*, where he might continue for some time till it were convenient for him to return to *Miletus*; but his resolution being bent for *Myrcinus*, a Town built by *Hiftians* in *Thrace* upon the River *Strymon*, and amongst the *Edones*, thither he soon after departed with as many Volunteers as would follow him, leaving the Government of *Miletus* to *Pythagoras*, a man of the most approved Fidelity amongst the Townsmen. He obtained the Countrey thereabout without much trouble, but besieging the Town, was cut off by the *Thracians* with all his Forces.

Ariftagoras slain.

20. *Hiftians* being dissuimed by *Darius* upon that account formerly mentioned, was ere this come to *Sardis*: *Artaphernes* demanding of him what should have moved the *Ionians* to Rebel, He answered that he knew not, but wondered at the thing: Whereunto the other replied, telling him plainly, that *He had made that Shove which Ariftagoras had put on*. Fearing therefore to stay with him, whom he perceived sufficiently to understand the matter, he fled the night after, and conveyed himself into the Island *Chius*, where the Inhabitants supposing that he came to promote the affairs of *Darius*, cast him into Prison, but upon farther advice restored him to liberty. Then sent he to some *Persians* lying at *Sardis*, who were partakers of his Conspiracy, willing them to Rise; but *Artaphernes* having timely notice thereof prevented it, by putting them to death. This device failing, he procured the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*, but there he could not be received, the Inhabitants rejoicing that they were rid both of him and *Ariftagoras*; so that endeavouring to get in by Night he was wounded in the Thigh, and forced to retire himself again to *Chius*. Here now not being able to procure any Ships by all his intreaties, he went over to *Mitylene*, where he perswaded the *Lesbians* to furnish him with eight Vessels, with which he sailed to *Byzantium*; and at this Port he intercepted all such Ships of the *Ionians* as, coming from *Pontus*, refused to obey him.

Herodotus l. 6. ad initium.

Miletus besieged.

21. The *Persian* Generals having much weakened the power of the *Carians*, and subdued all the *Ionians* that lived upon the *Hellefpont*, were now ready to go against *Miletus* both by Sea and Land. The *Ionian* Deputies assembling in *Panionium*, (the place of their Publick Councils) resolved to levy no Land Army against them, but withstand their violence from the Walls of *Miletus*, and make as great and strong a Fleet as possible. They ranged themselves in order of Battel near *Leda*, a little Island lying over against *Miletus*; the Wing that look'd towards the East the *Milefians* themselves made up with eighty Sail; to them joyned the *Prienians* with twelve, and the *Misians* with three: By them stood the *Teians* with seventeen; and by them the *Chians* with an hundred Vessels. Beyond these were placed the *Erythraeans* with eight Ships, and the *Phocæans* with three: Next to them stood the *Lesbians* with seventy, and in the last place were seen the *Samiens* making up the Western Wing with sixty Ships; the whole consisting of three hundred fifty three Gallies with three Ranks of Oars: But the *Persian* Navy contained six hundred of *Phenicians*, *Cyprians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Cilicians*.

Herodotus l. 6. c. 41.

22. Though the *Persian* Fleet almost doubled the other in number of Vessels, yet the Captains feared both the skill and valour of the *Ionians*, and therefore betook themselves to politicall Councils. They sent for the several *Reguli* or *Tyrants* of the Cities, whom *Ariftagoras* had deposed at the beginning of the War, and desired that every one would endeavour to draw off his own Citizens. While they were using their utmost endeavour herein, *Dionysius* the *Phocian* Captain, and General of the whole *Ionian* Navy, exercising his men continually for the Fight, they being unaccustomed to such Discipline, were after seven days weary of it; and pitching their Tents in the Island therein shaded themselves, and could not be got to their Ships. The *Samiens* doubting whitherto their sluggishness might tend, thought it wisdom to hearken to the Propositions made from the *Persians*, by *Aaces* the Son of *Syloson* their Prince, who advised them by a timely Repentance, to save their estates, rather than expose themselves to the anger of the *Persian*, who though he were beaten at present, was able to bring another Fleet five times as big, so that their labour and danger would know no end. Their Captains therefore took occasion at the disorder of the *Ionians* to deny any further obedience, and, when the *Phenicians* began to tow their Fleet together to fall on, they hoisted up their Sails and departed. After this pattern the *Lesbians* and a great part of the *Ionians* withdrew

drew themselves off, only the *Chians* stood to it; who taking many of their Enemies Ships lost more of their own, and at length fled to Land: Some of them running their Gallies on ground at *Myale*, went on foot by night unto *Ephesus*, where the women then Celebrating the *Theophsophia*, the Inhabitants taking them for Thieves, issued out and slew many of them. But *Dionysius* having light on the *Persian* Gallies retreated not home, knowing his own Country would go to wrack with the rest; but going into *Phenicia* there robbed certain Ships of Burthen of much wealth, and thus enriched sailed into *Sicily*.

Sect. 2.

23. The *Persians* having thus done their work at Sea, presently laid Siege to *Miletus*, which by undermining the Walls, and using all sorts of Batteries, they utterly destroyed in the sixth Year after the Rebellion was first begun by *Ariftagoras*. Some of those Inhabitants which survived their Country, together with the *Samiens*, transported themselves into *Sicily*; the rest being brought to *Susa* before *Darius*, he, without any punishment inflicted on them, placed in the City *Amisus*, situated where the River *Tygris* falleth into the *Red Sea*. As for their grounds, the *Persians* took to themselves the Campagne Countrey, and gave the Mountainous Parts to the *Carians* of *Pedulus*. *Hiftians* seeing what was befallen *Miletus*, with some *Lesbians* subdued *Chius* easily, being weakened before, and thence with many *Ionians* and *Æolians*, he undertook an Expedition against *Thafus*; but hearing that the *Phenicians* were gone from *Miletus* into the other parts of *Ionia*, he returned back to *Lesbus*. Here his Forces not trusting themselves, he went over into the Province of *Æarnes*, as it were thence, and from the Territories of the *Myfians* adjoining to gather Forrage, where *Harpagus* the *Persian* then lying with a considerable Force, engaged with him in a Fight at *Malena*; and having cut off the greater part of his men, took him alive. Being carried to *Susa* unto *Artaphernes*, they nailed his Body to a Cross, and sent his Head as a Present to *Darius*, who was displeased that they had not presented him alive; and caused his Head to be buried, as of a Friend, and one that had well deserved of the *Persians*. Now not only *Caria*, but all the Islands and Cities on the Continent were also recovered without much trouble; the most beautiful of the Boys being made Eunuchs, and of the Girls sent to the *Persian* Court. And thus the *Ionians* were subdued the third time, once by the *Lydians*, and twice by the *Persians*; the Tributes were established by *Artaphernes*, according to *Darius* his former prescription, and all things settled at the cost of the revolvers.

It is taken.

Miletus taken and put to death.

24. Two years after the destruction of *Miletus*, and in the 26th of his reign, *Darius* recalling the Commissions of all his late Captains, sent *Mardonius* the Son of *Gobryas*, who had married his daughter *Artozofra*, with a great power to the Sea. *Mardonius* coming into *Cilicia*, sent away all his Land Forces towards the *Hellefpont*, and passing by Sea into *Ionia*, there dissolved all the Tyrannies, as they were called, or powers of single men, and brought in the Democratical Government into the Cities. After this, with his Fleet he subdued the *Thesians*, and with his Land Army other *Macedonians* besides them that formerly obeyed his Master; but losing from *Acanthus* and coasting by the Mountain *Athos*, such a Tempest fell upon the Navy as sunk three hundred Vessels, wherein perished above twenty thousand men. Then quartering his Foot in *Macedonia*, the *Thracians* called *Brygi*, fell in upon him by Night, and killing many, wounded him also; whereupon he turned his Forces upon them, and subduing them, carried back the Army into *Asia*. The year following *Darius* constrained the *Thesians*, who were accused by their Neighbours of having an intention to revolt, to pull down their Walls, and carry all their Ships to *Ardara*. Then to try of what Temper the *Grecians* were, he sent throughout *Greece* to demand Earth and Water. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* threw the Messengers into Pits, bidding them thence to take Earth and Water to carry to their Master: But the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Islands out of fear complied, for which they were accused by the *Athenian* Embassadors at *Sparta*, as intending with the *Persians* to fight against *Athens*. Hereupon *Cleomenes*, one of the Kings, was sent to Chastise the Principal Revolvers, but such a Contention fell betwixt him and his Colleague *Demaratus* about it, as ended at length in the deprivation of the latter, who thus unjustly outed of his Patrimony, betook himself to *Darius*, by whom he was bountifully entertained.

Earth and Water demanded of the *Grecians*.

Darius sends his Forces into Greece.

25. When *Darius* sent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water, he gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-Coasts to build long Ships and flat bottom'd Boats, for the Transportation of Horfe. The burning of *Sardis* by the means of the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, was thrice every time he went to Meat still founded in his Ears: *Hippias* the late Prince of *Athens* was yet provoking him against that City, and at length procured

Herodotus l. 4. c. 44.

Herodotus l. 5. c. 28. dicit 25.

Herodotus l. 5. c. 46.

SECT. 2. procured Forces to reduce him into his former place. Under colour of restoring him, *Darius* intended, if possible, to subdue all *Greece*, and therefore removing *Mardonius*, under whom the Fleet had of late miscarried, he put in his room *Datis* cap. 94. 95. 96. a Mede, and *Artaphernes* his Brothers Son, to whom he gave in charge to lay wait *Athens* with *Eretria*, and bring the Inhabitants thereof Prisoners into his presence. In their passage they burnt *Naxos*, took some Forces and Hostages out of the Islands, and landed their Horse upon the Coasts of *Eretria*: They prepared to Fight, but the Enemy keeping himself within the Walls, they strongly attempted the storming of the City for six days, and on the seventh had it betrayed into their hands by *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two of the Principal Citizens. The *Athenians* hearing of their approach, sent *Phidippides* a famous, though ordinary Foot-Post, to *Lacedæmon*, to desire that State to hasten their Succors. They resolved to send aid, but said it was impossible speedily to do it, for that they could not break the Law, which forbade them to go forth on the ninth day of the month *Orxopestis* the Moon was at the full. Whilst they expected that season, the *Athenians* made choice of Ten Captains for the War; and by this time the *Persians*, now Masters of *Eretria*, sailed into *Attica*, wherein they were conducted by *Hippias* to the Plains of *Marathon*, as most convenient for Horse. After the *Athenians* had taken the Field, the *Platæans* came into their Aid, but a great dispute there was amongst the Captains, whether they should stand to the hazard of a Battle: Those that were for the Negative had carried it, but that *Miltiades* who was all for fighting, drew over *Callimachus* one of the *Polymarchi* to his Party. The major part of the Votes then passing on his side, each Captain assigned his day to him, (who had formerly been Prince of the *Chersonesus*), and thence was expelled by the *Persians* committing the management of the Fight to his discretion.

26. *Miltiades* accepted of the Charge, yet thought good not to Fight till his own day (which was the tenth) should be arrived: Then set he the Army in order, and being at a miles distance from the Enemy, led very fast upon him, which the *Persians* attributed to madness, seeing the other so few in comparison of themselves, and badly provided both of Horse and Arms. The Fight continued long, wherein in the middle Battle the *Persians* put the other to flight; but in both the Wings the *Grecians* prevailed, and turning themselves upon those that worsted their Fellows, made great slaughter of them as far as the Sea side, where they also seized upon seven of their Ships. Concerning the number of the slain, Writers do not agree: *Herodotus* writeth of six thousand four hundred of the *Barbarians*, and an hundred ninety two of the *Grecians*. On the one side fell *Hippias*, as *Justin* delivers out of *Trogus*, and *Callimachus* on the other. What year the Battle was fought is not certainly known, but in the second or third of the seventy second *Olympiads*, and four or five before the Death of *Darius*.

27. *Datis* and *Artaphernes* returning into *Persia*, carried the *Eretrians* Captive along with them to *Susa*, where they presented them before *Darius*; though *Ctesias* Hist. l. 6. c. 1. 1. 9. 6. wrote that *Datis* was slain in the Battle of *Marathon*, and that his Body was denied to be restored. *Darius* placed the *Eretrians* in *America* in *Cissia*, a Country so called, at two hundred and ten Furlongs distance from *Susa*, the Possession whereof their Posterity held a long time together with their own Language. Notwithstanding the defeat at *Marathon*, he left not off thoughts of Conquering *Greece*, making all possible provision for another Invasion. But in the fourth year after, more work fell into his hands; for though *Diodorus* telleth us that the *Ægyptians* much honoured him as one of their Law-givers, they now rebelled. The year following he was provided for both Expeditions, and was about to undertake them when the custom of the Country first required that he should name his Successor. He had three children before he was King by the Daughter of *Gobryas*, whereof the eldest *Artobazanes*, (by others called *Arimenes* and *Arimenes*) challenged the Kingdom by virtue of his Birthright: But it was judged due to *Xerxes* his eldest Son by *Amis* *Cyrus* his Daughter, who was Founder of the Empire, and he accordingly was declared at this time; although some make this civil and loving Context betwixt the two Brothers, to have happened after their Father's death, and been judged by *Artaphernes* their Uncle. But as *Darius* was about setting forwards for *Greece*, he was prevented by death, the first year after the Rebellion of *Ægypt* ending, after he had reigned thirty six years complete, in the third year of the seventy third *Olympiad* ending, before the *Æra* of Christ, 585. *A. M.* 3519.

28. *Xerxes* succeeded his Father in the third year of the third *Olympiad*, being the fourth King of *Persia*, the right to the Empire whereof he fetched from *Cyrus* his Grandfather by the Mother's side. He was scarcely settled in the Throne, when *Mardonius*

Mardonius his Kinsman stirred him up with earnestness not to give over the War which he had begun with *Greece*, promising to himself great command upon the Conquest of *Europe*, which he made *Xerxes* believe would be as readily performed as spoken. He, though ambitious enough, was not at first of himself very forward, but as it concerned him, thought first of recovering *Ægypt*, for which all things were left in readiness by his Father, and in the year next after his death, turned his Forces thither with present success: For he reduced that Country under the yolk, which he laid heavier upon it than formerly, and committed the Government thereof to his Brother *Achamenes*, who was after many years slain by *Lycarnus* the *Lybian*.

29. *Ægypt* being thus fortunately recovered, he was therewith much elevated and now had resolved to follow on the War with *Greece*, but to hear what his Captains would say, he called them together to advise about it, to whom with vanity seemed he opened his mind, and was seconded by an indiscreet flattering Speech of *Mardonius*, who seemed with words to be able to blast the present Condition of *Greece*. His Uncle *Artabanus*, a grave and long experienced man, strongly urged the contrary, shewing how vain Humane Confidence is, how brittle and unstable the Fortune of Princes and others, which appeared sufficiently in his Fathers expedition against the *Syrians* first, and since that against the *Athenians*; that the *Greeks* were not so weak a Nation he proved by the Battle at *Marathon*; that the thing which he attempted was most dangerous; to be thought on again and again; that without mature deliberation the Attempt would be rash, however the success should happen, that God many times pulls down the highest things, and humbly the haughty that trust in their own strength, by making them to fall into sudden Calamities: And as for *Mardonius*, he chastised his youthful and ambitious heat with a sharp reprehension, foretelling him what would be the reward of his rashness. But this wise Council could not be heard from a grave man, the Ears of *Xerxes* being stopped by the suggestions of one more agreeable to his head-strong and youthful humour; so that he imputed to his Uncle baseness of mind and cowardise, inflicting this punishment upon him for it, that staying at home, he should not partake of so glorious an expedition. To this enterprize he was also stirred up by the *Alcæads*, or Princes of *Thessaly*, who grudged at the Liberties of the *Greeks*; by the Son of *Pisistratus* also banished *Athens*, who living in his Court, abused his credulity by the help of a Wizard or Fortune-Teller.

30. Yet not long after, considering what *Artabanus* had said, he changed his purpose, and calling his Council together again, after he had commended his Uncles opinion, signified the same unto them, at which all the wiser sort much rejoiced; but the thing running in his mind, so that he was disturbed in his sleep, he returned to his former resolution, and concluded on the expedition. In the preparation for it three years (*Herodotus* saith four) were taken up, all *Asia* being concerned therein so far as to be removed out of its place. A Navy he provided out of all the Sea Coasts of his Empire to the number of about twelve hundred Vessels, which he commanded to meet at *Cama* and *Phocæa*, and having out of all his Provinces gathered great multitudes of Horse and Foot, at length he moved from *Susa* in the fourth year of the seventy fourth *Olympiad*, and in the fifth year (not after the *Ægyptian* Expedition, as *Herodotus* hath it, but) of his Reign. All the Land Forces met at *Critale*, with which he passed the River *Hæly*, and came to *Celæne*, a City of *Phrygia*, where *Pythius* the *Lydian* (or *Bythinian*, as *Pliny* will have him) entertained him and his Army, and presented him with a vast sum of money, which he returned with advantage. And so at length he came to *Sardis*, whence he sent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water, as Symbols of Subjection. The Navy Herod. l. 7. c. 23. 24. was come to the *Chersonesus* by this time, and that it might shun the inconvenience which that, formerly governed by *Mardonius*, had incurred, by failing about the Mountain or Promontory of *Athos*, he caused the Mountain to be cut off from the main, by a Ditch so broad as two Vessels might sail a breast, through which the whole Navy passed. And wintering this year at *Sardis*, he commanded a Bridge to be laid over the *Hellepont* (a mile over wanting an eighth part) which being shattered and broken by a great Tempest, he took so hainously, as he commanded three hundred Stripes to be given the Sea, and a pair of Fetters to be cast into it in token of servitude, and causing the Heads of the Workmen to be cut off, ordered other Bridges to be made.

31. In the beginning of the Spring he moved from *Sardis* with his whole Army and came to *Abydos*, the day being turned into night by a sudden darkness (though no Stars appeared) at his setting forth, with which portentous thing Herod. l. 7. c. 25. 26. being

They take Eretria.

Are overthrown at Marathon.

Darius declares his Successor.

Dieth.

Darius.

Recovereth Ægypt.

Confideth about renewing the War with Greece.

He wintereth at Sardis.

Herod. l. 7. c. 25. 26.

Seft. 1. (being no true Eclypse) *Pythius*, who formerly entertained him, was so terrified, that of his five Sons lifted in the Army, he desired the eldest, as the comfort of his old age, might be left to him, at which the King was so angry, that he commanded the young *Manto* to be cut in two, and the parts fo to be laid asunder that the Army might pals betwixt them. When he was come to *Abydos* he had an extream desire to view all his Forces, for which purpose he had an high ascent raised for him, where he also desired to see a Sea-fight, which in shew was performed, and wherein the *Sidonians* had the better: with the sight whereof, and of all his Land Forces on the Shore, he was elevated into a great passion of Joy apprehending of how many thousands he was Master, and then presently again into another of weeping, the cause of which *Arabanus* his Uncle demanding (who had thus far accompanied him) he told him, it was in considering that of so many thousands not a man should be alive a 100 years after. Hence that wife old Man took occasion to discourse to him most gravely of the vanity, and miseries of this life, and being again importuned to tell his opinion concerning the expedition, did it with the same foolishness as formerly, after which he sent him back to *Susa* to govern as his Deputy in his absence.

Paffeth over
into Europe.

32. Then prepared he for his passage into *Europe*, and having performed his Heathenish Devotions to the Sun, by one of the Bridges bending towards the *Euxine*, passed over his Horse and Foot, and by another inclining towards the *Aegean*, his Slaves and Beasts; seven days, and as many nights being taken up in the passage. The Fleet sayled Westward to the Promontory of *Sarpedon*, the Land Forces marched through the *Chersonesus of Thrace* to *Agora* and so bore down towards the Bay of *Melana*, where a River of the same name failed them in drinking, as *Scamander*, and several others in *Asia* are said to have done before. Passing over, and moving Westward they came to *Dorisus*, where being a vast plain watered with the great River *Hebrus*, there they pitched their Tents, and *Xerxes* mustered his whole Army, both by Land and Sea.

33. The greatest number of Men it contained that ever were seen lifted under the Banners of one Man; but yet great is the variety found in Writers about the true number. *Herodotus* writeth of 1700000 Foot, and 80000 Horse, besides Camels, and Chariots; *Diodorus Siculus* not half so many Foot, viz. 800000. and yet what he assigns to the Foot, *Ctesias* attributeth to the whole Army, which he writeth to have consisted of 80 Myriads, besides Chariots. *Fulfin* from *Trogus*, and *Orosius* out of him, reckons 700000 men out of his own Dominions, and 300000 Auxiliars. *Alian* writeth of 700000 in all, *Cornelius Nepos* of 700000 Foot, and 400000 (perhaps rather 40000) Horse. *Pliny* 780000 (for the name of *Darius*, *Xerxes* being to be read) and *Isocrates* agreeth with *Alian*, mentioning only 700000 in all. As for the Navy there were found 1207 beaked Ships, and other Vessels for carrying of Horses, and for other uses 3000. according to *Herodotus*, from whom *Diodorus* little dissenteth as to the number of the Gallies, writing, there were found above 1200 of them, to which he addeth 850 Horse-boats, and other Vessels of burthen of 30 Oars apiece 3000. with the former agreeth *Ctesias* (though often dissenting) and *Cicero*: with the later *Isocrates* and *Lysias*. *Orosius* mentions 1200 beaked Gallies, and 3000 Vessels of burthen; and as for that place in *Fulfin*, which encreaseth the number of the Fleet to 10000. there is no doubt of its corruption. *Herodotus* by giving 200 men to every Gally, and furnishing all the other Vessels, conjectures 17610 men to have been bestowed in the whole Fleet, so that at this muster the Land and Sea-forces being added together, with the 20000 *Arabians* that drove Camels, and the *Libyans* the Chariots, at this rate would amount to 2317610. besides Slaves and others that followed the Camp.

34. Notwithstanding all this number, he commanded all the Nations in his passage, from *Dorisus* towards *Greece*, to march along with him, so that hereby came an accession of 120 Ships to his Fleet, to which giving 200 men a piece, the number will amount to 2400. and to his Land Army another of 30 Myriads, or 300000 men, as *Herodotus* gathereth (though *Diodorus* thinketh less something then 20 Myriads) and so the whole number of his *Asian* and *European* Soldiers would on this account amount to 2641610. and yet he thinketh the number of Slaves and attendants to have rather exceeded this, so that if it only be doubled, the number of those persons that by land came to *Thermopyle*; and by Sea to *Sepias*, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thousand two hundred and twenty. As for the number of women that baked meat, and of Concubines and Eunuchs which followed, no man can assign them, of carriage

The number
of his men.

beasts, and for the Waggon; and of *Indian* Doggs no man could count; so that no wonder it is that this stupendous multitude some sorts of Rivers failed to afford drink, or that *Plutarch* and *Isocrates* should write five millions to have followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*; the wonder is, that no greater Plague raged amongst them, that any concord could be preserved amongst so many Nations, and that provisions could be procured for the preservation of the lives of so many Creatures.

The preparation
of the Gre-
cians for de-
fence.

35. The *Grecians* all this while having had intelligence; first of his design all along from *Demaratus* the *Spartan* Exile, and then of his motions, were according to their several interests variously affected. Some, as the *Thebans*, and the rest of the *Boeotians* (except the *Thessians*, and them of *Plataea*) and many *Thes- salians* (persuaded by the *Athenians*) and several others, out of fear, had under-hand sent Earth and Water, as Symbols of subjection: Many also were uncertain in their resolutions, not knowing what to do. The rest meeting at the *Isthmus*, and consulting for the publick safety, resolved, and swore to join together in War against the Persians, and with United power to defend the liberty of *Greece*; at the present to waive all their private differences for that purpose, and to remit the monies owing to each other; to devote the tenth to Apollo, i. e. to do to death the tenth man of all those that had already given up themselves to the Enemy. The War which had often been patched up, and still broke out again, betwixt the *Athenians* and them of *Aegina*, was compoled. By occasion of this War the *Athenians* of late had strengthened themselves exceedingly at Sea, through the procurement of *Themistocles* the Son of *Neocles*, a very wise man, who had brought the people to lay out the money, which issued out of the golden Mines of *Lamio*, and was to be divided amongst the multitude man by man, upon shipping, whereby the Fleet was encreased to almost two hundred sayl, and *Greece* came to be preserved. About the same time it hapned that the *Athenians* asking Counsel at *Delphos*, the Oracle answered, that wooden Walls alone would be security to them; which several interpreting several ways, he expounded Ships to be meant by it, and pressed hard that a Sea Victory was promised them at the Island *Salamine*, which being received by the greater part, they set themselves with all their might to the strengthening of their Navy.

36. But those of the League finding it convenient to call in the help of their Friends, and Allies, sent into *Sicily*, *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to desire aid and assistance of the Greek Colonies against the publick Enemy; and to *Argos* to excite them to join against him with the rest of their Neighbours. But all was to no purpose; for *Gelon*, who then had all *Sicily* in his power, and was thought to have more Ships then all the associates put together, refused to give any aid except he might be declared Captain-General of the whole Army; the *Corcyraans* promised great matters, confessing their safety to be involved in that of *Greece*; but resolving to make use of the success of their party, when danger threatened *Greece* from *Xerxes*, they sent sixty Ships, under shew of supply, but commanded the Fleet to hover about *Laconia*, and apply it self to *Xerxes*, if Conqueror, as coming in to his assistance; which being observed, after the Fight the Officers excused themselves for being absent at the Batel of *Salamine*, because the Etesian Winds blowing contrary, they could not double the Cape of *Malea*. The *Cretans* very powerful at Sea put off the matter under pretence of hearing an answer from the Oracle at *Delphos*, whither they said they had sent: and the *Argives* out of hatred to the *Lacedaemonians*, proposed such conditions as could not be admitted, and pressed them fore with the rest of the allies.

37. The *Athenians* then and *Lacedaemonians* being most engaged (against whom the design of the Persian was most bent) applied themselves with all their might to make resistance. *Xerxes* being about to pass over into *Europe*, the *Thessalians* sent to them, demanding help to secure themselves, as else being unable to stand out. The Council General at that time being assembled in the *Isthmus*, thinking it wisdom to withstand him at the first entry into *Greece*, rather than to defend it in broken parts, sent presently away by Sea ten thousand men into *Thessalia*, under conduct of *Evenetus* a *Spartan*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, who in conjunction with the *Thessalian* Horse, at the River *Peneus*, flowing betwixt the Straights of *Ofsa* and *Olympus*, might hinder the passage of the Persians; but after they came there, it being shewed to them to be but a vain thing there to oppose themselves against so great a multitude, (especially seeing there were other passages into *Thessalia*), by *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, they

Seft. 2.

Seçt. 2. they returned back again to the *Isthmus*, and the *Thessalians* thus forsaken, gave themselves up to the *Persians*. Afterwards the Council again deliberating what should be done, resolved to seize upon the Straights of *Thermopyle*, being the only passage out of *Thessaly* into *Greece*, and better to be maintained by far than the other, and concluded on sending six thousand Foot thither under command of *Leonidas* the valiant King of *Sparta*. Sea-matters were committed to the care of the *Athenians* and *Arginates* especially, and it was resolved, that the Fleet should fail to the *Artemisium* Shore, towards the North part of the Island *Eubœa*, and not far from the Straights. *Xerxes* drawing near, this was done accordingly, both as to Land and Sea Forces; but the Navy receiving an Alarm, through a mischance of three of it's Ships, retreated into the Straights betwixt *Eubœa* and *Boeotia*, where *Eurypus* floweth betwixt *Chalcis* and *Aulis*; but understanding of a great Wrack suffered by the *Persian* Fleet, wherein by tempestuous weather were lost four hundred Vessels, with a great multitude of Men; and much treasure, it returned back after a few days; in the mean while *Xerxes* drew down with his innumerable multitudes to the Straights.

38. He sent before a Spie to look how *Leonidas* and his men behaved themselves, who bringing him word how he found the *Spartans*, who then kept watch, exercising themselves in gymnicks Games, and dressing their Heads as on some Festival, he demanded of *Demaratus* their Country-man the reason thereof. He told him they were fully resolved to die for their Country, and ready to fight it out to the last man, if need required; whereat he derided him as before when he spake of the valour of his Country-men, thinking they would be so skared at his multitudes, as not to dare to come to hand-strokes. But finding no such matter, but *Demaratus* his words to be true, on the fifth day after, he commanded a party of *Medes* to fall upon them, who being with great slaughter repulsed, he sent his Band of *Persians*, which being invincible as was thought, he named were Immortal, and they, though wanting no courage under the eyes of the King, who from an high Throne beheld the Fight, came off with the same success; whereat he was astonished, and grew melancholly, as being now solicitous for his whole Army. The next day the Fight was renewed, but with the same Issue, great slaughter being made of the *Persians*, so that the way being more narrow by the Carkeises, there was no room for a multitude to Fight, which being driven one upon another, the confusion and consequently the Slaughter was the greater. At this, *Xerxes* was struck with great consternation, not knowing what to do.

39. There was one in the Army, a *Trachinian*, named *Epiates*, or *Ephialtes* (as *Pausanias* writeth it) who understanding his trouble went to him, and offered to shew a way over the Mountains, by which, though with much difficulty, he might send a Party to come about, and fall on the backs of the *Grecians*. Being cheered with this, he sent as many as shewed themselves most forward, with him, under the command of *Hydarnes*, who passing over the River *Alogus*, got in the dark of the night up into the Mountain, where beating down the Guard of *Phocians* which there watched, they began to come into the more plain and easie way, when the thing was carried by some fugitives to the *Grecians*. They were stricken with great terror at the report, all but *Leonidas* with his *Spartans*, *Justin*. who for that the *Lacedemonians* were told by an Oracle, that they must either lose their City or one of their Kings, was very ready to abide to the utmost. Wherefore he willingly gave way to his associates to depart, bidding them reserve themselves for the better condition of their Country, who all presently falling off, except the *Thespians*, and such *Thebans* as the rest of the *Grecians* had forced thither, not so much to help them, as to keep them as Hostages; with them and his three hundred *Spartans* he prepared himself to fight, with a mind devoted already to death. When the Sun was up, and the *Persians* not yet got down, those resolute *Grecians* passing the Straights to redeem their lives at dearer rates, fell in upon the multitudes of their Enemies, with which being compassed about, they were all cut off, with *Leonidas*, except such as retiring back into the Straights took an hill, and fighting valiantly with those *Persians* whom *Epiates* had led down upon them, sold their lives as their fellows very dear; twenty thousand of *Xerxes* his Army with this handful of men being slain. The *Thebans* alone lifted up their Targets begging quarter, crying out they were brought thither against their wills, and that they were *Xerxes* his Subjects; yet were they slain, or being taken were stigmatized for disgrace. The body of *Leonidas* being found was nailed to a Cross. These things hapned at *Thermopyle* in the middle

The fight at
Thermopyle.

middle of Summer, while some of the *Grecians* in *Poloponnesus* were Celebrating the Games of the seventy fifth *Olympiad*, in the beginning of its first year, where *Callias* was *Archon* at *Athens*, as we are told from *Diodorus Siculus*, of whose History digested according to the years of their Solemnities, that part now extant beginneth with this Expedition; at which time also Philosophy was translated out of *Ionis* to *Athens* by *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, Scholar to *Anaximenes* the *Milefian*, who now being twenty years old began to profess it in that City, way being made for Learning there, by the Library collected through the Industry of *Pisistratus*. *Lartius in vite Clomæ Strabonis.*

40. *Xerxes* having now had experience of what *Demaratus* had said to him, asked his advice for carrying on the War; being in great doubt what to do, after he had heard how they of *Sparta* were able to Arm well nigh eight thousand men of such temper as the former, and that the other *Lacedemonians*, though inferior to those, were very valiant. *Demaratus* being of this opinion, that all the Land forces would assemble together at the *Isthmus*, to defend that entry into *Poloponnesus*, advised him to send three hundred Ships well mann'd to spoil the Country of *Laconia*, thereby to keep the *Lacedemonians* and their Neighbours entangled at home; while having subdued the rest, he might afterwards fall upon them, who would be then too weak of themselves to sustain his power: He farther also advised, that three hundred Vessels should seize upon *Cythera* the Island, which lying near the Coasts of *Laconia*, might serve as a place of Retreat or Rendezvous for their own security, and indamaging of the Enemy; *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* having been wont to say, that it were better for them to have it drowned in the Sea, than to stand so as it did for their disadvantage. But *Achæmenes* the Brother of *Xerxes* stiffly impugned this advice, lest by the severing of the Fleet after such loss by the Tempest, they might prove too weak for the *Grecians* at Sea; and to this out of fear the King submitted, hoping his Land Army and Fleet should stand each the other in good stead, both holding one course and not lying far asunder.

41. The Fleet of the *Grecians* stood all this while at *Artemisium*; as a Bulwark to *Eubœa*, Commanded by *Eurybiades* the *Lacedemonian*, to whom the *Athenians* for quietness and safety gave place. But now the *Poloponnesians* having every one an eye upon his own Country, longed to go farther into *Greece*, and were only stayed by the cunning of *Themistocles*, till such time as the *Eubœans* could secure their Wives and Children, with the principal of their Goods. In the mean time, the *Persians* thinking to encompass them, sent two hundred Sail to come behind about the Island, they lying in the Straits betwixt it and the Main. They had knowledge of this device, and notwithstanding of the loss sustained by the *Persian* Fleet in the last Tempest, set sail at midnight and met these two hundred Ships with a counter-surprise, took and sunk thirty of them, and forced the rest to take the Sea, where by foul weather they were driven upon the Rocks, and all cast away. The news of this was brought to the *Grecians* by fifty three *Athenian* Ships, sent in to increase the Fleet, which doubled the joy thereof; so that elevated with new hopes, they set next day upon some *Cilician* Ships which were severed from the rest of the Fleet, and, damming them much, returned to *Artemisium*.

42. The *Persians* taking this in great indignation, and fearing the anger of *Xerxes*, resolved to redeem their credit with some notable exploit, and for that purpose the next day in the form of a Crescent invaded the *Grecians*. They cheerfully gave them battle, and the Fight endured from Noon till Night, ending with equal loss to both parties: For though more of the *Persian* Vessels were lost, yet the less damage fell as heavy upon the other, which being smaller could less bear it, though they fought most manfully for their Liberty and Country; the *Athenians* deserving best amongst them and amongst the *Athenians*, *Clinias* the Father of *Alcibiades*, a famous man in the next Age. Amongst the *Persians* the *Egyptians* fought most stoutly, and these things happened at Sea those same three days in which the Land Action was at *Thermopyle*, in both the Straits the *Greeks* endeavouring to hinder the Enemies access into their Country. But shortly after that they had intelligence by one sent out on purpose, what was become of *Leonidas* and those with him, they would needs depart from *Artemisium*, and draw their Navy, much battered in the former Fights, more inward and nearer home. *Themistocles* seeing this resolution, before they weighed Anchor, persuaded them to kill up the Cattel of the *Eubœans*, and bring the meat on Shipboard, rather than to leave them a Prey to the Enemy, and engraved upon stones upon the Shore, and at the watering places where he knew the *Ionians* would come, an Exhortation to Revolt to the *Greeks* and side with their Mother Country, or else stand neutral in the Fight, or Fight coldly. This he

A Sea-Fight:

them told, Plutarch in Themistocles.

Sec. 2. hoped would either prevail with them, or at least render them suspected with the Persian.

43. From Artemisium they failed to the Coast of Attica, and at the desire of the Athenians took up their harbour at the Island Salamine: The Persian Fleet removed to Artemisium and the Coast adjoining to Euboea. Xerxes now having passed the Streights of Thermopylae, marched through the Country of Doris into Phocis, which being forsaken of its Inhabitants he wasted, and when he came to Panopea a Town thereof, he divided his Army into two parts. With the one he invaded Greece, and the other he sent to rife and burn the famous Temple of Delphos; but as it's said, this party was almost wholly destroyed without humane help, by Thunder and Lightning, and two Rocks, which breaking off from the Mountain Parnassus, overwhelmed it: Those that escaped were generally killed by the Phocians, who having fled into the Mountain for fear of Xerxes, fell upon them, so that few remained and escaped to their Friends in Boeotia. Xerxes now marched through Boeotia, the Country of his Allies, into Attica, with intention to do his utmost against the City of Athens it self.

44. In the mean time, the Grecian Fleet lying at Salamine, though strengthened with a new accession of Ships at the Coast of Trazene, could hardly be contained there; for every one being solicitous for his own Countrey, and despairing of Attica and the rest of Greece without the Ajhmus, was busie in fortifying this neck of Land, and labour'd thither to bring the Navy, whence there might be safe retreat into Peloponnesus if need were. This the Athenians understanding, were fore troubled, as having justly expected that the Peloponnesians would joyn with them, and the rest of the Associates in defending Attica, as they had fought for them at Artemisium; but making the best use of it they could, they begged of them so long to stay there till they could provide some way for themselves. Having obtained this, they published an Edict by the procurement of Themistocles (who improved the Oracle formerly mentioned to this purpose, and invented other devices) that all fit by Age should come aboard, and transport their Wives and Children out of the City with their Slaves, and what they could; which was done, most carrying them to Trazene, where they were kindly entertained; and that Aristides, a man famous for wisdom, justice, and integrity, but lately banished for a time by the Ostracism, by the potent faction of Themistocles, might return home; by the same procurement another Order was made to recall all whoeever were banished, that they might now in time of need serve their Countrey; and out of fear, left they should joyn themselves to the Enemy.

The Athenians remove.

45. In the Fleet now at Salamine were three hundred fifty eight armed Ships, besides other Vessels of less importance, of which an hundred and eighty were provided and furnished by the Athenians; sixteen only by the Lacedemonians; the Corinthians sent forty; the Inhabitants of Egina thirty, which were notable for swiftness; the Megarians twenty; they of Chalcis furnished as many, having the Vessels of the Athenians; the rest were supplied in lesser numbers by the Chians, Nazians, Melians, and Scripians Islanders. Whilst the Officers were in Council about the place of Battel, News came that the Enemy was entered Attica, wasting all with Fire and Sword; for having in Boeotia burned the Towns of the Thebians and Plateans, who had forsaken their Habitations, he hastned into Attica, where consuming all things he entered Athens, three months after he had passed over his Forces into Europe. The Castle, some few who would not leave their ancient Seat held out to the last, and were all put to the Sword; having refused quarter upon a vain confidence of the Oracle, that the City should be defended with wooden Walls, and thinking they fulfilled the same by fortifying themselves with Boards and Palliades: the Temple of Minerva in the Castle he burn'd to ashes. The Message being brought, the Captains departed every man to his Ship, decreeing nothing; and all the rest of the Peloponnesians determined to sail to the Ajhmus.

46. This resolution might have proved fatal to all Greece, had it not been prevented by the wisdom of Themistocles, who being started up by Mnesiphilus of Athens, followed Euribiades the Admiral into his Ship, and obtained of him again to assemble the Council. Here he overcame him by his mildness, who lifting up his Rod in an heat to strike him, he had him strike so he would not bear. When he came to speak of staying at Salamine, one Agamemnon upbraided him with the loss of the Country, saying, It was not fit that such an one should give Council to them, that had theirs remaining to them: To whom he boldly replied, that though they, the Athenians, had left their Houses and Walls, dead things; and not to be valued with their liberty, yet they had a City left them, from which there was none greater

Herodotus & Plutarch at p. 114.

in Greece, viz. two hundred Ships which as yet was present, and ready to help their Associates: But if they would depart and betray them, he would have them know they should presently hear, that the Athenians had both a free City and Territories as good as that they had left, meaning Siris, a Town in Italy, in their power. Euribiades hearing this, and fearing to be deprived of the Athenian Fleet, so necessary for their support, inclined to his opinion, inasmuch that the Grecians resolved to stay and prepared themselves for the Fight; but the Persian Fleet drawing down to Phalerus the Athenian Port, and the Land Army to the Sea side, the Peloponnesians were so affrighted thereat, that having all their minds upon the Ajhmus, the advice of Themistocles was not at all regarded, and they resolved to weigh Anchor and to be gone that night, and notice hereof was given to the Mariners.

47. For now Xerxes his Fleet was drawn down to repaired, and increased by a new accession of Ships, that it was altogether as considerable as before the Shipwreck at Sepias, and taking all Nations as he passed along with them, his Land Army contained as great a number as heretofore at Thermopylae. The King came down from Athens to Phalerus the Port, and called a Council to deliberate what should be done. All the Captains were for a Sea Fight, the Kings of Tyre and Sidon being first asked their opinions by Marodonius; only a woman, Artemisia Queen of Halicarnassus, a wife and valiant Person, who had followed Xerxes in this expedition with five Ships, with grave and important Arguments dissuaded a Sea Fight, and advised him to enter Peloponnesus with his Land Army, for thereby he would presently dissolve the Greekish Fleet, and finish the War. Though this advice followed would have been enough, and Xerxes could not but commend it, yet the major and worse part carried it, and it was resolved to fight the Grecians out of hand at Salamine. The Anchors then were weighed, and the Fleet made thitherwards; but Night coming on, suffered them not that day to reach the Island.

48. At this time were the Peloponnesians ready to depart homewards, and thereby the Estate of Greece to be ruined, by their breaking their united Power, and reducing themselves into their particular and inconsiderable Conditions, had not Themistocles, born for the preservation of his Countrey, relieved it by his wisdom in its great necessity. There was one Sicinus a Persian, who, taken Prisoner, was a great lover of Themistocles, and taught his Children: Him he sent privately to the King, to tell him that he, preferring his good before that of the Grecians, gave him now first to understand that they were about to flee, and advised him not to suffer it, but prevent them and let upon them whilst they were disordered, and the Fleet was severed from their Land Army. Xerxes gladly hearing the message, as believing it to proceed out of Themistocles his affection to him, communicated it to his Officers, and while the rest could be furnished with Soldiers, sent two hundred Ships about the Island to block up the Streights, so that none of the Enemies might escape. Themistocles communicated what he had done to Aristides, who approving of it, went to persuade the Greeks to Fight; when presently, while their minds hung in suspense, came a Ship of Tenedos from the Persian Fleet, and acquainted them with what was done in the Streights; so that Necessity completed what was but half effected by the speech of Aristides.

49. Then prepared they themselves unanimously to the Battel. Themistocles made a speech unto them, wherein he shewed where their concernments lay, exhorting them to Fight manfully for their Countrey and Liberty, for their Parents, Wives, Children, and whatsoever was dear to them; with which, being provoked, they applied themselves to their Ships, and put forth the Fleet into the Main. Xerxes placed himself on an high Throne to behold the Fight over against Salamine, and had some with him to write down the particulars thereof. A bloody Fight indeed was fought with great earnestness on both sides, the one fighting under the eyes of their King, who marked every passage and accordingly was affected, and the other for as much as could be dear to them in so dangerous a condition. Herein the Greeks had the advantage, that they were more exercised in Sea matters, and having all they had lying at the stake, they did it with the more earnestness, and in that they fought with greater order: The Persians, with so great a multitude of Ships, fought in disorder and hindred one another, and if the Vessels sunk, were all lost; whereas their enemies, by their skill in swimming, saved themselves. At length the Jonians, solicited as was said, by little and little withdrawing themselves from the Fight, the rest what by that discouraged, and overcome by the pertinacious valour of their enemies began to flee, the Athenians pressing hard upon them, and destroying many of their Ships: Of such as fled towards Phalerus, many were intercepted by the Egeatans, the Emulators of the other in deserving well of Greece; such

Plutarch in Themistocles.

Idem & Herodotus at p. 115.

Xerxes this Fleet despatched.

SECT. 2. such as escaped them, and got to the Port, thence withdrew themselves to the Land Army.

50. Of all the *Gracians*, the *Athenians* and *Arginatus* deserved best, and amongst them *Themistocles*, the Captains of the Fleet each one, when upon their Oaths they pronounced who merited most, naming him after themselves. Amongst the *Persians* the valour of *Artemisia* the Queen was most conspicuous, acknowledged by *Xerxes* himself, who thereupon said, that his men were turned women, and women became men: She was saved as it happened, and escaped to *Phalerus*. Many Noble *Persians* fell, amongst the rest *Artabazus* the Kings Brother; but few of the *Gracians*. *Xerxes* exceedingly discouraged with this great loss, considered of his safe retreat out of *Europe*, fearing the *Ionians* might break the Bridge laid over the *Hellepont*; yet that he might colour any such intention, he began a new project by casting earth into the Streights, to join the Island *Salamine* with the Continent. But *Mardonius* knowing his temper, and bethinking himself in what case he himself might stand for being the first adviser to the War, went to him, and exhorting the loss, the Land Army being left intire, at length proposed to him to leave him three hundred thousand men, with which he would engage to revenge him upon *Greece*, and reduce it all under his power if he pleased to depart himself into *Asia*, being nothing tainted in honour for that things had not so well succeeded in this Encounter, because the miscarriage was procured by the Cowardice of the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and others no better than Slaves; the *Persians* having gallantly enough behaved themselves; and he, their Prince, having subdued already the greater part of *Greece*, and taken *Athens* itself, against which the War was principally intended.

51. He liked very well the motion, but still dissembled the matter, answering that he would refer it to his Council, which he accordingly called, and asked the advice particularly of *Artemisia*. She approved of *Mardonius* his Opinion, for that if he should subdue *Greece* it would be to the King's advantage, and if he miscarried it would be no disgrace to him, who in his own person had accomplished the main design of the expedition, in taking and wasting *Athens*. He was pleased therewith, sent her before hand away with his Sons he had brought with him, and gave liberty to *Mardonius* to make choice of what, and how many forces he pleased; all this being done the same day with the Fight at *Salamis*. The Night following, in great fear and disorder, the Fleet loosed from *Phalerus*, and fled again towards the *Hellepont*, which the *Gracians* seeing pursued them as far as *Andros* one of the *Cyclades*, and took in there, for that they could then no more discern them, and that Island had been of the *Persian* Faction. Here it being debated in the Council of Officers whether the Enemy should be any further pursued, *Eurybiades* the General, for several grave and urgent reasons dissuaded it, a Bridge being rather to be laid for him; inasmuch that he convinced the rest; and *Themistocles*, who as *Herodotus* saith, was formerly for the pursuit or else dissembled, for reasons which followed, changed his opinion, and refrained the *Athenians*.

52. And further foreseeing that through their inconstancy and known ingratitude, he might have cause in time to come to use Friends; that now he might make one of *Xerxes*, and therein also further provide for the good of his Country, he betook himself to his wonted craft and policy. He dispatched away to him his former Trusty Messenger, to acquaint him how careful he was for his safety, in dissuading the *Gracians* from pursuing him, and to advise him by all means to make towards the *Hellepont*, ere the Bridge should be broken down, which he thought would be within a small time. He being much affrighted hereat retreated presently with all his Forces the same way he came into *Thessaly*, where delivering to *Mardonius* three hundred thousand men picked out of the whole Army, and settling other matters, with a small and obscure Train fittest for haft (all the rest being commanded to follow) he hastened through *Macedonia* and *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*, where he arrived after forty five days. Here, whether he found the Bridge whole and so passed over it, or (what the *Gracians* have believed) broken in pieces by Tempests, and so passed over obscurely in a Fishers Boat, observable is the great change upon him, who with so great pride had formerly beaten the Sea, and cast Fetters into it. His Army following was a great part consumed by the Plague, Famine, and other casualties; so that the Fowls of the Air continually followed it, the way being full of Carcases. And being shipped over to *Asiaticus*, very many died by intemperate use of dyer, and drinking too much in the dysentery, wherewith they were sorely grieved. Those that remained, by slow Journeys reached their King, lying at *Sardis*.

53. *Artabazus*, a man of prime note amongst the *Persians*, accompanied *Xerxes*

to the *Hellepont*, with a partie of sixty thousand men taken out of *Mardonius* his Army, who finding at his return the inhabitants of *Posida* in *Macedonia* to have revolted, fearing the *Pellenians* round about would do the same, and suspecting also *Olynthus*, which then was inhabited by the *Borians*, he besieged both Towns, of which the latter he took, and killing the Towns-men gave it to one *Criobolus* of *Chalcis* to govern, after which, they of that place inhabited it. He then more strongly besieged *Posida*, but after three months having layn before it to no purpose, many of his men being lost in the Sea, which broke in with an unusual Tide, he rose up and departed to *Mardonius*, who, for that Winter was at hand, had taken up his quarters in *Thessaly*, and the adjoining places of *Macedonia*. The *Persian* Fleet being returned to the Coast of *Asia*, wintered at *Came*, for the greatest part, onely some Ships at *Samos*, whither in the Spring they all failed, being increased to the number of three hundred by the addition of the *Ionians*, on whose Coast now they lay to keep them in obedience, being little desirous of failing any more Westward, for the experience they had lately had of the *Gracians* at *Salamina*; and yet being in as little fear of their coming to them, whom they expected to be kept in awe, so as not to stir far from home; because of *Mardonius*.

54. They stirred not indeed about providing any Land-forces wherewith to oppose *Mardonius*; but very busie they were at *Argina* in rigging their Fleet; over which *Leutychides* King of *Sparta* (illused from *Procles*, and put into the place of *Demeratus*), was made Admiral: *Xanthippus* Father to *Pericles* being General of the *Athenian* Fleet, which contained the most Ships. While they abode here, came six men from *Chios*, who having conspired against *Strabes* their Tyrant, upon discovery of the Plot, fled, beseeching them that they would undertake the freeing of *Ionis*; and so far they prevailed, as to get them to sail to *Delus*; but no further would they go, because unacquainted as yet with the affairs of *Asia*, they feared the *Persians*; so that both parties stood in awe of each other.

55. *Mardonius* thinking of his promise made to his Master, consulted the Oracles; but they refusing to answer, he sent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, now in great grace with the *Persians*, through the marriage of his Sister to *Babares*, in ambassage to the *Athenians*, to take them off from the society with the rest of *Greece*. He knew they gave the most mortal blows in the Battle at *Salamina*, and thought, that if they could be taken off, the rest would be conquered with little or no difficulty. The fame of this Ambassage flying abroad, came to *Sparta*, which nestled the *Lacedæmonians*, and made them with all speed to dispatch away Ambassadors of their own, to prevent the alliance so dangerous to all *Greece*, and the *Athenians* refused to give audience to *Alexander*, till they were arrived, that they might also be present thereat. *Alexander* told them that *Xerxes* had given order to *Mardonius* to signify to them how willing he was to remit what was past; to restore them their Territories, and more than them if they would; to leave them to their own freedom, and repair their Temples at his own charges, if they would enter into a League of amity with him; otherwise they could not be ignorant how great inconveniences they drew upon themselves from so potent a Prince, able to send other Armies if they now with *Mardonius* should be overthrowen: to these things spoken as from *Mardonius*, the Ambassador added as a friend, that they should not let slip such an opportunity. After him the Ambassadors of *Sparta* spoke, and shewed how unworthy a thing it would be for the *Athenians* of all others, to forsake the publick cause, they having been the Authors of the War, and their Ancestors so renowned for setting others at liberty; wherefore they hoped that they would not be accessory to the slavery of all *Greece*. Their answer was to *Alexander*, that so long as the Sun should hold his course, they would never enter into alliance with *Xerxes*, but resist his Forces with their own; and him they desired, whom they respected as a Friend, not any more to bring such an unwelcome message, lest he might suffer something from the angry people. To the *Spartans* they answered to this purpose, that they would never any of them as long as they lived enter into confederacy with the *Persian*: they thanked them for their kind offer to maintain their Wives and Children in case of necessity, which they hoped they should not have much cause to need, so as to be troublesome to them; and desired them to hasten away to them their supplies, for that they believed the *Barbarian* would not lose time after the report of their answer, but presently invade them; and they thought it most convenient to meet him in *Bœotia*.

56. *Mardonius* having received this answer from *Athens*, in great wrath march-

Sect. 2.

ed thitherwards out of *Theſſalie*. When he came to *Thebes*, the Inhabitants advised him to go no farther, for that he should never subdue *Greece* united together, but stay there in a commodious place, and corrupt with money those that were most prevalent in each City, whereby he might divide the *Græcians* into factions, and so easily mastering the dissenters; subdue the whole Country. But he not hearkening to this advice, proceeded; hoping by Fires made in the Islands, to give notice to *Xerxes* still lying at *Sardis*, that he was again got into *Athen*, which the Inhabitants upon his approach, and the *Peloponnesians* deferring to fend their succors, again quitted and departed to *Salamine*. He entered *Athen*, the tenth Month being now completed after *Xerxes* had the possession of that City, and having done, sent to *Salamine* to the owners of it, once more offering them the same conditions he had formerly propoſed by *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, hoping, that upon this extremity to which they were once again reduced, they might change their stubbornness for a more complying disposition.

57. But they were so far from harkening to what he offered, that they foned one *Lyſidas* a Senator, for saying it deserved to be taken into consideration, and to be propoſed to the whole body of the People, and his Wife and Children were used in the same manner by the women. Then sent they (together with the *Megarians* and *Plataans*) seriously, to expostulate with the *Lacedæmonians* for the non-performance of their promise, whereby their Country was again exposed to the will and pleasure of the Enemy, and plainly to tell them, that except their associates would better stand to their word, and dispatch away their succors in time, they must needs provide for themselves apart, for as much as yet a way was open for their entry into confederacy with the common Enemy. The Ambassadors found them celebrating annual Games, and understood that the *Peloponnesians* were only intent upon their perfecting the Wall at the Isthmus, having no regard at all to them, whereof they highly complained to the *Ephori*. They promised them an answer the next day, but deferred from day to day, until after ten days the wall of the Isthmus was perfected.

58. After this time came a man of *Tegea* to them, and blaming them for their neglect of their allies, convinced them of the vanity of the Wall, in case the *Athenians* should join with *Mardonius*, for they could with ease convey him otherwise than by the Isthmus into *Peloponnesus*, wherewith being startled, in the dead time of the Night, and without privacy of the Ambassadors, they sent out five thousand men besides seven thousand of the Heilots or publick Slaves, under the conduct of *Cleombrotus* Tutor to *Plistarchus* the young King. In the morning the Ambassadors came again to them expostulating as before, whereto the *Ephori* answered, that their Succors were already on their way, whom then the other understanding the matter, followed, and with them other five thousand gathered out of the places bordering upon *Sparta*. *Mardonius* having intelligence how things went in *Peloponnesus* from the *Argives*, who all this while, were of his party, was something abashed, having till now had some hopes of the *Athenians* their compliance, for which reason he had spared their Territories. But now he destroyed all he could both in City and Country, and forsaking *Attica* as a Region dangerous to his Army, by reason of the unevenness of the Ground, and hard to be quitted suddenly in time of danger, he returned into *Boeotia* a Champain Country, and in alliance with him, where in the Territories of the *Thebans* he pitched his Tents at the River *Asopus*, bringing much damage to his friends round about, in taking up such things as were but necessary to the sustenance of his Army. The *Spartans* in the mean time lying at the Isthmus, the other *Peloponnesians* after their example came also thither, whence they marched to *Eleusine*. Thither came the *Athenians* from *Salamine*, and joyined with them, whence they followed *Mardonius* into *Boeotia*, and fate down over against his Camp at the foot of the Mountain *Cithæron*.

59. The *Greeks* brought into the Field eleven Myriads or eleven hundred thousand, according to *Herodotus*, from which number (a) others take the odd thousands, and make them just one hundred thousand. The number of the *Persian* Army amounted to thirty Myriads or three hundred thousand, besides the *Greek* Auxiliaries, which he conjectureth to have been about five Myriads more; the three hundred thousand are owned by *Plutarch*, another (b) numbereth but two hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse; but *Diodorus* on the contrary saith, that besides these Forces drawn out of *Xerxes* his Army, *Mardonius* had out of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, and the associate States, about twenty Myriads,

Burneth
Athen, and
goeth into
Boeotia.

(a) Diodorus
Julian
Orosius.

(b) Corn. Nepos
in *Alexand.*

Sect. 2.

Herodotus at
Sparta.

riads, and that his whole Army contained fifty Myriads or five hundred thousand Men. *Mardonius* when the *Græcians* were encamped, sent a party of Horse to assail them, which objecting cowardice to them, and provoking them, very light skirmishes ensued, wherewith the *Megarians* were fore put to it, being on disadvantageous Ground, but being relieved by three hundred stout *Athenians*, all others refusing, a sharp encounter followed, in which *Melissus*, who commanded the Party of the *Persians* was slain. A great contest followed about the Body, the *Persians* labouring with all their might to redeem it, all the *Persian* Horse coming into the Quarrel, and then the whole Army of the *Græcians*; but at length they were fain to return without it, and it was carried in triumph about the *Greekish* Camp. This as it brought great Sorrow to the *Persians*, so the other were much elevated in their Minds thereby, and removed their Camp into the Territories of *Plataea*, whither *Mardonius* also followed them, and encamped over against them, both parties neglecting to fight (only excepting such Skirmishes as was made by the *Persian* Horse) for ten days.

60. On the eleventh, it being palpable that the *Greekish* Army daily wasted by the revolt of many of their Countrymen, and yet that the *Persian* groaned under its own Burthen, *Mardonius* called a Council of his Officers to consult what was to be done. *Artabazus* the Son of *Pharnaces*, a man of great Nobility, and an emulator of the General, contended with him, urging that the best was to decline the Fight, and march to *Thebes*, where they might have plenty of Provision, here wanting, and whence by sending Money into the principal Cities of *Greece* (according to the advice formerly given by the *Thebans*) they might dispatch the War with Ease. But *Mardonius* being more hot and earnest, thinking his Army to be for the present stronger than the Enemy, resolved to fight, not suffering himself by any persuasions to be removed from his Purpose, and because of his Authority the rest daring not contradict it, it was resolved to fall on the next morning by break of the day. Notice hereof was given by *Alexander* the *Macedonian* to the *Athenians*, who advised them in case *Mardonius* should not fight, to stay it out; for the *Persians* were straitened for Provisions. The *Athenians* bring this News to *Pausanias* the General, who being something struck therewith, he desired them to change places, because they were better acquainted with the *Persian* manner of fighting since the Battle at *Marathon*, and the *Spartans* were more used to the *Thessalians* and *Boeotians* now opposed to the *Athenians*; they soon condescended hereunto, but *Mardonius* having notice of it, made his *Persians* change place with the *Boeotians* and the other; and though *Pausanias* again reduced his men into the former place, yet was neither this hid from *Mardonius*, who still to prevent him did the like.

61. *Mardonius* upon this sent and upbraided *Pausanias* and his *Spartans* with cowardize, especially seeing he had made a challenge to fight with them, with his *Persians*, either a certain number of each, or all together, both which were refused. Then sent he his Horse upon them, which with Darts fore troubled the whole Army, and most of all in that it hindered the fetching of Water, that the *Græcians* were constrained to change the place, and resolved to pass into an Island compassed about with the River, and near the Walls of the City, which was very convenient for watering, and lay also well for Provisions. By night they removed, but most missing of the place went to the Temple of *Funo* in the Highway to *Plataea*, and there encamped themselves, whom the *Spartans* being commanded to follow, much trouble arose thereupon by the means of one *Anompharetus* a valiant man, who for some time would not stir with his Regiment; crying out, it was contrary to the *Lacedæmonick* Discipline to fly from the Enemy, and suppling *Pausanias* and the rest durst not forsake him. But towards morning he came off from his resolution, and so all marched to the Temple of *Ceres*, situate upon the River *Moloe*, being followed close by the *Persian* Horse.

62. The Sun being risen, *Mardonius* grievously inveighing against the cowardice of the *Græcians*, and *Artabazus* for his late opinion, marched with his whole Army, as to pursue the Enemy flying, and all his Horse began fore to press upon the Backs of the *Spartans* and *Tegeatans*, joyined with them at the Chappel of *Ceres*, so that then ensued a sharp Fight betwixt them, and betwixt the *Athenians* who came into their Succour, and such *Greeks* as were confederate with the *Persians*. The *Tegeatans* charged the *Persian* Infantry, in which after much toyl and Bloodshed, *Mardonius* fighting on a white Horse in the midst of one thousand choice men, was slain by *Armesthus* the most valiant *Spartan*. After his death, his men discouraged, were slaughtered in great numbers, and put to the rout.

D d

which

The battle at
Plataea, and
Mardonius
slain.

Seçt. 2. which *Artabazus* seeing, thrust for himself with a party of forty thousand commanded by him, and fled towards the *Hellepont*: the *Greeks* that assisted *Mardonius*, though nothing inferior to their Countrymen for valour, were put to flight; and three hundred of *Thebans*, who most stoutly behaved themselves, were slain upon the place.

63. In the mean time the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Phliasians*, and the rest, who had taken up their station at the Chapel of *Funo*, hearing of the Victory of their Friends, hasted to the place all out of order, the *Corinthians* over Hill and Dale the nearest way; but the rest through the plains, who were circumvented by the *Theban* Horse, and many of them cut off. The *Persians* fled into their Camp, which they had fenced with a Rampire for security, whither they were followed by the *Spartans*, who laboured with all their might to storm the place, but were stoutly repulsed by the Defendants; till the *Athenians* coming in, and better exercised in such attempts, brake into the Camp. The *Tegeatans* followed with great violence, and took, and plundered the Pavilion of *Mardonius* with his brazen Manger; and then followed an unspeakable slaughter of the *Persians*, so that of those three hundred thousand left to *Mardonius* by *Xerxes*, excepting those forty thousand, which fled with *Artabazus*, not three thousand remained, one hundred thousand according to *Diodorus*, without mercy being put to death within the Rampire. Of the *Grecians* not many were slain, according to *Herodotus*, who reckoneth thirty one *Spartans*, sixteen *Tegeatans*, and fifty two *Athenians*, mentioned at large by him; but *Plutarch* mentioneth one thousand three hundred and sixty of the *Greekish* Army to have been slain, and *Diodorus* increaseth the number to above ten thousand. The *Mantineans* and *Eleans* came after the Victory, at which they were so ashamed, that returning home they banished their Captains as Authors of the delay. The Conquerors thence marched to *Thebes*, where the Inhabitants gave up the Authors of their revolt to the *Barbarians*, whom being carried to *Corinth*, all but *Attaginus* that escaped, he there put to death.

64. Whilst these things were thus done in *Boeotia*, the *Greekish* Fleet of which *Leutychides* the *Spartan* King was Admiral, harboured at the Island *Delos*: Hither came three Ambassadors from *Samus*, desiring aid against the *Barbarians*, and their Tyrant imposed upon them, shewing that it was most equal that *Grecians* should one vindicate the liberty of another, and that this Enterprize would be without difficulty, for as much as if the *Ionians* did but once see their Fleet, they would revolt from the *Persians*, of whom such as were amongst them would either fly, or might easily be made a Prey; Lastly, if the Ambassadors were entrusted as not representing things according to their Commission, they offered themselves as Hostages, till the truth might be cleared. *Leutychides* taking an Oath of them that they came impowered from the *Samians*, retained *Hegestistratus* (because his Name he took for a good Omen) who had been the mouth of the rest, and sending the other two before, followed the next day to *Samus*. The Sea-men that were there, stricken with great fear at the report of the Fleet approaching, dismissed the *Phenician* Vessels, and fled with the rest to the Continent, hoping to keep them safe under the protection of the sixty thousand Foot left on the Coasts by *Xerxes* to keep *Ionia* in obedience, over whom *Tigranes* was General, a man of a most proper and amiable personage.

65. The *Persians* having drawn their Ships under the Foot of the Mountain *Mycale*, near the Temple of *Ceres Eleusian*, and barricaded them with great Stones, Wood, and other Materials, came the *Grecians* with their Fleet prepared for a Fight. But understanding what was done, *Leutychides* coming near the Shore, by the voice of a Cryer aloud (as *Themistocles* had done before) endeavoured either to make the *Ionians* revolt, or at least to render them suspected to the Enemy; which being done, presently he landed all his men, resolving to try the event of a Land Battle. The *Persians* suspecting the *Samians*, disarmed them, and sent the *Milesians* to keep the passages leading up into the Mountain. As the Armies were going to meet, a sudden Rumour was spread abroad through that of the *Grecians*, that *Mardonius* with his Forces were cut off, which elevated their Spirits, and made them to Charge with great alacrity, which was also increased; for that they were now to fight at the Temple of the same Goddess, as they heard their Friends had done with *Mardonius* in *Boeotia*. Then charged they the *Persians* in a double Body, the *Athenians* with the *Corinthians* and others, on the Plain by the Sea-shore; the *Lacedemonians*, and others joined with them, through the mountainous and precipitous places, who whilst they were getting up, the *Athenians* fell on, and calling on one another to endeavour to deprive the *Lacedemonians* of the

in *Asiatic*.The battle at *Mycale*.

the Honour of the Victory, charged the Enemy so furiously, that at length they bear them back, and forced them into their Camp, whither also they brake in with them.

66. Hereupon ensuing a bloody Fight, all the rest fled except the *Persians*, who fighting with great resolution, were yet cut off and defeated upon the coming in of the *Lacedemonians* and the rest. Two of the Sea-Captains were slain, two escaped, and with the rest fell *Tigranes*, the General of the Foot, and of the *Greeks* perished not a few. The *Samians*, though disarmed, and other *Ionians* came in and helped their Friends, and the *Milesians* set to guard the Passages of *Mycale*, fell down upon the *Persians* another way, and made great slaughter of them. So was *Ionia* rent from the *Persian* Empire again, and joynted to the *Grecians*. After this performed by Land, the Conquerors burnt all the *Persian* Ships in the Haven, and being enriched with great Spoil returned to *Samus*. It was found out afterwards that this Victory at *Mycale* was obtained on the self same day as the other at *Plataea* in *Boeotia*, the later in the Morning, and the former at Evening, which caused the wonder how intelligence could be given to these that fought at *Mycale* of the success of their Country-men so far off. This hapned often in following times as will be seen, although some have thought that no report was brought any way to the Army of the Victory of *Plataea*, but that it was fo given out on purpose as a Stratagem by *Leutychides* to animate his Soldiers, who then being wholly ignorant of any such thing, he invented that which afterwards proved accordingly. These two Battels, and Victories, hapned on the third or fourth day of the Month *Boedromion*, in the second year after the invasion of *Greece* by *Xerxes*.

67. The *Grecians* lying at *Samus* fell into dispute about translating the *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, out of *Asia* into *Greece*, for that they could not be always in readiness to defend them, and they could not subsist of themselves; and the *Spartans* moved that those who had revolted to the *Persian* should be cast out, and they placed in their rooms; but the *Athenians* fearing to be deprived of the right of their Colony, which yet the *Ionians* acknowledging themselves, might own the rest of the associates for their patrons, upon such a change, dashed the project. Then were the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and others, who had revolted, religiously and solemnly sworn to the observation of the League, and the *Grecians* departed towards the *Hellepont* to break the Bridge there, which when they found broken to their Hands, they consulted about returning home. The *Athenians* were for going into the *Cherroneus* of *Thrace* to recover it out of the hands of the *Persians*, and, though the *Peloponnesians* returned, proceeding in their resolution went and besieged *Sestos* an *Æolian* Town, situate in the *Cherroneus*, over against *Abydos*. Before this Town they continued till the Autumn was far spent, and then pined out the Inhabitants, who forsook the Town, but were overtaken, and either slain, or made Prisoners, amongst the later fort of which was *Attagenes* the Governour, who because he had violated the Sepulchre of the Chapel of *Protesilaus*, a great Saint in that place, saw first his Son stoned before his Face; and then was hanged by command of *Xanthippus* the *Athenian* Admiral. Thence returned the Navy home to *Athens*, and nothing was done further this year, which was the second of the seventy fifth *Olympiad*, and the seventh of the reign of *Xerxes*, of the World three thousand five hundred twenty six, and before Christ the four hundred and seventy seven.

68. *Xerxes* all this while lay at *Sardis*, and thither those few that escaped from *Mycale* betook themselves. In the way *Majestes* Brother to the King fell foul upon *Artayntes*, one of the Captains of the Fleet, amongst other reproachful words telling him that he had in this behaved himself more cowardly than a Woman; whereupon the other drew his Dagger, and had stabbed him, but that one *Xenagoras* an *Halicarnassian* interposed himself, whom for this saving of his Brother *Xerxes* rewarded with the Government of *Cilicia*. Whilst he lay still at *Sardis* he fell in love with the Wife of *Majestes*, but she being too honest for his adulterous intentions, he married her, and his Brothers Daughter *Artaynta* to his Son *Darius*, hoping to enjoy her this way, which Ceremony being over, he returns home, leaving part of his Forces to continue the War with the *Grecians*. In his (a) flight he burned all the Temples of *Asia* except the *Ephesian*, out of indignation at his late bad success, and amongst the rest the Oracle of *Didymean Apollo* (a) amongst the *Branchinids*, who because they betrayed the Treasures of their God to him, durst not stay behind, but followed him. (b) Some say he went to *Susa*, others to *Ecbatane*, a (c) third, that by *Babylon* into *Persia*. That in his way back (c) *Darius*, from

Diodorus ad Olymp. 75. an. 26
Poljanus Pr. 1. 1
Front. lib. 1. 1
Cap. 11. Ex. 107. 7.

Herodotus ad prius lib. 9. cap. 105. 6
Diodorus ut prius.

The Median War ended after two years.

(a) Strabo lib.

(b) Herodotus

(c) Diodorus

SECT. 2.

Xerxes his inclination.

from *Greece* he (*d*) destroyed the Temple of *Belus* in that City, we also read, with all the other religious places of the *Babylonians*, taking away a Statue off that Wall of twelve Cubits, and all of beaten Gold, and killing of the Priest who offered to hinder the removal of it.

69. Being returned to *Susa*, he fell from the Mother to the Daughter too, being in love with *Artagasta* his Daughter-in-law, whom incestuously he used constantly. She begged of him a Coat, which with much art and industry *Amestris* his Wife had made for him. By her wearing of this the Queen knew how matters went, and thence followed the destruction of the whole House of *Massistes*, for on *Xerxes* his birth-day, when he used not to deny her any request, she asked *Massistes* Wife to be given up into her Power, which he doing, she cut off her Breasts, Nose, Ears, Lips, and Tongue, and in this case sent her home. *Massistes* enraged at this barbarous usage, conspired with his Children how to be revenged, and resolved to fly into *Bactria*, of which he was Governour, then to stir up that Province, and the *Sace* with whom he was very gracious, into rebellion against his Brother. But *Xerxes* coming to the knowledge of the matter, sent a party after him, which cut him off with his Children, and all his retinue. These things happened about a year after his return, with which endeth the History of *Herodotus* the Father of history (as *Cicero* called him) seeing he is the most antient of all Heathen Writers now extant.

70. The same year being the third of the seventy fifth Olympiad, and the eighth of the Reign of *Xerxes*, a year after the finishing of the Median War, so called by the *Gracians*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Paulanias*, famous for his Generalship at the Battle of *Plataea*, to set at liberty such Greek Cities as yet were under the *Persian*, who accordingly with fifty Gallies set sail out of *Peloponnesus*, and taking thirty more out from *Athens*, commanded by *Aristides*, first went to *Cyprus*, where he set at liberty such Towns as were yet held by *Persian* Garrisons, and thence to the *Hellepont*, where he took *Byzantium*, and therein many Noble prisoners of the *Persians*, whom he delivered to one *Gangylus* an *Eretrian*, to be kept as he pretended, to be put to death, but indeed to restore them to *Xerxes*. For he sent this man secretly to the King, and bargained for his Daughter to be given him in Marriage to betray *Sparta* and all into his Hands. He gladly received the Message, and wrote back again to him by *Artabazus* the Son of *Pharnaces* whom he sent to the Sea-Coasts to hold Intelligence with him, and for that purpose gave him the Government of *Dasyliis*, recalling *Magabates* who was over that Province. But *Paulanias* growing more insolent, hereupon was suspected, and afterwards at length discovered, and punished for his Treason, as farther is to be discovered in it's proper place.

71. In the third year of the seventy seventh Olympiad, and the sixteenth of *Xerxes*, *Dionodorus* ad *Olymp.* 77. ca. 3. Demotion being *Archon*, or chief Magistrate of *Athens*, the *Athenians* made choice of *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades* for their General, and with a considerable force sent him into the Maritime Coasts of *Asia*, with order to relieve the Associates, and set at liberty such as were still under the slavery of *Persian* Garrisons. He bends his course towards *Byzantium*, and took *Eione* and *Scyrus*, inhabited by *Pelagians* and *Dolopians*, and divided the Grounds thereof by lot; then casting in his Mind greater designs, sailed back to the *Piræus*, and furnishing himself with more Ships, increased his Navy to the number of two hundred, to which he added of the Associates one hundred more, and with all this Power failed towards *Caria*. Here all the Maritime Greek Cities revolted to him, and what did not, he subdued by strong Hand, which having done, he failed to *Lycia*, where he had the same success, and now requiring Ships to be provided by such as had joyned themselves in Society with the *Athenians*, he thereby mightily increased his Navy.

72. The *Persians* now levied both a Land and Sea Army, the former within themselves, and the latter out of *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Cilicia*, the General being *Tithraustes* the base Son of *Xerxes*, who by some other is said to have only had command of the Fleet, and that *Phœnædatus* was over the Land forces, though this place by another is given to *Ariomandes* the Son of *Gobryas*. *Cimon* having made discovery that the *Persian* Fleet Rode nigh to *Cyprus*, failed thither, and with two hundred fifty Ships made Head against three hundred forty, whereupon ensued a sharp Fight, both Parties fighting with great courage and animosity, till at length the *Athenians* overpowered the other, and spoiling many of their Vessels, took about one hundred with the Men in them, the rest escaping to Land at *Cyprus*, the men saved themselves by Flight, but the Ships fell into the Hands of the *Gracians*. *Cimon* not

(4) *Citius*, *Arizans* lib. 7. *Therodatus* at *Periss* cap. 183. *Strabo* lib. 16.

Dionodorus ad *Olymp.* 75. an. 1. *Thucyd.* lib. 1.

vide *Plutarch.* in *Cimon.*

SECT. 2.

idem lib. 7. *Dionodorus* at *Periss*. *Plutarch* lib. 1. *Frontinus* *Strabo* lib. ult. cap. ult. exempl. ult.

not contented with this Victory, failed towards the Land-Army of the *Persians*, then lying upon the River *Eurymedon*. To deceive the Enemy, he put his most valiant men aboard those Vessels lately taken in the Fight, adorned and cloathed after the *Persian* fashion, so that the *Persians* not doubting at all but that it was their own Fleet, kindly welcomed these counterfeits as their Friends. Hereby *Cimon* received as such, landed his men by night and fell upon the Enemies' Camp, whence ensued great fear and tumult, his men presently killing all they meet, and amongst the rest *Phœnædatus* Nephew to the King by his Brother. Of the common sort many were slain, others sorely wounded, and shortly all put to flight, yet they knew not by whom, not suspecting the *Gracians* to have any Land-Army, and therefore concluding themselves surprized by the *Pisians* upon whom they bordered.

73. Suspecting therefore this Storm to come from the Continent, they betook themselves to their Ships, and the Moon then not shining, and the Night being very dark, the Error was the more increased, so that not discerning any thing, they ran upon their own Ruine, and great slaughter was made of them on all sides. All things being thus in confusion, the *Gracian* General fearing the fragging of his Soldiers too far for Booty, according to former order, that when he set out a Light they should all come back to that place, gave out that sign by the Ships, upon sight of which they withdrew themselves thither. Notwithstanding these two Victories, which in some sense seemed to excel those of *Salamina* and *Plataea*, being fought on the same day, yet would he add one thing more as a Supplement to them. Understanding eighty *Phœnician* Ships (expected as *Plutarch* saith, by the Navy at *Eurymedon*, which was the cause why he set upon it so soon, being unwilling they should joyn) to be arrived at *Hydrus*, he failed hastily thither, where as yet the News had not arrived, but now the *Phœnicians* suspecting the truth, and thereby discouraged, he easily overcame, took and sunk all their Ships, and therein the greatest part of themselves miscarried. Hereupon ensued a certain agreement betwixt the King and the *Gracians*.

74. The next thing considerable concerning *Xerxes*, is his Death, placed in the fifth year after the former transactions, by *Dionodorus*. There was one *Artabanus* an *Hyrcanian* by birth, of great power about him, as Captain of his Guard, who consulted about making him away, and transferring the Kingdom to himself, and for that purpose inveigled *Mithridates* the Eunuch the King's Chamberlain, by whom being let in by Night with his seven Sons, they strangled him in his Bed. He reigned twenty one Years, or twenty with odd Moneths, though some there be that cut off nine Years from that number. Their ground is, for that *Themistocles* the *Athenian* being banished his Country, came to *Artaserxes*, then the new King of *Persia*, according to *Thucydides*, so that *Xerxes* must at that time have been dead. Now the same Author placeth this flight of *Themistocles* betwixt the Siege of *Naxos*, which the *Athenians* subdued, and the former exploits of *Cimon*, so that his Expedition must have happened also not in the days of *Xerxes* as we have fixed it according to *Dionodorus*, but in the reign of *Artaserxes* his successor: and *Eusebius* placing the flight of *Themistocles* in the fourth Year of the seventy sixth Olympiad (though *Dionodorus* in the second of the seventy seventh) hence it must follow, that the beginning of the Reign of *Artaserxes* must be placed higher by near to nine Years. The authority of that grave Author is in no wise to be despised, yet notwithstanding, this shortening of the Reign of *Xerxes* which must necessarily follow, is not agreeable to the Testimony of other Writers: especially it is to be considered what difficulty will arise hereby to the Chronology of the sacred Story, it being most probable, that the seventy Weeks of *Daniel* commencing in the seventh Year of *Artaserxes*, and at the death of *Sesue* *Christ*; which cannot be, if their beginning be to be assigned nine Years higher. This may incline us to believe, that some reason *Dionodorus* had (who could not but have opportunity to see and compare several Histories) not to follow *Thucydides*, and makes us rather subscribe to the number of Years by general consent ascribed unto the Reign of *Xerxes*.

Plutarch lib. 1.

Dionodorus ad *Olymp.* 78. an. 4. *Justin* lib. 3. cap. 1. *Cicero*.

idem.

S E C T. III.

From the death of Xerxes, and the beginning of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, containing the space of one hundred and three Years.

1. **XERXES** left three Sons, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, both of them at the time of his Death resident in his Court, and *Hystaspes*, who was absent in his Government of *Bactria*. *Artabanus* having murdered their Father, presently in the dead time of the Night went to *Artaxerxes*, and made him believe that his elder Brother *Darius* had made him away, out of ambition to reign himself, counselled him to provide for his own safety and honour, before he should establish himself, and offered him the Guard to rid him of him, whereby he being persuaded, sent and slew his Brother. When this was done, *Artabanus* called his Sons together, telling them this was the time of obtaining the Kingdom, and drew his Sword with an intention now also to kill *Artaxerxes*. But he being only lightly wounded, laid so about him, that he slew him upon the place, as we have it from one; though others with more reason defer the time of *Artabanus* his Death, to whom also seven Months in the Empire are attributed by * *Eusebius*.

2. It is probable, that for that time the Treason of *Artabanus* not being discovered, or for some reasons winked at, he might by a Vicegerency govern the Kingdom. By his means came *Artaxerxes* to it in his youth, a Prince of a great Spirit, and yet of a mild Nature, Surnamed *Μακρόχρως*, or *Longimanus*, because his right Hand was longer than the other, in the fourth year of the seventy eight *Olympiads*, or in the beginning of the seventy ninth, *Lyfiteus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*. A. M. 3540, four hundred sixty three Years before the birth of *Christ*. Within a while *Artabanus* laid in wait for his Life also, communicating his design to *Megabyzus*, who had married the Daughter of *Xerxes*, and for her loose life was fallen into a discontent, *Megabyzus* swore secrecy as well as he, but revealed the whole matter, so that *Artabanus* finding not the same success as in his other Treasons, was sent the same way and by the same means with which he intended to dispatch *Artaxerxes*. Now came out the whole truth concerning *Xerxes* and his Son *Darius*; and, *Spamitres* (or *Spamitres*) the Eunuch, who was accessory to the Murders, was tortured to Death. *Justin* telleth us, how the King fearing the number, and power of *Artabanus* his Sons, commanded his Soldiers to be ready armed the next morning, both for a Muster, and to exercise them. Amongst the rest appeared he according to his place, with whom *Artaxerxes* desired to change his coat-armour, pretending his was too short for him, which to do, he first putting his off, the King took the advantage and ran him thorough with his Sword.

3. After his death, his party being strong, great troubles ensued, which ended at length in the destruction thereof, three of his Sons falling in fight, and *Megabyzus* who opposed them being forely wounded, for whom now great lamentation was made throughout the Court, till at length he escaped the danger by the skill and industry of *Apollonides* the Physician, native of the Island *Cor*. The *Bactrians* also, according to *Ctesias*, revolted, with another of the King's Officers named *Artabanus*, who seemeth to have had some other command than over *Bactria*. For we are told elsewhere, that *Hystaspes* the Son of *Xerxes* was *Satrapas* or Governor of that Province, and thence may almost conclude him to have been the principal cause of the Revolt, out of indignation that being the second Brother, the youngest of all the three should be preferred before him. Two Battles were fought in this quarrel, in the latter of which the Wind being full in the Faces of the *Bactrians*, so disturbed them, that thereby *Artaxerxes* became Victor, and reduced all that Country into Obedience. *Artaxerxes* having thus revenged his Father's and Brother's death, and brought *Artabanus* and his complices to condign

punishment,

punishment, and recovered *Bactria*, settled the affairs of his Kingdom. He took care of his revenue, settled the Militia, displaced suspicious Governors of Provinces, and carrying all things with much moderation and Justice, gained great Authority from his Subjects. In the mean while the *Egyptians* hearing of the death of *Xerxes*, and in what disturbance the affairs of the *Persians* were, out of desire to recover their liberty, hearkened to the Counsel and persuasions of one *Inarus* King of *Libya*, the Son of *Plammetichus*, so that the greater part of the Country revolted, and making him their Prince, sent about to crave aid; and amongst others to the *Athenians*. They thought it their interest to impair all ways possible, the interest of *Persia*; and concluding it not amiss to get some footing in *Egypt*, resolved upon sending three hundred Ships, and prepared for the setting of them forward with all earnestness. *Artaxerxes* hearing on the other hand how things went in *Egypt*, determined to overmatch the Revolters in Provisions for the War, and for that end levied Forces throughout his Dominions, Rigged his Fleet, and omitted nothing requisite for an expedition of that moment.

4. He thought first of going down himself, but being overruled by his Friends sent *Achamenides* his Brother, according to *Ctesias*, but according to *Diodorus*, *Achamenides* the Son of *Darius*, and his great Uncle, with an Army of above three hundred thousand foot *Diodorus*, or four hundred thousand Foot, and eighty Ships, who marching as far as the River *Nile*, there pitched his Tents, refreshed his Souldiers, and prepared all things for a Battle. The *Egyptians* assisted by the *Libyans* expected the *Athenian* Fleet, which at length arrived, and got possession of the River. Presently after this a Land Battle ensued, in which, though the *Persians* for a time prevailed by their Multitudes, yet the *Athenians*, who were now acquainted with their manner of Fighting, pressing fore upon that Wing with which they joyned, did such execution as put it to flight, at which all the rest out of Fear betook them to their Heels. Great slaughters were then made in the pursuit, the greatest number of the *Barbarians* fell, and the rest betook themselves to a Fort called *White-wall*, whither the *Athenians* pursuing, took two parts of *Memphis*, and besieged them in the third division called by that Name; of four hundred thousand that came into *Egypt*, *Ctesias* writeth one hundred thousand to have been slain, and with them their Captain, killed by the Hands of *Inarus*, whose body was sent back to *Artaxerxes*. That *Achamenides* the Son of *Darius* was slain with many *Persians*, * *Herodotus* tells us by an anticipation of the Story.

5. *Artaxerxes* understanding what bad success his Affairs had in *Egypt*, and knowing the main blow to have been given from the *Athenians*, sent *Megabyzus* with a great sum of Money to *Lacedaemon* to hire that State to make War upon them, and give them something to do at home, to divert them from the assistance of his Rebels. The *Lacedaemonians* would not be bribed to fall out with *Athens*, and refused to hearken to any thing else the Ambassador offered on his Masters behalf, so that he recalled him home, and gave in charge to *Megabyzus* the Son of that *Zopyrus* who recovered *Babylon* to *Darius*, to prepare for another expedition, with whom he also joyned *Artabazus*, making choice of them both out of respect to their great valour, and skill in Military matters.

They by the Spring having got together an Army of (above three hundred thousand men, saith *Diodorus*, two hundred thousand onely saith *Ctesias*) marched down into *Cilicia*, where, and in *Phenicia* they rested their men, and caused the inhabitants of these places, together with the *Cyprians*, to provide a Navy, which being done, to the number of three hundred Ships, they furnished them with the ablest Souldiers, and all sorts of Weapons, and whatsoever was requisite for a Sea-fight, and in this preparation, together with the exercising, and training of their men, spent they almost all the Summer. In the mean while the *Athenians* laboured to storm the *White-wall* wherein the *Persians* were besieged, but they made such effectual resistance as they kept them out all this year. When Winter was over, *Megabyzus* and his Colleague led down their Army through *Syria* and *Phenicia*, the Navy Coasting all along not far off; and at length came to *Memphis*, where the fear of them presently loosed the Siege of their Country-men, whom joyning to themselves they gave Battle to the *Egyptians* and their Associates. Many fell on both sides, but most of the *Egyptians*; at length *Megabyzus* wounded *Inarus* in his Thigh, and put him to flight, who betook himself to *Byblus*, a Town situate in an Island of *Nile*, called *Protopris*, and with him such *Greeks* as had escaped the Fight, after which the *Egyptians* returned into Obedience, making their Peace with *Megabyzus*.

6. *Megabyzus*

The Egyptians revolt.

The Persians defeated.

Artaxerxes.

Pl. Clon.

Artabanus put to death.

Bactria recovered.

Diodorus ibid.

vid. Justin.

Ctesias.

* Lib. 7. cap. 82.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 79. an. 3. Thucyd. ut supra.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 80. an. 1. Tac. 74.

Ctesias.

Egypt recovered.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 79. an. 2. Thucyd. ibid.

Sect. 3.

6. *Megabyzus* pursuing them, besieged the place, which yet was so defended that they held it out a Year and six Months in despite of him. The *Athenian* Fleet lay in the River before the Town, which the *Persians* at length considering, and how it was possible by Ditches to drain the Water, and derive that course thereof another way, set about it, and so drained the Channel that the Island was now joynted to the Main, and the Ships rested on dry Land. Now *Diodorus* saith, the *Egyptians* forsook their Confederates, and returned to obedience; which the *Athenians* understanding, and how their Ships by this Stratagem of the Enemy were rendered useless, burnt them all, and nothing affrighted with so great a danger in which they were involved, called upon one another with exhortations not to commit any thing unworthy of their former noble Achievements, so that excelling those their Country-men, if possible, who lost their lives at *Thermopylae*, they resolved to fight. The *Persian* Commanders seeing their Courage, and considering their own losses already great, having lost many thousands, though they had recovered the Island, yet gave them these terms to return with safety out of *Egypt*. Their number being something above six thousand, they returned home by *Cyrene* above their expectations, having consumed six Years in the War to no good purpose. *Inarus* taken and Crucified; *Artaxerxes* then recovered all *Egypt* except some fenny parts, near which *Amyrtæus* reigned, who by reason of the difficulty of the place, and the fierceness of the People, could not be reduced into order.

Thucyd. lib. 1.
Diod. lib. 4.
Ctesias.

In the mean time, whilst the *Athenians* travelled homewards, came fifty Ships more to their relief, which being utterly ignorant of what had passed, took up their harbour at *Mendesium*, one of the Mouths of *Nile*. Here they were fet upon by the *Persians* on Land, and the *Phœnicians* by Sea, and lost most of their Vessels, a few only escaping home, and such was the end of this expedition of the *Athenians* with their associates into *Egypt*.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

7. *Artaxerxes* in the seventh Year of his Reign made a Decree in the behalf of the *Fews*, that whosoever of them would, might go up with *Ezra* to *Jerusalem* and inhabit it. He and his Counsellors contributed much Treasure, and gave them liberty to Collect what they could, and commanded his Treasurers beyond the River *Euphrates* to furnish him yearly with what he wanted, as far as one hundred Talents of Silver, one hundred Measures of Wheat, one hundred Baths of Wine, one hundred Baths of Oyl, and Salt without measure, for the Sacrifices and other Uses, according to the discretion of *Ezra*. He commanded that all things should be done according to the mind and will of the God of Heaven, lest his Anger might break out against the Kingdom of him and his Sons: the Priests and Levites he made free from all impositions, and gave Power to *Esdra*s to Constitute Judges and Governours over the people, for the settlement of the Politie or Commonwealth.

Ezra 7. 12.

8. Now though here in this Edict he no expresse mention of repairing the Walls of *Jerusalem*, or of the Request of *Ezra* in that behalf, yet is it probable enough that he would desire it, because of the often incursions of their Enemies, the *Samaritans*, and others, neither could their habitation in the City be secure, nor the work of the Temple go on with safety: and in what could all that Treasure be spent but in Fortifications? So that we may even conclude sufficient Licence and Authority to be included in this Decree, and that *Ezra* began to build the Walls, but was either hindered by other occasions, or the negligence of the *Fews*, or (more probably) the molestations of their Enemies; who because the Licence was not expresse, took thence occasion to interrupt the work till thirteen years after it was renewed, and perfected by the procurement and industry of *Nehemiah*, who obtained a confirmation rather of the former Edict, than any new Decree; So though *Cyrus* had first of all granted Licence for the rebuilding of the Temple, yet because the work was hindered by the Enemies of the *Fews*, there was need of another Edict granted out by *Darius*. As the decrees of these two Kings were in effect the same, so also those were only put in execution afterwards by *Nehemiah*, because the execution of it, as to the rebuilding of the Walls, was either remitted by negligence, or by malice of the Borderers.

Daniel 9. 24.

9. If so, the beginning of the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, fifty may be taken hence, ending most probably in the death of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Seventy weeks saith the Angel, are determined upon thy People, and upon thy holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most holy. Know therefore, and understand, that

from

Sect. 3.

from the going forth of the Command, to restore, and rebuild *Jerusalem*, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven Weeks, and threescore and two weeks: and the Streets shall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous times. And after sixty two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a Flood, and unto the end of the War desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many in one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the Sacrifice and the Oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate. Thus the Oracle, in which is contained a Prophecy concerning the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, and the coming of Christ, who should bring unconceivable benefits along with him, and yet at length be put to death, not for himself, but others, and this should be all accomplished within seventy weeks of years, which contain four hundred ninety. Lastly, it foretels, that for that horrible sin of the *Fews* in murdering the *Messias*, they should lose both Principality and Priest-hood, and be punished with perpetual Exile, and the utter and unrepairable desolation of the City.

10. Many are the opinions concerning the beginning and end of these seventy weeks amongst Chronologers. Some begin them in the first year of the Empire of *Cyrus*, and end them in the Nativity of Christ. Others fetch their rise from the second of *Darius Noshus* (Successor to *Artaxerxes*) and conclude them with the destruction of *Jerusalem*, by *Titus Vespasian*. Some make them Commence from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes* (when *Nehemiah* obtained another Decree of him) and to conclude with the passion and death of Christ; and others will have them begin in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and end in the desolation of the City by the *Romans*. But many there are who rejecting all these, with best reason, fix the beginning of them in the seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and their conclusion in the death of Christ, in which termination most of the Learned, both ancient and modern, agree.

11. For if we seriously consider the account of time, and judge of it according to the best approved Authors, the three former opinions will be found either to exceed, or come short of the number. From the beginning of the *Persian* Empire to Christ's Nativity passed about five hundred thirty years. From the second of *Darius Noshus* indeed to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, near upon four hundred ninety years intervened; but concerning any Edict made by that Prince, there is not a word in Scripture. From the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the death and passion of Christ, are found four hundred seventy six, or four hundred seventy seven, which come too short by thirteen of the four hundred ninety, and betwixt the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, are found but about four hundred fifty, which come far short of the true account; as also the Chronology of such as would fetch the rise of the four hundred ninety from the first of *Darius Medus*, and the second or sixth of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*. And although the Angel mentioneth the Punishment to be inflicted on the *Fews*, yet doth he not comprise it in the four hundred ninety years, the end of which he signalizeth by the anointing and sufferings of the *Messias*, but assigneth half a week or of seven years for the accomplishment of those Plagues, which in such a quantity of time were to be inflicted upon his murderers.

12. But if we reckon from this seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, down by *Vlad Loderici*, his Successors in the *Persian* Empire, the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*, after that of *Alex. Capelli tabularis in ceteris sacris*, under the Great, and then by the *Assyrian* or *Fewish* Princes till we come at *Sacra*, length to *Herod* the Great, and so to Christ, the just number of four hundred ninety we shall find accomplished at his death, with such small difference, as is pardonable to so many Authors handling so many things. Or if we reckon by the years of the *Olympiads* and the building of *Rome*, we shall find Christ to have died in the four hundred nintieth year after the promulgation of this Decree. The seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* fell in with the second and third of the eightieth *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius*, and the two hundred ninety fifth, or the two hundred ninety sixth of the City, from which continuing to the second year of the two hundred and second *Olympiad*, and the seven hundred eighty fifth of the City, (in which Christ was crucified) four hundred eighty nine years, or four hundred ninety are precisely found; so that farther we shall not enquire about these seventy weeks, having therein already satisfied what this design and

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SECT. 3.

work requireth, leaving the further inquiry thereof to the studious Reader, and the judgment to the Learned.

13. In the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* the *Athenians* having recalled *Cimon*, whom for ten years they had banished by the *Ostracism*, sent him with a Fleet of two hundred Sail against *Cyprus* subject to the *Persian*. Sixty of these Ships he sent into *Egypt* to the aid of *Ameyrians*, who still was up in the marshes, and with the rest he set upon *Citium* a Town in the Island. At this time were *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* still Generals of the Forces of *Persia*: the former lay with three hundred Ships in the Road of *Cyprus*, and the other with a Land-Army of three hundred thousand men quartered in *Cilicia*. *Cimon* when he had besieged *Citium* sent some Messengers to *Dolphos* to enquire something of the Oracle, but ere they got to their Journeys end, he died before the place, either of Sickness, or by some Wound, both which are affirmed. When he saw he should dy, he counselled his men forthwith to depart, and conceal his death, and they doing so, it hapned that neither the Enemy, nor Associates knew any thing of it. At this time came back the Fleet sent into *Egypt*, so that all joyning together again, they sailed to *Salamine* a Town in *Cyprus*, where they fought with the *Phenicians* and *Cilicians*, who were come to aid their Friends of *Cyprus*. In a Sea-fight they sunk many of their Vessels, took one hundred with the men in them, and pursued the rest as far as *Phenicia*. The *Persians* with that part of the Fleet which yet remained, fled into *Cilicia*, where *Megabyzus* lay, but the *Athenians* followed them with speed, and landing fell upon them, and making great slaughter, amongst the rest slew *Anaxicrates* the Sea-Captain, who most gallantly fought whilst life lasted. Then the *Greeks* victorious got them to their Ships and sailed home.

14. The King understanding what loss he had received in *Cyprus*, called a Council to deliberate what should be done thereupon, at which, when all was considered, it was resolved that it was requisite to procure a Peace if possible. He wrote then to his Captains about *Cyprus*, to make peace upon as good terms as might be; according to which order *Artabazus* and *Megabyzus* sent to *Athens* to treat about it. The *Athenians* not being averse from hearing to them, both sides sent their Commissioners with full Power to conclude; at which time also the *Argives* sent to *Artaxerxes* to demand of him whether the confederacy into which they entered with his Father remained, or they were accounted by him as Enemies; to which he answered, that he did not doubt of it's continuance, and as for his part he accounted no City more friendly to him than that of *Argos*.

The Articles of Peace concluded with the *Athenians* were, That all the *Greek* Cities in *Asia* should be free: though in the Peace with *Lacedemon* it was agreed they should be under the *Persian*; that the *Persian* Generals should not come within three days journey of the Sea, that none of *Persian* Subjects should come with a long Ship between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonian* Islands. The *Athenians* on the other part took an Oath, not to invade the King's Territories. For the Joy conceived about this Peace, they built an Altar of Peace, and graced *Callias* the principal of the Embassy with the greatest Honours. *Cimon* was dead, and with him in a manner the true gallantry of the *Greekish* Nation; for none of their Captains after him did any thing to purpose against the *Barbarians* (as they termed all except themselves) but being drawn by their Orators to intestine differences, and none after him being left to take them up, they fell one upon another, and so afforded an happy occasion to the *Persian* to breathe himself, and for a good time to effect his own security with the impairement of their interest. For though *Agessilaus* afterwards (as will be seen) passed over his Army into *Asia*, and made a short War with the *Persian* Commanders on the Sea-Coasts, yet without doing any thing of much consequence, was he recalled by Seditions at home, leaving the *Persian* Officers behind him, who exacted Impositions from the Cities confederate with *Greece*: whereas whilst *Cimon* was in command, not so much as a Carrier appeared in these quarters, nor an Horse came within four hundred furlongs distance of the Sea.

15. In the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, *Nehemiah* his Cup-bearer the Son of *Hachabiah* the *Levite* received a message, that the remnant of the Captivity left in *Judah* were in great affliction and reproach; that the Wall of *Jerusalem* was broken-down, and the Gates thereof burnt with Fire. Because of this he wept, fasted, and mourned certain days, and praying to God to make the King favourable to him, obtained to be sent with ample Commission to build up the Walls. Now was no new Edict promulgated in behalf of the *Jews*, which had been done sufficiently thirteen years before by the consent of the Princes: only Let-

Cimon died
in *Cyprus*.

Nehemiah ob-
taineth leave
to repair *Jeru-
salem*.

*Thucyd. lib. 1.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 82. an. 3.*

*Plutarch. in
Cimon.*

*Diodorus ad
Olymp. 82. an. 4.*

*Thucyd. lib. 7. cap.
101.*

*Plutarch. de
Pulchritudine in
Pisa.*

*Diod. ad Olymp.
84. 3.*

SECT. 3.

ters were written to the keeper of the King's Forreft, to furnish *Nehemiah* with wood sufficient for building of the Gates and Walls of the City, for the Temple, and an house for himself; and the Governours beyond the River were ordered to convey him over till he came into *Judah*. By virtue of this Authority he came to *Jerusalem*, and notwithstanding the indignation and opposition of the Enemies of the *Jews*, by his great diligence and valour, finished the work of the Wall in fifty two days. From the new Moon of the month *Nisan*, which followed this repairing of the Walls, to that new-Moon of the same Month in which *Christ* suffered, passed four hundred seventy five *Jewish* years, which make up four hundred ninety *Lunar* years, consisting each of twelve *Lunar* Moneths. This being not without a providence, that as from the going out of the decree to the death of *Christ* intervened four hundred ninety *Solar* years; so also from the rebuilding of the Walls to his death, should intervene so many consisting each of twelve *Lunar* Moneths. This gave occasion to many eminent men both Antient and Modern to follow the opinion of *Africanus*, in placing the beginning of the seventy weeks in the twentieth year of this King, and concluding them with the death of *Christ*: although he reckoneth from that time to the fifteenth of *Tiberius* four hundred seventy five years; whereas there are to be accounted but four hundred seventy two; and *Christ* died not in the fifteenth year of his Reign, but was then baptized.

16. *Nehemiah* not thinking it sufficient to repair the Walls whilst the frame of the State was out of frame, restored both the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity, thereof. Taking notice how all ranks of men, and especially the Priests were out of order, no certainty being of their Pedigrees; he caused to be sought for, and read, the Register of those who returned with *Zorobabel*, from which whosoever could not prove his descent from some Priestly Family was cast off from the Priesthood. Twelve years staid he at *Jerusalem*, governing with great moderation, and self-denial, and reforming abuses both in Religion and State. The Rulers of the People dwelt at *Jerusalem*, the rest of the People cast lots to bring one of ten to dwell therein, for that it was little inhabited, and nine parts to dwell in other places, the People blessing all such as willingly offered themselves to dwell in *Jerusalem*. Then return'd he to the King, from whom he yet obtained leave to come again into *Judah*, where he seemeth to have lived until the sixteenth year of *Darius* *Nothus*, in which the first part of the seventy weeks endeth, consisting of forty nine years, viz. seven weeks, which are thought to be those of which the Angel spake, that the Street should be built again and the wall, even in troublous times.

17. After *Artaxerxes* had made peace with the *Gracians*, he fell into civil and intestine Broils with *Megabyzus*, who had done him such service in *Egypt* and elsewhere, if credit be given to *Ctesar*, from whom we have a relation of these transactions. This *Megabyzus*, after he had quieted *Egypt*, and committed it to the Government of *Sartanus*, departed thence and went to the King, leading along with him *Inarus* and some *Greekish* prisoners, after he had obtained a promise from him, that no punishment should be inflicted on them, though *Ameyris* (or rather *Amestris*) the King's Mother had so layn upon him to deliver into her hands not only them, but *Megabyzus* himself her Son in Law, being enraged for the death of *Achamenes*, who in the former Expedition was slain by the *Ionians*. For five years he endured her importunity without yielding, but at length being wearied and overcome, he gave up the *Greeks* and *Inarus* into her power. His Body he nailed overhwart to three crosses, and beheaded fifty of the *Greeks*, which were all he could take. That *Inarus* was crucified *Thucydes* witnesseth, though nothing of this time or manner; and *Herodotus* reporteth, that his Son *Thannyras* was restored by the *Persians* to the Principality of his Father.

18. *Megabyzus* being forely moved with the usage of his prisoners, concealed his displeasure for a time; but getting leave to depart to his Government in *Syria*, whither he had privately sent some *Greeks* beforehand, broke out into open Rebellion, and got an Army together of one hundred fifty thousand men. Against him then was sent *Ofris* with two hundred thousand, who joyning Battel with him wounded him in the Thigh, but received two wounds from him, one in his Thigh and the other in his Shoulder, with the anguish whereof, and loss of Blood, he fell from his Horse and was taken prisoner; and though his men well behaved themselves, yet were they overthrown, and *Megabyzus* getting the Victory used him very courteously, and sent him back to the King who desired it. After this was sent more Forces commanded by *Mexifpener* Nephew to *Artaxerxes*, by his Brother *Artarius* the Governour of *Babylon*. He also giving battel to *Megabyzus*, was

E e 2 wounded

Artaxerxes his
civil War with
Megabyzus.

Lib. 3. cap. 15.

*Nehem. 1.
15. 20.*

Sect. 3.

wounded by him both in Shoulder and Head though not mortally, and being put to flight *Megabyzus* obtained another famous Victory.

19. Things going thus, *Artarius* dealt with him by Messengers, then *Artaxares* the Eunuch Governour of *Paphlagonia*, and *Amespris* also advised him yet to be reconciled to the King, afterwards *Artarius* himself, *Amytis* his Wife, and *Artaxares* (now twenty years of age) were sent to him to persuade him to go to him: being persuaded, after his return the King signified to him by a message, that he freely pardoned him all that was past, but going on a time a hunting with him, when a Lion set upon the King, as he raised himself up *Megabyzus* slew him, whereat *Artaxares* was in a great rage, that he had stricken him before he could touch him, and commanded his Head to be cut off. But by the intercession of *Amespris*, *Amytis*, and others, his life was spared, yet was he banished to *Cyrtæ*, a Town upon the red Sea, and *Artaxares* the Eunuch into *Armenia* for speaking freely to the King in his behalf.

Five years he then continued in exile, at the end of which feigning himself to be a *Pisagæ* (which in the Persian tongue signifieth a Leper, at whom no man might come) he fled away and came to his Wife *Amytis* at his own house, by whom scarcely being known, he was by her means and the help of *Amespris* reconciled once again to the King, who made him eat at his own Table as formerly, and so continued in great favour till his death at seventy six years of age, for which the King was much troubled.

20. Whilst the *Grecians* were busy with one another in the *Peloponnesian War*, of which now several years had passed, *Artaxares* sent *Artaphernes* a Persian to the *Lacedæmonians*, with a Letter written in *Affrian* Characters, in which, amongst other things, he desired to know plainly of them how they stood affected, for that he was utterly ignorant of what they thought, many Ambassadors coming, and no one of them agreeing with another, wherefore he desired, that if they intended to declare themselves, they would send some of their own back with *Artaphernes*. What was effected hereby is not known, but we find elsewhere, that the *Lacedæmonians* entered into a League with him in one matter, contrary to that formerly made with the *Athenians*. For whereas it was provided first in the one, that the *Greekish* Cities in *Asia* should be left to their own liberty, in the other they were expressly left under his Dominion; such influence had then the Civil Wars of *Greece* upon the matters of *Asia*; perhaps because the *Lacedæmonians* were jealous of the *Ionians*, as the Colony of their adversaries the *Athenians*, who, if not now, entered into War with them, were much suspected, jealousies abounding betwixt them. Not long after this Message, *Artaxares* died, having reigned according to *Diodorus* forty years complete, according to *Sulpicius Severus* forty one, but after *Ctesias* forty two, amongst which opinions it is probable that he died in the beginning of the fourth second year, after the death of *Xerxes*, in the second year of the eighty ninth *Olympiad*. A. M. 3582. four hundred twenty one years before the birth of Christ.

21. *Artaxares* had only one legitimate Son by his Wife *Damaspia*, named *Xerxes*, but seventeen by Concubines, amongst which were *Sogdianus Oebus*, and *Asistes*. *Xerxes* succeeded his Father, but was slain by *Secundianus*, as he was drunk, in the forty fifth day after his death. *Secundianus* then became King, but causing *Bagorazus* the Eunuch to be stoned for something done about his Fathers Body, incurred the displeasure of the Army, which because of this, and his Brothers death, could never be taken off by all the gifts he bestowed on them. Being jealous of his Brother *Oebus*, whom his Father had made Governour of the *Hyrcanians*, he sent for him; but he refused to come, and so did several times, till he had got a considerable Army. For *Arberius* General of the Horse revolted to him, then *Arsanes* the Viceroy of *Egypt*, and *Artoxanes* coming out of *Armenia* caused him to take the *Cidaris* (or *Charris*) a Cap peculiar to the Kings and Priests of *Persia*.

Oebus thus taking the Royal Ensign and Title of King, changed his name into *Dariusus*, and was also most commonly called *Darius Nothus*. By the advice of *Parysatis* his Wife, he enticed by all means *Secundianus* to come to him, not sparing Oaths, or any other ways to get him into his Hands, and so far prevailed, that though *Menofanes* the Eunuch counselled *Secundianus* not to trust himself, yet he came to him, and being cast into Ashes he died the same way as *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* formerly made away his Emulators, though some think this *Darius* to have been the first inventor of this Punishment, and that it is falsely ascribed by *Valerius Maximus*, to the Son of *Hystaspes*. Then reigned

Thucyd. l. 4.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 84. an. 3.

Ad Olymp. 84. an. 4.

Ctesias in Excerptis Iustini. Persicæ.

Justinus cap. 41.

he alone by himself after his brother had reigned six months and twenty dayes. Sect. 3. The three Eunuchs, *Artaxares*, *Artaphernes*, and *Arbous* were in great power with him; but especially, he was advised by his wife, by whom he had two Children, *Amistris* a daughter, and *Aspæes* a son (called afterwards *Artaxerxes*) before he came to the Kingdom. Afterwards he begot of her another son, called *Cyrus*, from the Sun; and others to the number of thirteen. But all the rest died young, except these two and his fourth son named *Oxendras*.

22. After this *Asistes* his own brother, both by father and mother, and *Artaphis* the son of *Megabyzus* revolted from him. *Artaphis* was sent with an Army against them, who falling upon *Artaphis*, was worsted in two battles; but in the third overthrew him, and corrupting the *Greeks* that fought for him, drew away all his Company, except three *Aliephians*; so that upon the Oath of *Artaphis* for his security, for that *Asistes* could not be found, he yielded himself to the King. He was minded to put him to death, but *Parysatis* his wife persuaded him to spare him for a time, for *Asistes* seeing him unpunished would also be moved to yield himself, and then he might rid himself of them both together, which accordingly came to pass, both being cast into the ashes; though *Darius* was hardly brought by her persuasions to make away his brother: now also *Pharnaces*, who with *Secundianus* had slain *Xerxes*, was put to death, and *Menofanes* being apprehended shunned the same punishment by laying violent hands upon himself.

This Rebellion was followed by the revolt of *Pisathnes* the Governour of *Lydia*, against whom *Tissaphernes* and others being sent, he met them, having in his Army *Lycon* the *Athenian*, with such *Greeks* as he had brought with him, who being corrupted by the Kings Captains revolted from him, so that with fair words he was drawn in, and carried to the King, who cast him into the ashes, and gave his Government to *Tissaphernes*, and the Cities with the regions adjoining to *Lycon* for a reward of his treachery. After this followed the treason of *Artaxares* in great power with *Darius*, who conspired about killing him, and transferring the Kingdom to himself. For this purpose being an Eunuch, he caused his wife to make him a beard, that he might seem, no other than a perfect man; but the matter being revealed by her, he was delivered into the hands of *Parysatis*, who put him to death.

23. *Aspæes* (afterward called *Artaxerxes*) the eldest son of *Darius*, married *Statira*, the daughter of *Iadarnes*, a man of prime rank amongst the *Persians*, and *Terituchmes* the son of *Iadarnes*, who after his death succeeded in his Government, married *Amistris* daughter to the King. She had a sister named *Roxana*, who being very beautiful, and well skilled in shooting, *Terituchmes* fell in love with her, and having to do with her detested his wife, inso much as he resolved to murder her by the help of three hundred men, with whom he practiced to revolt. Whilst he thought hereof, one *Udiastes*, a man in great power about him, being promised great matters if he could deliver the Kings daughter from so great a danger, slew him; but the son of this *Udiastes*, who was Armour-bearer to *Terituchmes*, and was not present at his death, after he had notice thereof cursed his father, and seizing upon the City *Zaris* delivered it up to *Terituchmes* his son. Then did *Parysatis* bury alive the Mother, Brethren, and Sisters of *Terituchmes*, and commanded *Roxana* to be cut in pieces alive. *Darius* would have had her to have made away *Statira* his daughter-in-Law together with the rest; but through the importunity of *Aspæes* her husband, the spared her; of which *Darius* told her, that afterwards she would forely repent, as it came to pass.

From the second year of this King, * *Sulpicius Severus*, and * many learned men with him, count the beginning of the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, ending them with the destruction of *Jerusalem*, because the number of years do agree, and the Angel maketh mention of that desolation; though nothing be spoken in any place concerning any going out of a Decree during the reign of this Prince, from which those weeks must needs have commenced. They must needs allow the work now to have been carried on by the solicitation of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, which had been interrupted for one hundred fifteen years, ever since the second year of the return of *Zerubbabel* and *Jesubus*, at which time they begun to build. But now at this time, and before this, lived *Malachias* the last of the Prophets, who exhorts not the people to the building of the Temple as the others did, which is an evidence of the finishing of it before; but reprehends those corruptions which * *Nehemiah* in his second Government had observed amongst the Jews, viz. marriages

Sect. 3.

His Children.

Civitas. Stris in his time.

Artaxerxes dicit.

Oebus.

Ezra. 7. Scalliger. Edit. Livianus. Justin.

* Cap. 23.

Sect. 3.

marriages with strangers, unjust detention of Tithes, and corruption of Divine worship. And because the succession of Prophets was no more to be expected; in the later end of his Prophecies he exhorts the people to keep the Law of Moses, until such time as the great Prophet the *Messias* should be revealed, before whom *John Baptist* was to come, in the spirit and power of *Elias*. The ending of the Canon of holy Scripture is by *Eusebius* placed in the thirty second year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. After these Prophets the *Hebrews* held the men of the great Synagogue to have succeeded; but the latter *Jews* reckon the three last Prophets amongst them, and *Esa* as the President of the Council.

24. Against this *Darius* the *Medes* rebelled, but were after some time subdued again into obedience. At this time the States of Greece being plunged deep in the Peloponnesian War, he made his advantage thereof as much as he could, siding with the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, who did him most hurt in *Asia*, both by their great skill and practice in Navigation, and being allied to the *Ionians*, whom as their Colonies they helped against him; so that much intercourse, and great transactions passed betwixt *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, and those of *Sparta*, which are involved in the affairs of Greece. In the seventeenth year of his reign he sent his son *Cyrus* (born since he came to the Government) down to the Sea-side as *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant, with a kind of power over the other his Lieutenants there, and Captain General of all the forces which were wont to muster at the plains of *Cistobus*: giving him in charge to assist the *Lacedæmonians* in the War against the *Athenians*, and by his help did they recover to the hopes of their former fortune. When he had continued in his charge a year or two, he grew so high that he killed his two Cousin-Germans, *Autobolaces* and *Mitranes*, because they came not to him with their hands folded under their Clothes, which Ceremony was once observed in the presence of a King. Their Parents of this complaining highly to his father, and alledging how unjust it was to condemn at such practices, he sent for him to come to him, alledging he was not well, lying then incamped in the Country of the *Medes*, against the *Cadusians*, bordering thereupon, who had revolted.

25. Leaving the command of the Cities, with all his Treasure, and the assignment of his Tributes to *Lyander* the *Spartan*, he went up, taking along with him *Tissaphernes* as his friend, with three hundred *Greeks*, under the leading of *Xenias* the *Parthian*. His father lived not long after he came to him, whom in his sickness, *Parafitis* his wife having ruled him all his life, loving *Cyrus* above her eldest son, urged him to leave him his Successor, as *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* did *Xerxes*, for that he was born to him being a King, and the other but a private person. But he thinking it not just refused to do it, but left him those Cities over which he had made him Governor, and his Kingdom to *Asaces*, or *Artaxerxes* his eldest son, and so died after he had reigned nineteen years, in the fourth of the ninety third Olympiad, the twenty seventh of the Peloponnesian War now ending. A. M. three thousand sixty; four hundred three years before the birth of Christ.

Asaces then, by the pleasure of his father, or his interest in the great ones, obtained the Kingdom, and changed his name into *Artaxerxes*, being for the excellency of his memory surnamed *Mnemom*. When he had made sure his possession, his wife *Statira* thinking it time then to revenge the death of her brother, and the rest of her kindred, caused *Udiastes*, who flew *Teristachmes*, to have his tongue drawn backwards through his neck, and cut off, and got his son *Mitridates*, who had delivered the *Citie Zares* into the hands of *Teristachmes* his son, to succeed in his Government. Not long after his fathers death *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, there to be initiated by the *Persian* Priests in the royal mysteries. There was a Temple dedicated to some warlike God-goddes, thought to be *Diana*, whose Temple he that was to be initiated entering must put off his own Clothes, and put upon him a Garment worn by *Cyrus* the Great, before he came to the Empire; there was he to eat such a quantity of Figs, to drink Milk mingled with Vinegar, and perhaps used some other unknown Ceremonies. Whilst the King was about these things came *Tissaphernes* unto him, and with him a Certain Priest, who having been appointed the instructor of his brother *Cyrus*, had taught him the Magical Arts. He accusing him of treasonable practices, had more credit given to him, because *Cyrus* had resolved to set upon the King in the Temple, and kill him as he should put off his Clothes; some say he was apprehended upon this accusation, others, that he came indeed into

into the Temple, and being hid by the priest, was discovered and taken. Sect. 3.
26. The King was minded to put him to death, and out of reverence to his Family caused him to be bound in Golden Chains, but their mother took him in her arms, wrapped him in her hair, laid her neck to his, and with great lamentations and intreaties prevailed for his pardon, and sent him back again into his former Province of *Lydia*, and the Sea-coasts. When he came there, not at all contented with this command, nor so much as remembering that he was saved by his mother's intercession, as that he was taken and bound by his brothers, burned more than ever with a desire of reigning. And to this purpose, as secretly as he could, gathered forces of the *Greeks*; and under one pretence or other, laid out for foreign aid both far and near, hoping to surprize his brother. The *Ionian* Cities given up now into the hands of *Tissaphernes* revolted to him, all except *Miletus*, the Inhabitants of which he finding to practice the same, killed some, and drove away the rest, who flying to *Cyrus*, he besieged the City both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore them. Then wrote he submissively to his brother, desiring he might have the Government of those Cities rather than *Tissaphernes*, and herein he was furthered by his Mother, who lying as it were his Lieger at Court, made the best of all things. Hence was *Artaxerxes* deluded, suspecting nothing, but accounting these forces to be kept together against *Tissaphernes*, betwixt whom and *Cyrus* he little regarded though there were a War, and the rather, because *Cyrus* sent him the Tributes due from the Cities, which *Tissaphernes* had formerly kept in his hand.

27. *Clearchus* at this time being banished from *Lacedæmon*, came to *Cyrus*, who after conference with him admired the man, and gave him ten thousand *Daricks*, wherewith he levied an Army, and passing out of *Cherronesus* warred upon the *Thracians* that inhabited above the *Hellspont*, thereby greatly promoting the affairs of the *Greek* Cities, inasmuch that they willingly furnished him with money to maintain his Forces which were only raised for *Cyrus*, though thus employed for a cover to the design, and till he could be in a readiness. There was also one *Ariftippus* a *Thessalian* a guest of *Cyrus*, who being overpowered by his Country-men of the contrary faction came to him, and requested him to spare him two thousand Mercenaries and three months pay, alledging that thereby he should be able to overcome his adversaries. He granted his request, and doubled both the number of men and sum of money, desiring him withal, not to agree with his adversaries till they two had conference together; and so this Army in *Thessalie* (though not discovered) was kept on foot and maintained for him. Further he sent to *Proxenus* the *Boeotian*, his friend, to bring unto him as many men as he might, under pretence of warring against the *Pisidians*, who spoiled his Country; and *Sophenetus* the *Symphalian*, with *Socrates* the *Achean*, who likewise were both his Guests, to come to him with as many men as they could make, under colour, together with the banished *Adesphans*, of making War upon *Tissaphernes*.

28. When he was now resolved to march up into the higher Provinces against his brother, and for that purpose must gather all his Forces together, he gave out, that his purpose was to chase the *Pisidians* wholly out of the Country, and so, as for that intent, assembled both his *Barbarian* and *Grecian* Troops. He commanded *Clearchus* with the Army held to come unto him, *Ariftippus* to compound with his adversaries, and send him his Forces, and *Xenias* the *Areadian* (whom he had appointed General of the Mercenaries that lay in Garrisons in the Cities) leaving only so many as should be necessary to keep the Cittadels, gathered those Forces together, and brought them to *Sardis*, being about four thousand armed Foot. He sent for those that lay before *Miletus*, and invited the banished men to his service, promising, if his affairs succeeded, not to give over till he had restored them, which they gladly accepted of. *Proxenus* came with fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred light-armed foot. *Sophenetus* the *Symphalian* brought one thousand armed, *Socrates* the *Achean* about five hundred, *Pisfon* the *Megarian* three hundred, and as many Palatits or Targetiers.

29. He had before this sent to *Lacedæmon*, desiring of that State, that as he had formerly aided them against the *Athenians*, so they would not refuse now in his need to do the same for him: boasting in his letters, that if they sent him Foot-men, he would provide for them Horses, if Horse-men, Chariots, if they had before of their own certain pieces of ground, he would give them whole Villages, and he would not count but measure their pay to them. They counting

is pardoned but

practised new matters.

Xenoph. Heli. lib. 10.

idem ibid. & Xenoph. Cyri lib. 1. Diodorus ad Olymp. 93. an. 1. ad Olymp. 94. an. 3. J. lib. 10.

A. M. 3600. 61. 93. an. 1. 94. 349.

Plutarch in Artaxerxa.

Artaxerxi. Mennem fac. coedeb. cyrius.

Cyrus for his misdeemours sent for.

Cyrus death.

Cyrus attempt his brother's death.

idem ibid.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 91. an. 1.

Sect. 3.

it but just and agreeable enough to their own interest (not considering against whom they engaged) decreed aid to be sent to him, thinking hereby if he overcame, to ingratiate themselves with him; but if *Arsaxerxes* should get the better, to excuse themselves well enough, as having decreed nothing against him absolutely. The *Ephori* then presently wrote to their Admiral, to do whatsoever he should command, who accordingly went to *Ephesus* and joyned himself with *Tamos* the *Byzantine* and Admiral to *Cyrus*, with whom he failed into *Cilicia*, and there prevailed that *Syennesis* the Prince of that Country hindered not *Cyrus* as he passed by Land against his Brother. *Tissaphernes* conceiving that these preparations were greater than fitted the War against the *Pisidians*, with a party of five hundred Horse, hastened to the King with all possible speed, who as soon as by him he had the intelligence, made contrary preparations. *Cyrus* after he had committed the care of *Lydia* to some *Persians* of his Kindred, and given the charge of *Lydia*, *Abolis*, and the parts adjacent to *Tamos* of *Memphis* his faithful friend, he presently set forwards toward *Cilicia* and *Pisidia*, it being bruted up and down that some of these people had revolted. From *Sardis* he marched through *Lydia*, and after four encampings, came an hundred and twelve miles and an half to *Colosse*, a great, rich, and well inhabited City, where he stayed seven days, and *Menon* the *Thessalian* came to him with a thousand Armed Foot, and five hundred *Dolopian*, *Asiatic*, and *Olympian* Pelasgi. From thence he marched in three Encampings seventy five miles and an half to *Celene*, a great and rich City of *Phrygia*, where he rested thirty days, and *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* came to him with a thousand Armed Foot, and eight hundred *Thracian* Pelasgi, and two hundred *Cretian* Archers; and *Sofias* the *Syracusan* brought a thousand Armed Foot, and *Sophenatus* the *Aracadian*, the same number. Here he also mustered the *Greeks*; and found them to be eleven thousand Armed, and about two hundred Pelasgi or Tartagiers.

Cyrus marcheth up against his Brother.

30. From *Celene* he marched, in two Encampings, ten Parasangs, or thirty seven miles and an half, and came to *Pelte*, where he stayed three days; and thence, in two Encampings, forty five miles, and arrived at the Market of the *Ceramanians*, a City full of People, and the last in the Country of *Mysia*. And hence, in three Encampings, he marched thirty Parasangs, an hundred and twelve miles, and reached to the Plain of *Cayster*, a City well peopled, where he rested his Army five days. Here the Army made much ado for pay, being more than three months behind, which he was enabled to pay them with a month over, by the coming of *Epiasias*, Wife to *Syennesis*, King of *Cilicia*, who brought good store of Treasure with her. From thence, in four Encampings, he proceeded seventy five miles as far as *Tyrianum*, a City full of people, and hence, in three Encampings, seventy five miles, and arrived at *Iconium* the last City of *Phrygia*. He stayed here three days, and then marched, in five Encampings, through *Lycæonia* an hundred and twelve miles, which Country he suffered the *Greeks* to spoil as Enemy. Now he sent away the *Cilician* Queen by the nearest way into her own Country, and with her *Menon* the *Thessalian* and his Regiment, to make way for his passage into that Country.

31. *Cyrus* with the rest, marched through *Cappadocia* twenty five Parasangs, or ninety three miles and an half in four days, and came to *Dana* a great and wealthy City, where he put to death two *Persians* for Treason against himself. From hence attempt was made to break into *Cilicia*, but the Straights were so narrow, that one Chariot could not pass at once, and withal exceeding steep, so that if resistance was made it was impossible, which *Syennesis* the King was fain to be ready to make at the height of the Straights; and the Army for that reason staid in the Plain. But the next day word was brought that he had quitted the passage, after he perceived *Menon's* Troops to be got into *Cilicia* beyond the Mountains, and heard how a Fleet of *Lacedæmonian* Gallies were with those of *Cyrus*, under Sail to pass from *Ionia* thither, under Conduct of *Tamos*. Then ascended he the Mountain without any opposition, from which descending, in four Encampings, he marched ninety three miles and an half, and came to *Tarusus* and a great rich City of *Cilicia*, where was the Palace of *Syennesis*, and through which runneth *Cydanus*, a River two hundred foot in breadth.

32. The Inhabitants thereof, except such as bought and sold, fled with their King to the tops of the Mountains, leaving the City to be sacked with the Palace by the Soldiers, enraged for the loss of an hundred of their Companions of *Menon's* Regiment. *Cyrus* sent for the King to come to him, who refused it, till overcome by the persuasions of his Wife, and then he gave him great sums of money

Platoch is Aristot.

Tissaphernes.

Tissaphernes.

Tissaphernes.

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Sect. 3.

ney to uphold his Army, and received back such gifts as were accounted most honourable amongst Kings, as an Horse with a golden bit, a Chain of gold, Bracelets, a sword decked with gold, a *Persian* Garment, and Freedom of his Land from Spoil; as also restitution of Slaves taken in Spoil by the Soldiers whereforever they could be found. Here the soldiers now imagining that they were lead against the King hastily refused to go any farther, it being, as they said, no part of their agreement. *Clearchus* went about to force his men to proceed, but they, as soon as he offered to go forwards, cast stones at him and at his carriage beasts, whereby he was forced to betake himself to a fair and politic way; and to effect it (which with trouble enough he did) *Cyrus* gave out that he went against *Abrocamas* an Enemy of his, who laid upon the River *Euphrates* about twelve encampings from thence, that if he found him there, he would be revenged on him, and if he fled away they should deliberate what to do. Hereupon, though they suspected the matter, yet they resolved to hold on, and upon demanding more pay, he promised them half as much more as formerly they had: viz. a *Darick* and an half instead of one *Darick* to every Soldier. All this while no man heard in publick they were led against the King.

33. From *Tarusus* in five encampings he marched about eighty three miles to *Ilios*, the last City of *Cilicia*, well peopled, large, and rich, and situated upon the Sea, where he remained three days. Hither out of *Peloponnesus* came to *Cyrus* thirty five *Lacedæmonian* ships, under the command of *Pythagoras*, together with *Tamos*, who brought from *Ephesus* twenty five of *Cyrus* his ships, wherewith he had besieged *Miletus*, and *Cherisophus* the *Lacedæmonian* whom *Cyrus* had sent for, and who brought with him seven hundred armed Foot. Whilst the Army lay here, the *Græcian* Mercenaries that served *Abrocamas*, viz. four hundred armed Foot revolted and came to *Cyrus*. From hence in one encamping he came about eighteen miles to the Straights of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, defended with a wall on each side, betwixt which ran the River *Kerfos* a hundred foot broad. The distance betwixt the walls was three furlongs, admitting no passage by force, the neither way toward the Sea being narrow and fenced with strong walls, and the upper nothing but inaccessible Rocks, in either wall there being set a gate. This passage *Cyrus* suspecting to be stopped by *Abrocamas*, sent for his ships to transport so many men as might force it: but he upon hearing of *Cyrus* his coming into *Cilicia*, returned with all speed out *Phenicia* to the King though reported to have an Army of three hundred thousand men.

34. From the Straights he marched in one encamping eighteen miles, and upwards, and came to *Myriandrum* a City of *Syria*, inhabited by the *Phanicians*, upon the Sea, being a place of traffick, where many ships of burthen then rode in the Haven. Here he remained seven days, and *Xenias* the *Aracadian* Colonel, with *Pasfon* of *Magara* shipping themselves sailed homewards, discontented, as was thought, because *Cyrus* suffered *Clearchus* to keep their Soldiers, which refusing to go any further against the King, removed into his Camp, with intent to return into *Greece*. From thence in four encampings he marched seventy five miles to the River *Chatos*, a hundred foot broad, which was full of great tame Fish, which the *Syrians* counted gods, and therefore suffered them not to be harmed no more than Pigeons. The Villages where they encamped belonged to *Paristis*, being assigned her for her maintenance. Thence in eight encampings he marched a hundred sixty eight miles to the River *Euphrates*, whose breadth was three furlongs, and upon which was built the great and rich City *Thapsacus*, where the Army remained five days.

35. Here it was openly declared to the *Greeks* that they were led against the King, for which they were very angry with their Officers, who, they said they were sure, knew it before, for not acquainting them sooner with the design; and refused to stir one foot forward, except upon promise of as much as their Country-men had, who formerly waited on *Cyrus* to his father. He promised to give every man five pounds in silver (of the value of fourteen pounds, eleven shillings, eight pence, sterling) as soon as they came to *Babylon*, and to continue their whole pay, till they should be sent back into *Ionia*, to which conditions most of them yielded, and *Menon* prevailing with his Regiment to pass over the River first, whilst the other were yet in consultation, thereby to gain greater favour with *Cyrus*, all the Army followed, not a man being over above the breasts in wading over, so that this passage seemed to be miraculous, and to portend more good to *Cyrus* than followed, the River giving way to

Sect. 3. to him, which they of *Thaſſus* reported never to have been paſſed over on Foot before, but only with ſhipping, which *Abrocamus* had burnt to hinder him in the paſſage. Thence in nine encampings he marched fifty Paraſangs, or one hundred eighty ſeven miles and upwards through *Syria*, and came to the River *A raxes*. Here they ſtayed three days, and made proviſion of Viſuals, and then departing thence, marched through the Wilderneſs of *Arabia*, one hundred thirty miles in five encampings, having *Euphrates* on the right Hand, and proceeding through this Country came to the River *Malca*, where they ſtayed three days in making proviſion for the Army; whence in thirteen encampings they marched through the deſert ninety paraſangs, or three hundred thirty ſeven miles and an half, and came to the Straights.

36. Proceeding in their Journey hence, they might diſcover the footings, and dung of Horſes; for a party had been ſent of about two thouſand, which going before the Kings Camp, burnt up the Fodder, and made havock of all things profitable for uſe. Now came *Orontes* a *Persian* to *Cyrus*, whom having fought to betray him in times paſt, and pardoned by him, attempted now to do the like, but was diſcovered, and put to death. Marching ſtill forward they proceeded in three encampings forty five miles through the Country of *Babylon*. In the third encamping at midnight *Cyrus* ſet his men in order, thinking his Brother to be near, and would give him battle the next morning. The *Gracians* were in number ten thouſand four hundred Armed, and two thouſand four hundred Targetiers, the *Barbarians* with *Cyrus* were ten Myriads (or one hundred thouſand) beſides about two hundred Sythed Chariots. From hence in order of Battle he marched ſome twelve miles, thinking the King would have fought that day, becauſe at the end of this half days Journey he found a Trench caſt five Fathoms broad, and three deep, running up forty five miles into the Country, as far as the Wall of *Media*, where the four Channels begin that derived out of the River *Tigris*, fall into *Euphrates*. This Trench the King cauſed to be made after he heard that *Cyrus* was ſtirling, who now paſſing it without any diſturbance, he and all his Army were ſtrongly perſwaded that the King determined not to Fight; whence he had not ſo great care of his March the next day, and the third day after he advanced ſitting in his Chariot: the moſt of his Army marched conſulently, many of the Souldiers having their Arms laid upon the Wains, and carriage of Beaſts.

37. Now it was time, the Market was full, and the place of encamping where they ſhould quarter was at hand, when *Patagias* a *Persian*, one of the faithfullſt of *Cyrus* his Train was ſeen to come upon the Spur, his Horſe dropping with Sweat, crying out in the *Persian* and *Greek* language that the King was hard by, with an huge Army, ready and prepared for Fight. This news made a great conſuſion, all thinking they ſhould be charged in that diſorder, *Cyrus* leaping from his Chariot, put on his Curace, and mounting on horſeback, took his Dart in his Hand, and commanded the reſt to arm, and every man to take his place. *Clearchus* ſtood in the point of the right Wings, by the River *Euphrates*, *Menop* and his Regiment held the point of the left, and *Cyrus* himſelf the midit with fix hundred horſemen armed with great Curaces, and Taſes, and all of them with Caſks, except he alone, who ſtood waiting the Fight with his Head unarmed, according to the cuſtom of *Persia*. The King had with him ninty Myriads (or nine hundred thouſand) and one hundred fifty Chariots, having on both ſides Sythes prominent, and bearing ſtraight forth from the Axle-trees, and ſome from the former ſeat of the Chariot with their points turned towards the Ground, that they might cut in pieces whatſoever they met and ſtruck upon: His purpoſe was to ſend them with high ſpeed againſt the Ranks of the *Gracians*, to break and rent them aſunder.

38. The Kings Army came on an equal and flow pace, in great ſilence, quietneſs, and order, which amazed, and diſcouraged *Cyrus*, and the *Gracians*, little expecting any ſuch thing. *Cyrus* now galloping up to the right Wing, cried out to *Clearchus* to lead the *Gracians* againſt the middeſt of the Enemies battle, becauſe the King was there, ſaying that if he were overcome, there would be no more for them to do. *Clearchus* ſeeing the middeſt of the Battle, and hearing from him that the King, by reaſon of his multitude which ſtretched out the Body, was far without the point of the left Wing of the *Gracian* Phalang, would not for all that draw away the right wing from the River, fearing to be confronted, and incompaſſed on both ſides: but answered, he would have a care that all things ſhould go well. The word was betrayed before they joyined ſo that they were forced to change it to *Supper*, the *ſaviour*, and *victory*, after the giving of which the *Gracians* ſinging the *Peau*, and running on with a ſhout, the

the *Barbarians*, before they came within an Arrows ſhot, turned their Horſes and fled, the other following the Chace with all ſpeed, and crying to one another not to haſte too much, but to follow in good order. The Chariots void of Guides were carried, ſome upon the Enemies themſelves, ſome upon the *Gracians*, who upon a forecaſt opened, and let them paſs through, only ſome were overthrowen by fear, who notwithstanding were reported to have had no harm, nor yet any other *Gracian* in this whole fight, one only excepted, who was ſtruck with an Arrow in the left ſide.

Cyrus worſhipped as King.

39. *Cyrus* beholding this fight much rejoiced, and was now worſhipped as King by thoſe about him; norwithſtanding he followed not the Chace, but keeping by him his fix hundred Horſe, obſerved what the King would do, who being in the midt of his Phalang, without the point of *Cyrus* his left Wing, and ſeeing no man to fight againſt him on the contrary part, wound, and turned his Battle to the left hand, to overwing, and encampaſs in his Enemies. *Cyrus* perceiving it, and fearing, left coming on the backs of the *Gracians* he ſhould cut them in pieces, galloped forth, and met him in front, and charging with his fix hundred, overcame, and put to flight the fix thouſand that were ordered before him, and with his own Hands (as was reported) ſlew *Artaſerxes*, one of his Generals. His fix hundred purſuing hotly were diſperſed, except a few that were left with him, for the moſt part ſuch as uſually ſat at his Table, with which being accompanied, he ſiepled the King, and the Troup about him, and after he had ſaid I ſee the man, flew out directly againſt him, ſtruck him on the Breaſt, and wounded him through the Curace, as *Crefas* of *Gnidus* the Kings Phyſician related, who reported alſo that he cured the Wound. Whileſt *Cyrus* thus fought, one with a Dart hit him a fore blow under the Eye.

Cyrus ſlain.

40. The King and *Cyrus* with their followers in defence of either of them thus coping together, *Cyrus* was ſlain by the King, as his flatterers ſaid, as others by a *Carian*, though *Crefas* writeth his death to have hapned after the King had withdrawn himſelf to an Hill, being firſt wounded beſides the Eye, and then diſpatched by a thruſt into his left Leg, by a *Caunian* of a baſe condition, who with other of his Companions had thruſt himſelf, it being now dark, in amongſt his followers. Here he died in the battle of *Cannax* a place diſtant from *Babylon* five hundred Furlongs, or ſixty odd Miles, a man in the opinion of ſuch as had acquaintance with him, of a moſt Kingly diſpoſition, and moſt worthy a Crown of all the *Persians* that ſucceeded *Cyrus* the Great. *Clearchus* before the Fight adviſed him to keep himſelf behind the Army, and not to venture into danger, to whom he replied as one who wiſhed him to carry himſelf unworthy a Kingdom whileſt he fought for one. In the opinion of *Plutarch*, not ſo much his railneſs (though inexcusable) as the lazineſs, not to ſay cowardice, of *Clearchus* is to be condemned, who having marched ſo many Miles for no other purpoſe than to place him in the Throne, not ſo much endeavoured his ſafety and Conqueſt, as his own eaſe and ſecurity: The event of the Fight ſhewed, that none of thoſe about the King would have endured the leaſt brunt from the *Gracians*, and that after they had been put to flight, and he with them, or elſe killed in the place, the Victory and Kingdom muſt have remained to *Cyrus*. But this advantage was loſt by *Clearchus*, who ſo placed his men that *Artaſerxes* could not have deſired a more convenient order, on his part, they being at greateſt diſtance from him and his Army, inſomuch that he neither perceived himſelf overcome by them, and *Cyrus* was ſooner ſlain than they could reap any fruit of their Victory. This Battle was fought about the beginning of the fourth year of the ninety fifth Olympiad, *Epanetus* (or *Xenometus*) being Archon at *Athens*, in the third ending, or fourth beginning of *Artaſerxes*.

41. *Artaſerxes* commanded the Head, and right hand of *Cyrus* to be cut off, and following the Chace, chanced upon his Camp, which they plundered, and took thence his *Phoecean* Concubine, called the wife and beautiful, whoſe name in her own Country was *Mitto*, but by *Cyrus* called *Alpiſia*, whom the King moſt loved, and kept amongſt his three hundred fixty Concubines. Now were he and the *Gracians* near four Miles aſunder; the laſt giving Chace to ſuch Enemies as ſtood before them, as if they had been Conquerours of the whole Army; the other riſing the Camp of the *Gracians*, as if his Army had gained the Victory. After this both parties rallied again for a new engagement, but the *Barbarians* received not the *Gracians*, but fled with greater ſpeed than before. Having perſued them ſome way, the *Gracians* made an *Holt*, and reſted themſelves, wondering they ſaw not *Cyrus*, being ignorant what was befallen him.

Sect. 3.

Xenoph. at Cyrenae.
Plutarch in Artaſerxes.

A.M. 3607:
P. C. 313:
Xenoph. at
Plutarch. at
Artaſerxes.

The *Gracians* having the better in the battle, are ignorant of *Cyrus* his death.

Sect. 3.

Then after some consultation what was to be done, they returned to the Camp about Supper time, where they found the most of their Goods rifled, and especially the Meat and Drink, and the four hundred Wains laden with Meal and Wine, which *Cyrus* had prepared to relieve them, in case the Army should at any time be driven to want. The most of them therefore were supperless, having also wanted their Dinner that day: for that the King came in fight before they could refresh themselves. Thus this day ended, and together with the Story, the first Book of the *Ascent of Cyrus* commonly ascribed to *Xenophon* as the Author.

42. The *Gracians* hearing of *Cyrus*'s death were much troubled, and offered *Arius* (a *Persian*, who followed *Cyrus*, and commanded his left Wing) to place him in the Throne; but he refused it, for that, as he said, there were many *Persians* in all respects better than he, who would never endure that he should be King. *Artaxerxes* sent a Message to them to lay down their Arms, and to repair to his Gate, there to submit themselves to his mercy. The Coronels were divided in their opinions concerning it, and gave several answers according to their apprehensions, but *Clearchus*, for all a doubtful one, viz. that if they might be accounted as his Friends, they should be better Friends having Arms, than delivering them up to any man; if no remedy there was but War, they should better make War with Arms, than without, after they had rendered them up. And whereas he offered them Truce, as long as they abode in the same place, but threatened War if they stirred thence, he replied only, that they would expect accordingly. Then resolved he, after he knew *Arius*'s answer, and how he invited them to march back again into *Ionia*, for that the Sacrifice killed about marching against the King was not propitious, to join the Army unto his, which accordingly he did, *Arius*, and the Officers of the *Gracians* taking an Oath to be Friends, Confederates, and not to betray one another. The League was entered into on this manner: They killed a Boar, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram; and the *Gracians* dipped the point of a Sword, the *Barbarians* of a Spear in the Blood of these Beasts, being poured out into the hollowness of a Target.

43. The length of the Journey from *Ephesus* in *Ionia* to the place of the Battle was ninety three encampings, five hundred thirty five parasangs, sixteen thousand thirty Furlongs, two thousand Miles and above, which though very long, yet resolved they to take another and longer way through *Paphlagonia*, because the former was destitute of Provisions. Then set they forward that way, marching more slowly for the better gathering of necessaries, and after the King had somewhat recovered of his Wound, he pursued them, and pitched his Tents hard by theirs; but with the noise of them his men were so affrighted, that some of the nearest to them removed their Tents, and on the next day setting their men in order for Battle, he who before had made such large demands, sent and offered them Truce, and covenanted to let them have free passage through his Territories till they came to the Sea, and afforded them Provisions for their money, which was also granted to all the Mercenaries who served under *Arius* (or *Arius*'s) and *Clearchus*. Then proceeded the *Greeks* on their Journey, and the King returned to *Babylon*, where rewarding those that had best deserved on him in the last Battle, he judged the Service of *Tissaphernes* to have been most eminent, therefore as a reward (amongst several other noble Gifts) he gave him his own Daughter to wife, and the government of such places as formerly had been under *Cyrus*, binding him to him thereby so, as he proved ever most faithful to him.

44. *Tissaphernes* seeing how the King was incensed against the *Gracians*, promised him to destroy them all, if he were but furnished with Forces to that purpose, and could but withdraw *Arius* from them, by whom he doubted not but they might easily be betrayed. The King accepting his offer, gave him leave to chuse of the most valiant of his Army as many as he would, with which he followed after, and incamping near to them, sent for *Clearchus* and the other Coronels to come to him, pretending he had somewhat for their good to say to them. They with the Captains of the several Companies going to him, with two hundred more (who went to buy Victuals) he secured the Coronels called into his Tent, and killed the Captains at the Door with the other two hundred, of which one chanced to escape with the News thereof to the Camp. The Coronels were sent to the King, who put them all to death except *Menon*. The Soldiers at first greatly terrified, having now no body left to command or lead them, by the advice of *Xenophon* made choice of other Leaders, amongst whom *Cherisophus* was chief, and he himself was one, being elected into the place of

They join with *Arius*, and retreat.

The King pursued and is forced to dismiss them.

Tissaphernes intrapeth their Officers.

Xenoph. An. lib. 2.

Xenoph. An. lib. 2. & Diodorus ad ann. 4. Olymp. 94.

The Soldiers make a new choice, in which *Xenophon* is one.

Proxenus, who being his ancient Friend and Guest sent for him, and promised him if he would come, to make *Cyrus* his Friend, who, as he esteemed him, would be more to be prized than his own Country. He communicated the matter to *Socrates* the Philosopher and his Master, who, for that *Cyrus*'s interest seemed cross'd to that of the City of *Athens*, seeming to stand with the *Lacedaemonians*, advised him to consult the Oracle of *Delphos*. Thither he went, and enquired how he might best accomplish his Journey, to which was answered, that he must Sacrifice to those Gods to whom he ought to Sacrifice, which he reporting again to *Socrates*, he blamed him for so propounding his Question, alleging he ought to have asked whether he should travel or no, and not as one resolved already to do it; but seeing it was so, he must do as he was bidden, and accordingly he followed *Cyrus* to *Sardis*, where *Proxenus* presented him to him.

45. The *Gracians* marching on towards *Paphlagonia*, where dogged at the Heels by *Tissaphernes*, who being afraid of the valour of desperate men, never durst engage in any Battle with them, but only flank'd them or fell in upon their Rear, as he could have opportunity, and yet followed them as far as the Borders of the *Carduchians*, after which, seeing he could not do them any considerable hurt, he departed with his men towards *Ionia* another way. The *Carducians* a warlike Nation and at Enmity with the King, and much exercised in flinging of great and massie Stones, much disturbed the *Gracians* in their passage of their Country, and in the passing the Mountains thereof were spent seven days. With great difficulty and danger having pass'd it, they went over the River *Centritis* into *Armenia*; of which *Artabazus* being then Governour, entered into league with them, and suffered them quietly to pass; but in travelling thorow the Mountains they were near all being overwhelmed in the Snow, the discerning of ways being taken away thereby. The whole Army had perished also by extrem cold, had they not light upon some Villages near hand, wherein being furnished with plenty of necessaries, they refreshed themselves. The Houses stood within the Ground, into which the men descended by Stairs, and their Cattel by descents made for that purpose. Having here stay'd eight days, they journeyed thence to the River *Phasis*.

46. Having continued four days at this River, they marched through the Country of the *Tacchi* and *Phasians*, by whom being opposed, they fought and made great slaughter of them, and then seized upon their Villages, which were plentifully furnished with such things as they wanted, they there rested fifteen days. Thence marching through the Territories of the *Chalcidians*, in seven encampings they came to the River *Harpalus*, and thence coming into the Plains of the *Tascutini*, they there refreshed themselves three days, and proceeding, in four encampings they arrived at a great City called *Gymnasia*. The Prince of this Countrey entering into a League with them, furnished them with Guides to the Sea, of which, after fifteen days being got up to the Hill *Chenius*, they got a sight a far off, at which the Front shouted so for joy, that those in the Rear thinking they had been set upon by some Enemy, prepared themselves for a fight, and there laid they a great heap of Stones as a Monument to Posterity, of the Spoils obtained from the *Barbarians*, and the immortal memory of their Expedition.

47. Then came they into the Country of the *Maeri*, with whom they made a League, by taking and receiving a Spear, according to the custom of these *Barbarians*. Having got over their Mountains they came into the Territories of the *Coleri*, where a great multitude opposing them, they made no small slaughter of the Inhabitants, and made a great Spoil, where they found a kind of Honey, of which whosoever did eat, became according to the quantity eaten, drunken, mad, or as dead, but the next day at the same hour returned to their right Senses, and after three or four days arose as having received some Medicine. Thence in two encampings they came to *Trapezond* a *Gracian* City well inhabited, situate upon the *Euxine* Sea, being a Colony of the *Sinopeans*, placed in the *Colebian* Country. Here *Falox* with his Companions are reported to have arrived with their Ship *Argos*. They sacrificed to *Hercules* and *Jupiter*, and celebrated Games of Exercise, and hence was *Cherisophus* sent to *Byzantium* to provide Ships for the transportation of them home, and for him here they stay'd thirty days, but after that term he returning not, their Provisions growing scarce, though they had made excursions both by Sea and Land, they put on Ship-board (having obtained a little Shipping of the *Trapezuntians*) the Sick, all those above forty Years of Age, with the Women and Children, and

Sect. 3.
Xenoph. Exped. lib. 3.

Herod. lib. 4. Diomed. ad Phryg.

Xenoph. lib. 4. Dio Cris.

Exped. lib. 1. & Diodorus ad ann. 94.

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SECT. 3.

passed in three dayes to *Ceraunt* a *Græcian* City situate upon the Sea, being also a Colony of the *Sinopeans* in the *Colchian* Countrey. Here they remained ten dayes, and taking a muster, found eight thousand six hundred remaining of those that ascended with *Cyrus* into *Perfia*, the rest being consumed by the Enemies hand, or Snow, or sickness. Here also they divided the money that arose out of the fall of Captives, the tenth part of which the Officers took into their hands, being severd as an offering to be made to *Apollo* and *Diana* of *Ephesus*; every one keeping and preserving a share for his gods.

48. From *Ceraunt* they came into the Countrey of the *Melyneans*, the veriest *Barbarians* they had met with in the whole Journey, which they passed by force in eight encampings, and in three more that of the *Tibarens* through which they came to *Cotyora* a *Græcian* Colony also of the *Sinopeans*. Thus far the Army marched one foot, the whole length of the retreat from the place of the battel in the *Babylonian* Territories hither, being a hundred twenty two encampings, six hundred twenty parafangs, ten thousand eight hundred twenty furlongs, one thousand three hundred fifty two miles and something more. At *Cotyora* they continued fifty dayes, making encursions upon the neighbouring people of *Paphlagonia*. Then the *Heracleans* and *Synopeans*, a Colony of the *Milesians* in *Paphlagonia*, furnished them with shipping, into which they put themselves and their baggage, and sailed away, *Cherisophus* meeting them with a few Vessels. Holding on their course they sailed by *Falon's* shore, where the Ship *Argo* is said to have anchored, and by the mouths of the Rivers *Thermodon*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, by which after they had passed, they arrived at *Heraclea* a *Græcian* City and Colony of the *Magareans*, situate in the Territory of the *Maryandens*, and came to anchor near the *Cherronefus* or Peninsula of *Acherousia*, where *Hercules* is said to have fetcht the Dog *Cerberus* out of Hell; the marks being there shewn of his decent, and the depth of the place, being more than two furlongs.

They part
afunder at
Heraclea.

49. Here the Souldiers, through the perswasion of *Lycon* an *Achaian*, making unreasonable demands of money from the *Heracleans*, they shut their gates upon them, and provided for their own defence, which bred a sedition in the Army, so that they parted afunder. The *Arcadians* and *Achaens* being more than four thousand five hundred all heavy armed, sailed away first, having got shipping of the *Heracleans*, that falling suddenly upon the *Bithyrians*, they might prevent the rest, and make the greatest prey. *Cherisophus* a little before chosen General, having one thousand three hundred armed, and seven hundred Peltasts, (who were the *Thracians* that followed *Clearchus*) marched on foot from *Heraclea*, and as soon as he entred *Thrace*, led along by the Seacoast being now sick, and presently dead of a Medicine he took in an Ague. *Xenophon* with one thousand seven hundred Armed, three hundred Peltasts, and forty Horse, taking shipping, landed in the confines of *Thrace*, and marched through the midst of the Land. With great difficulty passed they through the Countrey on foot, the *Thracians* of *Asia* and *Bithyrians*, grievously afflicting them, till meeting together again, they resolved no more to part, and decreed it should be death for any one to move such a thing. Then came they safe, though with great difficulty, to *Chrysopolis* a City in *Chalcedonia*, whence without much trouble home returned home, others were employed by *Seuthes* the King of *Thrace*; and after that *Thymbro* joyning them to the rest of the *Græcian* Forces, made War with them against *Tissaphernes*.

They return
home.

The Govern-
ment of the
King's Pro-
vinces at their
return.

50. The Governours of the King's Provinces through which they journeyed were *Artymas* of *Lydia*, *Artacamus* of *Phrygia*, *Mithridates* of *Lycaonia* and *Cappadocia*; of *Cilicia* *Syennitis*, of *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia* *Darnes*, of *Syria* and *Assyria* *Belesis*, of *Babylonia* *Roparas*, of *Media* *Arbasas*, of the *Phasians* and *Herpites* *Teribar*. The *Carduchans*, *Chalybes*, *Chaldeans*, *Macrons*, *Cholcans*, *Molyneans*, *Cait*, and *Tibarens*, were free people, and under no man's subjection. *Paphlagonia* was ruled by *Corylus*, the *Bithyrians* by *Pharnabazus*, the *Europæan* *Thracians* by *Seuthes*. The total number of the Ascent and Descent, was two hundred twelve encampings, one thousand one hundred fifty parafangs, thirty four thousand two hundred fifty five furlongs, four thousand two hundred eighty one miles and more. The time of the Ascent and Descent one year and three months. Thus these Strangers wanting all things, ignorant of the Countries through which they passed, over precipitous Mountains, straight and (almost) impassable wayes, notwithstanding the malice of Enemies, sharpness of air, and difficulty of the Soil, by the wonder-

Xenophon lib. 6.
Diadema.

Xenophon lib. 7.
Diadema.

SECT. 3.

ful Providence of God, and singular prudence of *Xenophon*, returned home into *Greece*, as we have it described by *Xenophon* himself, though the seven Books of this Expedition, notwithstanding the constant opinion of Antiquity, are adjudged by a late Learned Man (by reason of the disagreement of their manner of writing from his other works) from him, and are ascribed to *Themistogenes* the *Syracusan*, whom* elsewhere he mentioneth to have related these matters. However this Service performed to *Cyrus* cost him the loss of his Countrey, being for that banished by the *Athenians* his Countrymen; but the *Lacedæmonians* taking pity of him, gave him some Lands in the Countrey of *Elis* and the Territories of *Triphyllis*, whence we may very well fetch an account of his writing that elegant Treatise of the form of their Commonwealth.

* *Hallus* 50.

Plutarch in
Artaxerxes.

51. In this mean time whilst the *Græcians* were on their way homewards, *Parysatis* the Queen-mother of *Perfia* greatly lamented the death of her Son *Cyrus*, and meditated nothing but revenge upon such as had been instruments in his death, whom one way or other getting into her Hands, she killed with most exquisite Torments. The *Carian*, who vaunted he, and no other, had killed him, being designed by *Artaxerxes* to be beheaded, because he robbed him of the glory of so valiant an action, the begged of the King, that he might have the punishing him, and so delivered him to those, who for ten days tormented him; then digged out his Eyes, and lastly made an end of him by pouring melted Brass into his Ears. *Mithridates* guilty of the same Crime of Boasting, and thereby greatly incensing the King, who would have had all men to believe that he alone in a single Duel had slain his Brother, was condemned to be put to death after an odd kind of Punishment full of Cruelty, then in use in *Perfia*. The Malefactor was laid on his Back between two hollow things, in form like to Boats, so fitted together that his Head, Hands, and Feet might lye out, and the rest of the Body be contained within. Being thus made fast Meats were given to him, and if he would not receive it, he was forced to eat by pricking of his Eyes; and when he did eat, instead of Drink, Honey and Milk mixed together were poured into him, being so placed as ever to have his Eyes against the Sun. Hereby it came to pass, that his Face would be wholly covered with Flies; and doing that within the Engine, which a man needs must who keepeth constantly eating and drinking; from the putrefaction of the Excrements were Maggots and Worms bred, which creeping up into the Entrails fed upon the Body, so that the miserable man being dead, and the upper part of the Engine removed, they might see the Flesh devoured, and Swarms of Filth sticking on the Carcase: After this manner was *Mithridates* by degrees extinct, after seventeen dayes.

Parysatis rage
against
such as had
any hand in
the death of
her Son *Cyrus*.

Plutarch lib. 10.

52. *Parysatis* after this, having won from *Artaxerxes* her Son at Dice, the Eunuch *Megasthenes*, who had cut off the Head and Hands of *Cyrus*, caused him to be dead alive. Her study then was how to rid herself of *Statira* her Daughter-in-law, whom she never cared for, now hated Mortally, and emulated her by reason of her Hatred against *Cyrus*, and her Power with the King her Husband, so as she resolved in the procurement of her destruction to hazard her own safety. Being now in an appearance reconciled, and all old things forgotten, so as they met and Supped together, she thence took occasion secretly to work her death. There was a Bird in *Perfia*, called *Rhynchaspes*, in which being nothing superfluous or of excrement, all the inward parts were filled with Fat. This, as *Ctesias* wrote, she cut it in two with a Knife, whereof the one side was only poysoned, and then taking the clear half to her self, she gave the other which the Poyson had toucht unto *Statira*, who suspecting nothing, for that she saw her eat her self of the Bird before her, did eat it up, and died after great Convulsions and Torment. She suspected her before her death, and possessed the King with the matter, who knew sufficiently the cruel, and implacable disposition of his Mother. He presently with Tortures examined her nearest Servants, but she kept *Gygis* a woman who had been accessary to the Fact, and would not give her up to him, till at length having notice that she should go out of the House by night, he surprized, and condemned her to dy the Death due to Poysoners by the *Persian* Law, which was, that the Head of the Malefactor being laid on a great Stone, with another it was broken and flatted. As for his Mother he hurt her not at all, either by word or deed, but the desiring to go to *Babylon*, he sent her, adding only this, that he would not see that City so long as she lived. This was the state of the Domestick affairs of *Artaxerxes*.

The Bird
Rhynchaspes,
wherein *Parysatis* poysoned
her Daughter
Statira.

Sect. 3.

53. After the overthrow of Cyrus, he sent down *Tissaphernes* (not *Pharnabazus*, as is fallily written in *Diodorus*) to the Sea-Coasts to recover them into his power, the Governors of which fearing now to pay dearly for their compliance with *Cyrus*, sent to make their peace with this new General, and fought all ways possible to be received into his favour. But *Tamos* a man of prime note amongst them, and Governour of *Ionia*, shipping his goods, and all his sons (except one, named *Cyros*, who afterwards became Captain of the Kings forces) fled for fear of *Tissaphernes* into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy* the King, hoping for former courtesies to be received; but he, without consideration of former benefits, to get his ships and money to himself, murdered his friend with his Children.

In the mean time the *Ionians* fearing *Tissaphernes*, and desirous to enjoy their liberty, sent to the *Lacedemonians*, now the chieftest State in *Greece*, desiring, that being the Captains, and Protectors of all *Greece*, they would not neglect them. Originally of the same stock, but endeavour that they might enjoy their liberty, retain their Lands, and not utterly be destroyed, as danger seemed to threaten them from *Tissaphernes*, whom they had incensed by revolting from him to *Cyrus*. They, who were nothing contented with the doubling of their power by the accession of that of *Athens* lately subdued, but still according to the nature of men desiring more, began to cast in their heads how they might attain to the Empire of *Asia*, being also encouraged by the retreat of their Country-men, did not unwillingly receive the embassy; but promising them speedy relief, first sent to *Tissaphernes*, desiring him not to offer any violence to the *Greek* Towns, but he neglecting their Message, and falling upon *Cume*, in the Territories of which he did much harm, and took many prisoners, then they created *Thymbro* their Captain General against the King, giving him one thousand of their own Citizens, and order to take up as many from amongst their associates as he should think convenient.

Thimbro sent to the aid of the *Greek* Cities, fallch on *Atazusa*.

54. *Thimbro* then with these marched to *Corinth*, where making them up to the number of five thousand, besides three hundred *Athenian* horse, thence fled to *Ephesus*. Having there out of the Associates and others, raised two thousand men more, he removed and fell upon *Magnesia*, a Town subject to *Tissaphernes*, which he took at the first onset, and presently after attempted *Tralles*, a Town of *Ionia*; but it being to no purpose, he retreated to *Magnesia*, which being Fortified with no Wall, fearing that *Tissaphernes* might after his departure recover it, he removed it to an Hill hard by, named *Thorax*. Then invaded he, and harassed the Enemies country, but hearing that *Tissaphernes* was coming towards him with a great power of horse, he thought himself unable to grapple with him, and therefore returned unto *Ephesus*. Not long after upon promise of pay he procured *Xenophon* his forces to joyn with him, with which then he took the field against *Tissaphernes*, whereupon *Pergamus* yielded to him, together with *Tenthrania*, and *Halsarnia* Governed by *Eurythenes* and *Procles*, who were descended from *Demareus* the *Lacedemonian*. Other Towns also were delivered up to him, and some he took by force, till at length he fate down before *Larissa*, called the *Egyptian*, which attempting for some time to no purpose, his Superiours at *Lacedamon* were nothing satisfied with his management of the War, so that he received orders from the *Ephori* to leave *Larissa*, and remove the Army into *Caria*. He obeyed, and when he was come on his way as far as *Ephesus*, *Dercylidas* (a man so famous for his rare invention and cunning, that he got the surname of *Sisyphus*) being appointed his Successor, there met him, and discharged him of his employment. Returning home, he was accused by the Associates for giving his Souldiers liberty to spoil the friends and confederates of the State, and for that was banished,

Dercylidas succeeded him.

55. *Dercylidas* taking the Army into his hands, and not ignorant how he had to do with two *Persian* Lieutenants, *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, who feared and hated each other; left he should be overmarched with both he resolved if he could to make peace with one of them. He had conceived some distaste against the later for an affront he put upon him, when he formerly served under *Zijander* in *Asia*: wherefore he made peace with *Tissaphernes* upon certain conditions, and lead his Army into *Æolis*, without any hurt to the confederates in the way, which was under the Command of *Pharnabazus*, where taking nine Cities in eight days, and getting into his hands all the Cities of *Troas*, he consulted by what means he might so quarter his Souldiers in Winter as not

Diodorus at *an. 1. Olymp. 39.*

idem *ibid.* *Xenoph. Hellen.* *lib. 2. §. 11.* *lib. 3. §. 11.*

Diodorus & *Xenoph.* at *græc.*

Sect. 3.

to be burthenfom to the Associates as *Thimbro* was, and yet prevent *Pharnabazus* from troubling the Cities with the excursions of horse, of which he had good store. He sent then presently to *Pharnabazus* to offer either war, or peace, who making choice of a Truce, for that he stood in fear of *Phrygia*, which bordered upon *Æolis*, and where he had his seat, he thereupon lead his forces into *Bithynia* to Winter there; the other not being unwilling he should do so, because the *Bithynians* were often troublefom to him.

56. In the beginning of Spring *Dercylidas* marching out of *Bithynia* came to *Lampsacus*, where he met with three *Lacedemonians* sent from the State to signify to him the Prorogation of his Command for another year, who also by order from the *Ephori*, rebuked the Souldiers for the injuries offered by them to the associates in the time of *Thimbro*, and commended them for their great moderation last year, warning them for the time to come, to which one of the Officers answered (who had followed *Cyrus*) that the Souldiers were one and the same, but that the change of Generals produced a change in their behaviour. The messengers being departed out of *Asia*, he sent again to *Pharnabazus*, offering him either peace, or War, as before, who making the same choice, he out of hand passed over the *Hellepont*, and by the hands of his Souldiers, amongst whom the work was divided, fortified the *Isthmus* of the *Cherronessus* of *Thrace* with a Wall, thereby to defend it from incursions of the *Thracians*, who now had fallen upon it, and whom to repel he was sent for. He so encouraged the minds of the Souldiers by hope of reward, that the work being began in Spring was finished before Autumn, being thenceforth a great advantage to the inhabitants. After this he returned into *Asia*, where visiting the Cities he found that the Exiles of *Chius* having seized upon *Atarnas*, there lurked, and lived upon such booty as they could make out of *Ionia*; wherefore he besieged the place, though strong, and well victualled, and after a siege of eight months forcing them to yield, he committed the care of the Town to *Draco* a *Pellenian*, and returned unto *Ephesus*.

57. In the mean while *Pharnabazus*, after he had made Truce with him, went up to the King, to whom he accused *Tissaphernes*, as not having repelled the *Lacedemonians* out of *Asia*, but suffered them there to continue at his loss and damage, alledging how unworthy a thing it was to fight more with money than Arms, and to restrain an Enemy more with rewards than valour. He advised him to make ready a Fleet, and give the Command thereof to *Conon* the *Athenian*, a man of great experience in things that concerned War, who since the disaster of his Country sojourned with *Evagoras* the King of *Cyprus*. *Artaxerxes* yielding, gave him five hundred Talents to provide ships; and *Conon* hoping by this means to do some special service for his Country, undertook the charge, but the Fleet being not yet ready, he sailed with forty *Phœnician* Vessels into *Cilicia*, there to set all things in order. About the same time the *Ionians* sent to *Lacedamon* to declare to that State, that if *Caria* were invaded in which *Tissaphernes* his principal feat was, there might be hope that he would leave them to their Laws and Liberty. This so wrought with the *Spartans*, that the *Ephori* thereupon sent order to *Dercylidas* to lead his forces into that Country, and to *Pharaces* their Admiral to sayl thither with his Fleet.

once the *Atarnians* is made Admiral to *Artaxerxes*.

Tissaphernes though impeached by *Pharnabazus* continued in his power.

58. Notwithstanding the secret accusations of *Pharnabazus*, yet still was *Tissaphernes* trusted by the King, and so far as with the Chief power in the War against the *Gracians*; in so much that *Pharnabazus*, though much against his will, was forced to come to him at such time as *Dercylidas* invaded *Caria*. He first carried him thither, where taking what order their affairs required, and re-inforcing their Garrisons, they returned into *Ionia*, and *Dercylidas* perceiving they had crossed the River *Maander*, after he had consulted with *Pharaces* the Admiral about the preservation of the *Ionians* at that time but naked of defence, he also passed the River after them. The *Persian* forces were in number twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; *Dercylidas* his whole Army amounted but to seven thousand, and though the *Peloponnesians* well enough behaved themselves, yet such as came from *Prisme* and out of the *Ionian* Cities and Islands had lifted themselves under him, some of them throwing their Arms into the Corn (which grew plentifully by the River,) took them to their heels, and the rest sufficiently evidenced what they would do if they came to fight. Yet *Tissaphernes* having not forgot how such *Greeks* as followed *Cyrus* had put them to it, and judging all their Country-men to be of the same metal, would by no means hear of fighting, which *Pharnabazus*

Diodorus *ibid.* *Tullius* *ibid.* *Plutarch* is at *lib. 2. §. 11.* *lib. 3. §. 11.* *lib. 4. §. 11.* *lib. 5. §. 11.*

Xenoph. & *Diodorus* at *lib. 2.*

Sect. 3.

Dercyllides
makes an
agreement
with them.

fore pressed him to; but sent to *Dercyllides*, desiring to come to interview. After Hostages given and received on both sides, they met, and an accommodation was made on these terms: *That the King should leave all the Greek Cities to their own liberty, that the Greekish Forces should all depart out of his dominions, with all Lacedæmonian Governours from his Cities, and that a truce should be for so long a time, till both parties could hear from their Superiours, concerning their resolutions herein.* Then marched away the Armies to their quarters, the *Persian* to *Tralles*, and that of the *Greeks* to *Lexocophrys*.

59. Notwithstanding this truce entered into by these Captains, yet the rigging of a new Fleet went forwards in *Phœnicia*, and nothing do we hear concerning the confirmation of the Treaty by the King. It hapning that one *Herodas* a *Syracusan*, living with a Sea-man in *Phœnicia*, and taking notice how great diligence was used in preparing a Fleet, which he heard should be completed to the number of three hundred Vessels, he took the first opportunity of a ship and sailed into *Greece*, giving notice that such a Navy was providing by the King, and *Tissaphernes*, though he knew not, as he said, upon what design. The *Lacedæmonians* hereat startled, began to look about them, when *Agefilas* one of their Kings, through the perswasion of *Zylander*, offered himself to undertake an Expedition into *Asia* against the *Persian*, provided they would send with him thirty of his choosings, by whose advice he might manage affairs; give him two thousand men from home, and six thousand more of the associates, which being granted him, together with provisions for half a year, he sailed with *Zylander* (who had procured himself to be one of the three hundred, hoping by this means to reftore the *Decemvirates* in the *Asian* Cities, which he having erected, the *Epheci* had again dissolved) unto *Ephesus* with such speed, that he landed his Forces before the *Persian* Lieutenants knew so much as of his coming, and thereby took them at unawares.

60. At *Ephesus* he raised new Forces to the number of four thousand, and increased his Army to ten thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, with which he took the field, a great company of rascally men, not inferior in number to the other, following the Camp out of greediness for prey. *Tissaphernes* sent to him to know the cause of his coming into *Asia*, to whom he answered, that it was to reftore the *Greek* Cities to their liberty; to which the other replied, desiring a cessation of Arms for so long a time, as he could send to the King, hoping to obtain from him that which he required. *Agefilas* gave little credit to his bare word, thinking, as indeed it was, that he protracted only the time; but swearing most solemnly, that without any deceit he would do what in him lay to procure a Peace, he also upon this condition swore to hold the Truce; but *Tissaphernes* having little regard of his oath, sent only to the King for new forces to joyn with his old ones, which though *Agefilas* sufficiently knew, yet kept he his Faith inviolable in preservation of the Truce; and when he denounced war against him, except he would forthwith quit *Asia*, he gave notice thereof joyfully to his Souldiers, and sent to the *Ionians*, *Æoliens*, and the *Greeks* living upon the *Hellspont*, to dispatch their supplies unto *Ephesus*. Contrary then to the expectation of *Tissaphernes* (who thought he would have made for *Caria*) he invaded *Phrygia*, where setting upon the Cities at unawares, he got much booty, and without any loss came to the confines of *Dachylium*, where his Forlorn-hope meeting with a Party of Horse belonging to *Pharnabazus*, were worsted, losing twelve Men, and two Horses, till he with the Infantry coming in to their relief, the *Barbarians* retired with the loss of one Man, and *Agefilas* spending the greatest part of Summer in wafting *Phrygia*, marched back with his Army mightily enriched, and came back in Autumn unto *Ephesus*, where he took up his Winter quarters.

61. Whilst the *Lacedæmonians* thus acted in *Asia* against *Artaxerxes*, that *Diodorus* at *Egypt*, which now for a good space had revolted from the *Persian* Empire, to procure him to joyn with them in the War, who sent them one hundred Gallies, and five hundred thousand measures of Wheat for a supplie, *Pharax* then with a Navie consisting of a hundred twenty Sail departing from *Rhodes*, sailed to *Camus*, where he fell upon *Conon*, who there had forty Ships lying at anchor, but *Artaxerxes* and *Pharnabazus* coming in to the relief of the Ships and Place with great Forces, he retired back to *Rhodes*, the Inhabitants of which not long after expelled his Fleet, and revolting to the *Persians* received *Conon* and his Navy. It hapned after this revolt, that those that brought the Corn from *Egypt*

Xenoph. Hellen.
lib. 3.
Plutarch. &
Æmilianus Pro-
bus in Agefilas.in Agefilas can
Plutarch &
Æmilianus Pro-
bus in Conon.

Sect. 3.

Æmilianus lib. 6.

Xenoph. Plutarch. &
Æmilianus Pro-
bus in Artaxerxes.

Egypt being ignorant of what had happened, thrust their ships into the Haven, which *Conon* and the *Rhodiens* seizing upon, thereby well furnished the City. Afterwards came in to *Conon* ninety Gallies more: Ten from *Cilicia*, and the rest out of *Phœnicia*, of which the petty King of *Sidon* had the charge. And here the souldiers of *Conon* mutinied for want of pay, who therefore more earnestly called for their Arrears, because their service was the stricter under so great a Captain.

62. *Agefilas* knowing that without Horse he could not well carry on the War, in *Champain* places, in the Winter-time took order about it, permitting such rich men in the City as would not fight themselves, to furnish him with each of them an Horse and a Man in their stead. Then upon the approach of the Spring, drawing together all his Forces to *Ephesus*, he trained and exercised them in the management of Arms, that City serving them as the Shop of War, during these Exercises. When he had thus prepared their minds, and encouraged them by rewards, and otherwise, he gave out he would march straight into the most fortified places of the Enemies Country, further to exercise them for the Fight. *Tissaphernes* thinking this rumor to be spread on purpose to deceive them, again marched into *Caria*, whither he thought indeed he meant to go; but *Agefilas*, as he said, invaded the Territories about *Sardis*, which wafting round about, on the fourth day his men stragling about for plunder, were set upon by the Enemies Horse, which slew many of them. He going in to their relief, understanding the *Persians* had no Foot there, and considering how he had all things in a readines, resolved to make something of it, so that falling on in good earnest, he got a considerable Victory near the River *Pactolus*, and plundering the enemies Camp, from what belonged to friend and foe, got booty worth above seventy talents, amongst which was Camels which he carried with him into *Greece*.

63. *Tissaphernes* at the time of this engagement (if we may believe *Xenophon*, who accompanied *Agefilas* in this Expedition, rather than *Diodorus* or *Pausanias*) was at *Sardis*, and upon that account was accused by the *Persians* to have forsaken and betrayed them. About this time it happened that *Conon* the Admiral of the *Persian* Fleet, having to no purpose for a long time solicited the King by letters, for money to pay his men, resolved now himself to go to him, *Pharnabazus* egging him on that he might accuse *Tissaphernes* of treachery. Leaving then his Fleet to the care of two *Athenians*, he came to *Thapsacusa* in *Syria*, and passing down *Euphrates* unto *Babylon*, made supplication to *Tithraustes*, to whom he signified that he would speak with the King. But none being to be admitted to his presence, except he adored him, he transacted his business by Letters and Messengers, and prevailed to have *Tissaphernes* adjudged an Enemy, the *Lacedæmonians* to be prosecuted with War, and to chuse whom he pleased for the paying of Moneys; and with great Gifts returned he to the Sea, having Commiſſion to charge the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, and other maritime Inhabitants, with long Ships, and having *Pharnabazus* for his Associate, according to his desire, to provide a Navie for the defence of the Seas against the next Summer.

64. The accusations of *Tissaphernes* were so prosecuted by *Paryſatis* who bore him mortal Hatred in the behalf of her Son *Cyrus*, that *Artaxerxes* made *Tithraustes* Captain General of the War in his stead, enjoying him to make him away, and granting Letters to all the Cities and Lieutenants to be obedient to him. He gave him two Letters at parting, whereof the one was written to *Tissaphernes*, being a pretended Commiſſion to him to have full and absolute Power in the War: the other to *Arius* Lieutenant of *Lariſſa*, commanding him to assist *Tithraustes* in the apprehending of him. He delivered the Letter as soon as he came to *Colosse* in *Phrygia*, whither *Arius* procured *Tissaphernes* to come, as to advise together about the War, and as he was in the Bath having laid by his Scimitar, caused his Servants to take him, and sent him to *Tithraustes*, who carrying him as far as *Celena* cut off his head, which he conveyed to the King. He sent it to his Mother, who greatly rejoiced at the sight, with her also the *Græcian* women who had lost their sons or husbands through his fraud; and the whole Nation in the death of their mortal Enemy.

65. *Tithraustes* now sent to *Agefilas* to acquaint how the incendiary betwixt the King and the *Græcians* was deservedly punished, so that his Matter thought it reasonable that he would withdraw his Forces out of *Asia*, and the *Greek* Cities being left to their own laws, should pay their accustomed tribute to him. He denied to do any thing herein without consent of the *Lacedæmonian*

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 30.

Seet. 3. State, whereupon they agreed that *Tisraustes* paying him thirty talents for the maintenance of his Army, he should depart into the parts subject to *Pharnabazus*, till such time as he understood the will of his Superiors. Then led he towards *Phrygia*, when in the way he met with an Order come from *Lacedæmon*, whereby not only the power at Land, but over the Navy also was given unto him, over which he might make Admiral whomsoever he pleased. He then to gratifie the Cities and those who at home studied to pleasure him, made up a Navy of an hundred and twenty Ships, over which he set *Pisander* his Wives Brother, a man indeed greedy of honour, and of prompt beliefs, but of little experience in such great concerns.

66. *Tisraustes* taking notice hereof, and how *Agæflaus* did not intend to quit *Asia*, but rather conceived great hopes of overthrowing the King, resolved there was no way to be taken but to find his Countymen such work at home, that they must necessarily recall him. To this purpose he sent one *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* into *Greece*, with Gold to the value of fifty Talents, to the intent that he might therewith corrupt the leading and principal Men of the several Cities, and engage them into a War with the *Athenians* against *Lacedæmon*, which was accordingly brought about. *Agæflaus* in the mean time entering *Phrygia*, which was subject to *Pharnabazus*, about Autumn, spoiled the Country, and by fair or foul means took many Cities. Thence marched he into *Paphlagonia*, which he withdrew from the Obedience of the *Persian*, and received one thousand Horse and two thousand Foot from *Cotys* the King, and after this he went to *Dasylium*, where *Pharnabazus* his Palace was, and there, it being a place plentiful of Provisions, he took up his Winter-quarters.

67. Whilst his Soldiers straggled abroad for Booty in great contempt of the *Barbarians*, *Pharnabazus* light on a party of Horse, and therefore slew one hundred. Three or four days after *Horippidas* (the principal of thirty Counsellors who accompanied *Agæflaus*) having notice from *Spithridates*, that *Pharnabazus* lay incamped in a large Village named *Cave*, twenty Miles off, procured of *Agæflaus* four thousand Foot and as many Horse-men as he could persuade to accompany him, with which beginning his march as soon as it was dark, by break of Day he fell in upon the Enemies Camp, killing most of the *Myrians* who kept the Watch before it. Then the *Persians* fled; *Pharnabazus* fearing to be besieged, so that he wandered from place to place like the *Scythian Nomades*, and *Horippidas* got much rich Plunder, amongst which the costly Stuff of *Pharnabazus*, but seeking out too utterly all the concealed Prey, he took from *Spithridates* and the *Paphlagonians* all they had gotten; with which disgrace being exceedingly affected, they went away by Night to *Ariens* lying at *Sardis*, who had formerly rebelled and waged War with *Cyrus* against the King. At this departure of *Spithridates* and *Megabates* his Son (who was most dear to him) *Agæflaus* was so troubled, as also at that of the *Paphlagonian Forces*, that nothing more vexed him of all things that fell out in this *Asiatick Expedition*.

68. Afterwards *Agæflaus* and *Pharnabazus* met together to treat about a Peace by the procurement of *Apollonhanes* of *Cyzicus*, who was guest unto them both. *Pharnabazus* professed that if he were not made General of the War he would revolt from the King; but if he should be, he would carry it on against the other with all his might, and to his utmost ability. *Agæflaus* on the other side promised he would speedily depart out of his Territories, and as long as any other remained to make War upon, would spare him and his Estate. Upon the approaching of Spring, he led down his Forces into the Plains of *Thebes*, where pitching his Tents near the Temple of *Diana Agrina*, he levied all the Forces he could; for he intended an Expedition into the upper Countries, being confident to turn all in his passage from their Obedience to the King, his Fame being spread abroad far and near, having spent now two Years in the War. But the Gold sent into *Greece* the last year by *Tisraustes*, had by this time wrought upon the Humours of the several States there, that they conspired together in a great and dangerous War against the *Lacedæmonians*, who thereupon sent to *Agæflaus*, setting him a Day by which he must needs be at home with his Army for the preservation of his Country. It troubled him much to leave *Asia*, for the Conquest of which he was in so fair a way, yet he resolved to obey the call of his distressed Country, seeing as he himself expressed in his answer to the *Ephori* a General then truly and justly commandeth, when he obeyeth the Laws, and the *Ephori* or whatsoever Magistrates else are in the City.

Plutarch in
Agæflaus.
Pausan. in
Lacedæ.
Xenoph. lib. 4.
Hellen. lib. 4.
Diodorus ad
anc. 2. Olymp.
56.
Cass. Nepos. in
Cerne.
Justin. 6.

Pharnabazus
defeated.

Agæflaus called
home
through the
device of
Tisraustes.

At his departure he is reported to have said, that the King expelled him *Asia* by thirty thousand Archers, wittily intimating the same number of *Dariaks* stamped with the Edges of an Archer, whereby he had procured the conspiracy of the *Grecian* Cities against *Lacedæmon*.

69. Having passed the *Hellespont*, and being come to *Amphipolis*, he received news of a Victory obtained by the *Lacedæmonians* about *Corinth*, whereupon he dispatched *Dercyllidas* presently back into *Asia*, by these tidings to confirm the allied Cities. In the mean time while he marched through *Macedonia* and *Thessalia* towards the Straights of *Thermopylae*, *Conon* the *Athenian* and *Pharnabazus*, Admirals of the *Persian* Fleet, lay about *Doryme* a place in the *Cherfoneus*, with about ninety Gallies, who having notice that the Enemies Fleet were about *Gnidus*, prepared themselves for an engagement. *Periarbus* (or *Periander*) the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral weying Anchor sailed from *Gnidus* with one hundred twenty Ships to *Phylus* another place in the *Cherfoneus*, and thence directed his Course straight against the Kings Fleet, and at the first had the better of it, but the *Persian* Gallies coming in a pace to the relief of their Friends, the *Lacedæmonian* confederates began to shift for themselves. The Admiral thought it unseemly and unworthy of the *Spartan* valour to run away, and therefore directed his Ship to the front of the Enemy, where first killing many of his Enemies, at length he was slain. Then the followers of *Conon* pursuing the *Lacedæmonians* to the Continent, took fifty Vessels, and five hundred Men, the most part swimming to shore and saving themselves; and the rest of the Gallies with safety recovered *Gnidus*. By this Victory of *Conon* (who made use of the Kings Forces for the recovery of the Estate of his own Country) *Athens* and all *Greece* which heretofore were under the *Lacedæmonian* Yoke, again recovered their liberty. *Diodorus* placeth it in the second year of the ninety sixth *Olympiad*, when *Diophantus* was Archon at *Athens*; but *Lycias* in the year following, being under the government of *Eubulides*, and the eleventh of *Araxerxes*.

70. *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* for the improvement of this Victory, laboured with the Islands and Maritime Towns of *Ionis*, to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, which they effected, some casting out the Garrison, and maintaining themselves in their ancient liberty, others yielding unto *Conon*, only *Dercyllidas* lying at *Abdus* at the time of the Fight, remained that place, and *Sestos* over against it, still in hostility against the *Persians*, though endeavoured also to be reduced. In the next Spring the two *Persian* Generals invaded the Maritime parts of *Laconia*, which after they had waited as they might, and now were about to return, *Conon* perfwaded the other to let him have the Navy, with which he said he would sail to *Athens*, and there build up again the long Walls, and the *Piræus* or Haven, than which he affirmed nothing could happen more disagreeable to the *Lacedæmonians*. This he easily obtained, and Money also to rebuild the Walls, for which failing thither with eighty Gallies he took order; giving those fifty Talents which he had received of *Pharnabazus* unto the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of this, being very fearful the *Athenian* State should again recover its ancient power, sent away *Antalcidas* to *Seribus* another of the *Persian* Lieutenants who governed *Sardis*, if possible to draw him to their Party, and reconcile them to the King. After this was known at *Athens*, they also sent *Conon* and others to him, and with them joyned several other States, as the *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives* who were weary of the Power of the *Spartans*. *Antalcidas* declared how those that sent him were ready to embrace a Peace upon such terms as the King pleased, for that they would no longer contend with him about the *Greek* Cities in *Asia*, thinking it sufficient, that the rest which were elsewhere situated might be left to their own Laws and liberty: he also laboured earnestly to render *Conon* suspected to the King, alleging, that at the King's cost he only promoted the Affairs of his own Country, seeking with his Forces to obtain as many Cities as he could for the *Athenians*, to whom under-hand he went about to restore *Ionis* and *Æolia* also. Thus, after concerning the leaving of the *Greek* Cities to the King's disposal, so nearly concerned his affairs, that the other Ambassadors in no case admitting it, for private respects returned home, without any thing concluded of; and though *Seribus* durst not without Commission joyn himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, yet gave he privately Monies to *Antalcidas* to enable them to build a Fleet, whereupon he constrained their adversaries to submit to accommodation, and laying hold of *Conon*, committed him to custody, till such time as going himself to the King he might know his pleasure concerning these things.

Seet. 3.

Xenoph. lib. 4.
Plutarch in
Agæflaus.
Xenoph.
Hellen. lib. 4.
Diodorus ad
anc. 2. Olymp.
56.
Cass. Nepos. in
Cerne.
Justin. 6.

them as before
at the battle of
Sestos.

them as before
at the battle of
Sestos.

Antalcidas sent
from the
Spartans to
Araxerxes.

SECT. 3.

71. Some have reported how *Conon* was carried to the King, and by him put to Death, but others that he made an escape. Whilst *Teribazus* was yet with the King, he sent *Struthas* into *Asia* the less, to take care of the Sea-Coasts, who thieving himself very bitter against the *Lacedæmonians* for the Evils which the Provinces had suffered of *Agælaus*, and favourable upon that account to the *Athenians*, the *Spartans* sent over *Thymbro* to make War upon him. He with eight thousand men took *Coreffus* the high Hill some five miles distant from *Ephesus*, whence he made excursions into the King's Dominions; but *Struthas* lying not far from him with a great Power of Horle, besides Foot, at such time as with a Party he was ranging about for Booty, fell upon him, killed him amongst many others, and putting the rest to Flight, took many; the other securing themselves where they might best do it. The year after the *Lacedæmonians* sending *Ecdæmus* to the aid of the Exiles of *Rhodes* with eight Ships, dispatched away with him one *Diphridas*, with order to pass into *Asia*, there to gather up the remnant of the Forces, with which, and as many more as he could raise, he was to protect those Cities which had received *Thymbro*, and to grapple with *Struthas*. He acted accordingly, and so ordered his Affairs, that he proved hard enough for *Struthas*, and amongst other commendable actions took Prisoner *Tigræus* his Son in Law, as he was going with his Wife to *Sardis*, whom releasing for a great Ranfom, he seasonably made use of for the payment of his Soldiers.

72. Whilst these things passed betwixt *Artaxerxes* and the Common-wealth of *Sparta*, he was also employed about the affairs of *Cyprus* which he strove to get into his Hands. There was in that Island one *Evagoras* of great Birth (being descended from those who first built *Salamine* the Principal City therein) who being lately expelled through a Sedition, returned with a little Force of Auxiliaries, and expelling *Ademon* the *Tryian*, who then had the Power over the City, and a great Friend of the King of *Persia*, made himself King of *Salamine*, and within a short time growing very Rich, gathered Forces, and by the help of his Son *Protogoras* subdued almost the whole Island. But the *Amazonsians* with the *Solians* and *Citians* stood out against him, and by their Ambassadors solicited *Artaxerxes* for Aid, accusing *Evagoras* for the death of *Agæus*, who had been Confederate with the King, and offering him their help for the possessing himself of the whole Island. He being jealous of the growth of *Evagoras*, and considering how convenient this Island might be, by reason of its situation, for the promoting of his Affairs at Sea, by which especially *Asia* could be defended, resolved to assist them, and dismissing the Ambassadors to their content, gave order to the Cities upon the Sea-Coasts to build Ships with all speed, he himself travelling into the upper Provinces for the raising of a great Land Army.

73. Till he had composed matters with the *Græcians*, no considerable thing could he attempt upon *Cyprus*, and though they favoured the cause of *Evagoras* in opposition to him, yet their enmity one against another hindered that effect which their Union might have produced; to the great impairment of his Affairs. The *Athenians* sent ten Ships to the aid of *Evagoras*; but it happening that *Tevetius* being sent by the *Lacedæmonians* at that time to succeed *Ecdæmus* in the Fleet, and to defend their Interest in *Asia*, met with them, and intercepted them all, whereby it happened that those who were Enemies to *Artaxerxes* overthrew those who went to make War against him. After this these two Commonwealths contending fore with each other at Sea to their mutual damage, at length *Antalcides* was sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to the Government of the Fleet, because they knew him to be in great Grace with *Teribazus*. He coming to *Ephesus*, left *Nicolaus* his Lieutenant, and according to his private instructions went with *Teribazus* to *Artaxerxes* about a Peace, towards whom he so behaved himself (to please him casting off the *Spartan* Gravity, and not refusing to dance before him) that the King, who before could not endure the *Spartans*, as counting them the most impudent of all men, embraced him with singular Respect and Courtesy.

74. He concluded of a Peace with him for the *Lacedæmonian* State, in case the other *Græcians* would not consent to such overtures as the King made, and returned with *Teribazus*, who giving notice that all who could might accept of the Conditions which his Master proposed, they dispatched their several Deputies to him. He shewing them the King's Seals, opened the Letters wherein was contained, that *Artaxerxes* the King accounted it meet that the Cities in *Asia*, and Islands

Isort, in
Pamper.
Amil. Prob.
in Conon.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 57.
ann. 3.

Xenoph. at Sparta.

Diodorus ad
ann. 2. O.
Olymp. 57.
Diodorus in
Evagoras.

Diodorus ad
ann. 2. O.
Olymp. 58.
Plutarch in
Artaxerxi.

Xenoph. Hellen.
lib. 1.
Diodorus in
Plutarch lib. at
97th.

Islands *Clazomenæ* (since joyned to the Continent) and *Cyprus*, should be under his Dominion: as for the other Greek Cities, both great and small, that they should be left to their own Liberty; except *Lemnus*, *Imbrus*, and *Scyros*, which having been subject to the Athenians time out of mind, he thought it reasonable they should so continue. Those that should not receive this Peace, he with the rest who would embrace it, would prosecute with War to his utmost Power, both at Sea and Land. The Ambassadors went home, and made report of what was propoised to the several Commonwealths, who grudging it much that what was propoised to the whole Liberty *Agælaus* had taken to much Pains, should be so unworthily again betrayed. But being necessitated to submit, they accepted of the Conditions, and the Peace was sworn to at length by all Greece, in the second Year of the ninety sixth Olympiad, and the eighteenth Year of *Artaxerxes*. A. M. 3618.

75. *Artaxerxes* being thus freed from this tedious Controversie with the *Græcians*, set himself to a preparation for the Wars of *Cyprus*, from which as yet he had been diverted. *Evagoras* by this time, through the assistance of *Chabrias*, whom the *Athenians* had lent to his aid with eight hundred Pelasts, and ten Gallies, had brought under the whole Island, having got together also a most numerous Army, whilst the King was kept in play by the *Græcians*. For he entered into Society with *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, who furnished him with great store of Money, and *Hecatomnus* the Viceroy of *Caria* underhand supplied him with some for the hiring of foreign Souldiers; and the King of *Arabia* with others, who bore no good Will to *Artaxerxes*, sent a great Power of Men. He was in a readines ninty Gallies, whereof twenty lay at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, which with other Cities he had got into his Hands, and the rest anchored readily furnished before *Cyprus*. The King gathered together both his Land and Sea Forces, the former consisting of three hundred thousand men, and the latter of three hundred Gallies. Over his Land Army he appointed General *Orontes* his Son-in-law, and *Teribazus* Admiral of his Navy, who taking up their Forces out of *Phœcia* and *Cuma*, marched down into *Cilicia*, whence passing over into *Cyprus* with great Industry they began the War.

76. *Evagoras* having six thousand Men of his own, many more Auxiliaries, and having hired a great Force of Strangers over and above, (Money being very plentiful with him) first with his Pinnaces well Armed set upon the Enemies Ships as they brought in Provisions, whereof some he took, others he sunk, or chased away. Hereby it came to pass, that no Commodities being imported into the Island, a great Dearth ensued in the *Persian* Camp; and hereby a Mutiny of the Souldiers, especially of the Mercenaries, who fell upon their Officers, and killed some of them. This put *Glaus* the Admiral upon a resolution to Sail with the whole Fleet into *Cilicia*, whence he brought sufficient supply, which *Evagoras* seeing, and considering his Navy to be far inferior to the *Persian*, he got ready other sixty Ships, and procuring fifty more from *Acoris* (who readily furnished him with all things necessary for the War) he made up his Fleet two hundred Sayl. Then exercised he his Men often to prepare them for a Fight, and that to the terror of the Enemy who beheld it, and at length as the *Persian* Fleet layd by *Citium* he fell upon it, taking some Vessels, and sinking others, but the Admiral and other Commanders standing close to their Tackling, a sharp Conflict ensued, in which though *Evagoras* at the first prevailed, yet *Glaus* with all his Power, and with great earnestness and Valour grappling with him, he was at length after great Loss put to flight.

77. The *Persians* after this Victory mustered all their Forces, both by Sea and Land at *Citium*, and presently both ways laid Siege to *Salamine*. Now *Evagoras*, though he had had the better of it formerly in some Sallies out upon the besiegers, cooled in his Courage after this Defeat. Though the Siege was very straight and pressing, yet resolving to continue the War, he left his Son *Pythagoras* for the defence of the City, with full Authority, and departed by Night with ten Gallies into *Egypt*, where he laboured hard with *Acoris* the King, to persuade him to carry on the War with him, and that with all his Power. He granted him some Money; but for that he was discouraged by the late Defeat, nothing according to his Expectation, so that returning, and finding the City very much straitened and himself destitute of Succour, he was forced to send about an accommodation: *Teribazus* offered his consent upon these Terms, that quitting all the Cities except *Salamine*, he should for that pay a yearly Tribute to the King, and be at his Command as a Servant to his Lord; which though hard, he consented

Diodorus l. 16.
ad Olymp. 98.
ann. 3.

Artaxerxes
turneth his
forces from
the Græcians
against Cyprus.

Geteth a Victory at Sea against Evagoras.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 58.

Sect. 3.

His Captains
disgrace, and
peace is made.

ted to, except the last, thinking it a great Disgrace to be at his back as a Servant, and more reasonable to be subject to him as one King to another.

78. *Teribazus* not admitting of this Exception, *Orontes* his Colleague, and emulいた, accused him by secret Letters to the King, as well for other matters, as for that having an opportunity sufficient to take *Salamine*, he did not use it, but spent his time in Treaties with the Enemy; he farther laid to his charge privately entering into Friendship with *Lacedæmon* sending to consult the Oracle about warring against the King, and especially alluring the Officers by Honours, Gifts, and Promises. *Artaxerxes* believing these things, wrote back to *Orontes* to arrest *Teribazus*, and send him presently unto him, who accordingly sent, earnestly desired to be brought to his Tryal, but being for the present committed to Prison, and the King employed in the *Cadufian* War, his Judgment was still delayed. In the mean time *Orontes* being now General with full Power and Authority in *Cyprus*, finding that *Evagoras* with great Courage still held out, and that his own Souldiers taking ill the Imprisonment of *Teribazus* refused to obey him, sent to *Evagoras* to treat of Peace, offering him the same Conditions he was formerly willing to admit of from *Teribazus*. He being thus delivered beyond Hope, concluded a Peace on these Terms, to pay a yearly Tribute for the Kingdom of *Salamine*, and as King, to be obedient to the King of *Persia*. And thus the *Cyprian* War ended ten Years after the first preparation for it, and after it had been managed two Years. *Artaxerxes* after all this time, and the expence of fifty Talents, leaving *Evagoras* in effect, in the same Condition he was before.

Gaus out of
fear confide-
reth with the
Lacedæmonians
against the
King.

79. *Gaus* the *Persian* Admiral, after this War, having married the Daughter of *Teribazus*, fearing, lest because of his Affinity, he should be suspected also by the King, and suffer upon that Account, resolved for a prevention to fortify himself against him, by entering into League with his Enemies. This he did presently with *Achæris* of *Egypt*, and wrote to the *Lacedæmonians* to excite them to break the Peace, making large offers of what he could do for *Greece*. They had of late as before cast in their Heads how to make themselves Master of all *Greece*, and finding that they heard ill for the Peace concluded with *Artaxerxes*, in which the Interests of their Country-men were betrayed, they fought for, upon a new advice, a fit opportunity to renew the War against the *Persians*, and therefore now not unwillingly accepted of this Confederacy with *Gaus*.

ARTAXERXES in-
vadeth the
Cadufians to no
purpose.

80. At this time *Artaxerxes* made War upon the *Cadufians*, leading against them an Army of three hundred thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. He cast himself into great Straights marching into a Country uneven, rainy, and bringing no Corn, but nourishing only its Inhabitants with Pears, Apples, and such like Fruits; so that finding there no Provision, and not able to come by it from elsewhere, the carriage Beasts were killed for Meat, an Asses Head could scarce be bought for sixty Drachms, the Kings feet Meals were laid down, and very few Horses remained; the rest being all eaten up. Then *Teribazus* under disgrace saved the King and his whole Army; for there being two Kings of the *Cadufians*, he himself went to one of them, and sent his Son to the other, each of them signifying to him whom he went to, that his Colleague had sent about a Peace to *Artaxerxes*, having left him out, wherefore his advice was, that they should send with him Ambassadors to treat, and conclude a pacification first, which, being both deceived, they did, and a League was entered into by both apart. Then returned he homewards, and in the way, to give a good example to others, alighted from his Horse, and with Quiver and Target upon him travelled on Foot over the Mountains, and rough places, and coming at length to a place called the *Kings Inn*, compassed with pleasant Gardens and Groves, because of the extremity of Cold, he gave leave to the Souldiers to cut down the Cypresses and other Trees, which because they out of modesty refused, he took an Axe, and himself cut down the most beautiful. But coming home, and upon fence of his great loss, both of Men and Horses, suspecting he was contemned for his ill Success, he slew many of his principal Subjects, of whom he thought he had cause to be jealous.

81. The *Cadufian* War being finished, he caused *Teribazus* to come to his Tryal, commending the matter to three of his most eminent Judges, who upon consideration of what was alleged, *pro* and *con*, and of his former great Merits, absolved him, to the satisfaction of the King, who then bestowed on him the greatest Honours, expunged the name of *Orontes* his false accuser out of the Catalogue of his Friends, and cast upon him the greatest Ignominy. About the same time following

Diodorus in
Egyta.Plutarch in
Alex. com.
Diodorus at
Olymp. 98.
sec. 4.

Sect. 3.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 99.
sec. 2.

following herein the Example of *Cambyses* his Predecessor, he caused certain Judges convicted of unjust Decrees to be read alive, and their Skins spread over the Judgment Seat, where the rest heard, and determined causes, that they might have a constant Memento before their Eyes.

Gaus slain.

Not long after *Gaus* the *Persian* Admiral, who, as before was said, had entered into Society with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the King of *Egypt*, whilst he was managing his Revolt, was slain by some that cunningly laid in wait for him. One *Tachos* undertook the carrying on of his design, and fortifying himself with an Army, built a City in an high Rock upon the Sea, called *Lenca*, where was a Chapel dedicated to *Apollo*; but he dying a little after, great controversy hapned about the place betwixt the *Clazomenians* and *Cymeans* (whereof the former obtained it) and thereby those Rebellions in *Asia* fell of themselves, and the *Lacedæmonians*, thinking it best to intermeddle no more with *Persian* matters, gave their minds wholly to establish their Power in *Greece*, got into their Hands several Cities by one means or other, and not obscurely fought after the Empire of all *Greece*, contrary to the form of the League, made by the means of the *Persian* King at the procurement of *Antalcidas*, amongst all the *Grecians*, as *Diodorus* telleth us.

Herodotus ad
Olymp. 100.
sec. 4.

82. *Achæris* the King of *Egypt*, who of late had entered into Society with *Gaus*, and before had given assistance to *Evagoras* against *Artaxerxes*, as one who laid claim unto his Kingdom, to strengthen himself raised a great Army of Strangers, and for that he gave very good pay, and fought otherways to diserve well of Military men, many *Grecians* gave their Names and lifted themselves in his Service. But wanting still some famous and expert General, he procured *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, a man of great Command and no less Valour; though without the content of the People. *Artaxerxes* made *Pharnabazus* (now of late his Son in Law) the General of his Forces, who furnished with Money made great preparations for the War, and sent to *Achæris* to complain of *Chabrias*, who as he said, by his Service to the *Egyptian*, alienated the Kings Affection from that State; and desired that they would send *Iphicrates* to be a Captain in his Wars. The *Athenians* being desirous to have both the King and *Pharnabazus* their Friend, presently recalled *Chabrias*, and gave order to *Iphicrates* to assist the *Persians*.

Achæris of Egypt
strengtheneth
himself against
Artaxerxes.Artaxerxes
against him.Pharnabazus
and Iphicrates
sent against
Achæris.Herodotus ad
Olymp. 101.
sec. 2.

83. *Pharnabazus* spent several Years in preparation for the War, of which *Iphicrates* being weary, told him he wondered, that he being so quick in speaking should be so slow in doing, to which he answered, that the reason was, that he himself was Master of his Words, but the King of his Actions. The *Grecians* were again fallen into civil Diffentions, the former Peace being not long continued through the ambitious practices of the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Artaxerxes* considering, and how needful their help was to him in this *Egyptian* Expedition, he sent to mediate and take up their Differences, which they all liked well and accepted, except the *Thebans*. At length after three or four Years spent in preparation, the Kings Forces were drawn down into *Asia* a Town of *Syria*, where being a general Muster, there were found two hundred thousand *Barbarians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thousand *Greeks* under the Ensigns of *Iphicrates*; the Navy amounted to the number of three hundred Gallies, besides a great number of Vessels of Burthen. In the beginning then of Summer they marched for *Egypt*; the Fleet sailing along the Coasts, and coming near the Mouths of *Nile*, found the *Egyptians* furnished sufficiently for a War; warning enough having been given them by the delay of *Pharnabazus*, who (as other *Persian* Generals) having not the full disposal of things in his Power, was constrained to send to the King, to know his Pleasure concerning particulars, whose answer not being quickly obtained at a great distance, procured much loss of time in all Expeditions.

Herodotus ad
Olymp. 101.
sec. 3.

84. *Neitanehis* the King of *Egypt* (for *Achæris* was now dead) sent to spy out the number of the *Persian* Army; but his chiefest hope was in the strength of the Country, which was mightily fortified against any Invasion, by the seven Mouths of *Nile*, whereof each was strengthened with a Castle, and a wooden Bridge, to hinder the passage of any Ships up the Rivers. But especially he took care of *Pelysum* the readiest passage from *Syria*, stopping up such places as might be passed by Water, and drowning such as gave access by Land. *Pharnabazus* his Officers finding *Pelysum* so strongly fortified, resolved there was no passing there, and to carry the Fleet up to the *Memphian* mouth of the River, where

The Egyptian
army defeated.

Sect. 3.

where landing three thousand men, *Pharnabazus* and *Sphierates* set upon the Cattle. The *Egyptians* brought in three thousand Horle and Foot to the relief of it, and thereby ensued a most sharp encounter; but being at length overpowered by the number of *Persians* which coming in continually to the Fight, encompassed them; a great slaughter was made of them, and many taken alive. The rest betaking themselves to the Fort, *Sphierates* his men brake in with them, took it, and razing it, carried the Defendants away Prisoners.

85. *Sphierates* now understood by these Prisoners, that the Garrison was called out of *Memphis* the strongest City in *Egypt*; whereupon he advised *Pharnabazus* with all speed to Sail thither, before the *Egyptians* should have time to unite their Forces. *Pharnabazus* answered, he would first stay till all his Army arrived, by the which the taking of *Memphis* would be more easy; but the other replied, that if he would but let him have all the Mercenaries in the Army, he would promise to reduce the City. *Pharnabazus* hereupon grew jealous of his Valour, and fearing he might thereby, with his Skill and Courage bring *Egypt* into subjection, denied him what he required; to which refusal he opposed this solemn Protestation, that if the *Persians* should let slip out of their Hands this fair Opportunity, this Expedition through their Fault would prove successful. Nothing being procured hereby but Hatred and ill Words, the *Egyptians* by the means of this delay reinforced the Garrison of *Memphis*, and with all their Forces came to the Fort which the *Persians* had demolished; where dividing their men into several parties, they set upon the Enemy, and prevailed so much upon him, that making great slaughters, the *Persian* Generals, having spent much time about the Place, and now the Nile swelling, and beginning to overflow all the Grounds about them; left they should seem to strive with Nature it self, resolved to retreat out of the Country: And this was the fruit of so long a preparation, and so much Expence.

86. Being returned into *Asia*, the differences betwixt them brake out afresh; inso much that *Sphierates* fearing lest he might be attached as *Conon* formerly had been, withdrew himself by Night, and returned to *Athens*. Thither *Pharnabazus* sent after him, to accuse him as guilty of the miscarriage of the Expedition, to which the *Athenians* answered, that if they found him guilty, they would punish him; but within a while they gave him the command of their Fleet. This year *Nicoles* the Eunuch slew *Euvagoras* the King of *Salamine*, and seized on the Kingdom; according to *Diodorus*; who in no case is to be believed, as to the Author of the Paricide; for though it be confirmed by one (a) that he was killed by an Eunuch; yet it appeareth from another, that his name was *Thrafsidans*; seeing it is clear from *Iocrates*, that *Nicoles* (to whom he wrote one Oration; another concerning the Office of a King; he filled by his Name; and made a funeral one concerning *Euvagoras*) was the very Son of *Euvagoras*; and succeeded him in the Kingdom and is not to be reckoned amongst Eunuchs.

87. The next Year, *Artaxerxes* understanding how *Greece* was shaken with intestine Broiles, which he still looked upon as by it's help to recover *Egypt*; sent to compose the difference amongst the several States. They all assented to his Offers, except the *Thebans*, who having a design to be Masters of all *Boeotia*, would not enter with the rest into the League; which the *Lacedemonians* ill resenting; and suspecting their ambitious Practices for the dominion of all *Greece*, invaded them as the publick Enemies: Hereupon ensued a great and bloody Battel at *Leuttra*, in which the *Thebans* had the better, through the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, who fo abated the Strength of the *Spartans*, that they sent *Agessius* their King into *Egypt*; and *Antalcidas* to *Artaxerxes*, to desire a supply of Money. But the King, either because they fought to his Rebels the *Egyptians*, or upon some other account, slighted the Message; and rejected *Antalcidas*, in so much that returning home, when he found that he was laughed at by his Enemies, and fearing the severity of the *Ephori*, he starved himself to death.

88. Yet still did the King endeavour to reconcile the *Gracians*, for that as long as they exercised mutual feud, he could not have any considerable supply from them. This Year on the former message *Philiscus* of *Andrus* was sent to them, who procured both the *Thebans* and their Associates, and the *Lacedemonians* to meet at *Delphos*; but the controversy resting about *Messene*; and the *Thebans* refusing to consent that it should be under the *Lacedemonians*; the Treatie had again the same success: which so offended *Philiscus*, that he left two thousand

Emulation
betwixt Pharnabazus and
Sphierates frustrated their
design.

(a) *Arilla*.
Politi. lib. 5.
cap. 10.
(b) *Thrafsidans*
and *Philiscus*
Eubulch. ann.
176.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 102.
ann. 1.

Xenoph.
Hellen. lib. 6.
Plutarch in
Epaminonda.

Xenoph. lib. 7.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 103.
ann. 1.

Soldiers he had hired to the *Lacedemonians*, and returned into *Asia*. The *Thebans* not long after having a Design to bring all *Greece* into subjection, and knowing their endeavours to be vain, except they made *Artaxerxes* their Friend, or at least induced him to stand neuter, resolved to send Ambassadors to him. Calling together then their Associates, they pretended the thing to be necessary, because *Euthycles* the *Lacedemonian* was already there, and dispatched away *Pelopidas* from themselves, *Antiochus* from the *Arcadians*, *Archidamus* for the *Eleans*, and another for the *Argives*, which being known at *Athens*, they also sent *Timagoras* and *Leon* from their State.

89. *Pelopidas* found the most favour at the King's Hands, pleading (and not falsely) that the *Thebans* had only assited the *Persians* at *Plataea*, and since that had never fought against that Kingdom; and that for this only cause were they invaded by the *Lacedemonians*, because they refused to follow *Agessius* against the King, having also prohibited him to Sacrifice at *Aulis*, where *Agamemnon* Sacrificed when he passed into *Asia* and took *Troy*. The late Victory of the *Thebans* at *Leuttra*, and the Invasion of the *Lacedemonians* Territories, did not a little add to the esteem of *Pelopidas*, who to inhance the renown of his Country, stuck not also to aver, that the reason why the *Argives* and *Arcadians* had of late been overthrown by the *Lacedemonians*, was, because the *Thebans* were not at the Battel. He obtained of the King, that *Messene* being exempted from the jurisdiction of the *Lacedemonians*, should be left to its own Liberty, and that the *Athenians* should withdraw their Ships, or else War was to be made upon them, which being read to the publick Ministers of the other Republicks, *Leon* the *Athenian* openly said, that the *Athenians* must find out another Friend besides the King, who replied, that if they knew any more equal thing, they should acquaint him therewith.

90. With *Pelopidas* was joyned in Commission *Ismenias* the *Theban*, as we have it from *Plutarch*. He being brought by *Tithraustes* a Colonel into the Kings Presence, and commanded, according to the Custom, to adore him, took off his Ring secretly from his Finger, and cast it down at his Feet, and then stooping down to take it up, as he thereby satisfied the King, and obtained his request; so he thought he provided sufficiently for the credit of himself and Country. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* communicated by Letter some Secrets to *Artaxerxes*, for which he was rewarded with one thousand *Dariicks*, a costly Supper, and eighty Cows to find him with Milk for his Health; with a costly Bed and Furniture to it, and some *Persians* that knew how to make it, the *Greeks* being accounted ignorant in these things. But returning home with the rest of the Ambassadors he was put to Death; either because he accepted of these Gifts, as *Plutarch* believed; or for that he adored the King after the *Persian* manner, wherewith they counted their whole State to be reflected on, or (what is most likely) because of this intercourse betwixt him and *Artaxerxes* they questioned his Fidelity; his Colleague moreover impeaching him at their return for refusing his Company, and imparting all the Secret of their Negotiation to *Pelopidas*.

91. After the return of the Ambassadors, the *Thebans* sent for the Deputies of the several Cities, whom, when the Letters from the King were read, they commanded, all that would be accounted his and their Friends, to swear to the Contents of them. The Deputies answered, their Commissions were to hear, and not to take any Oath, which if they would exact from Cities, they must send to them. This they did, hoping that the particular States would not dare to refuse the Society of the King and them; but the Messengers first coming to *Corinth*, and that City refusing to swear, the rest followed their Example, and so this device of the *Thebans* came to nothing. Then fell the *Gracians* into great Broils again, making havock of the Territories, and Goods of one another, which *Artaxerxes* still looking upon as against his design for the recovery of *Egypt*, sent once more and procured a Peace betwixt them, whereby the *Laconick*, or *Boeotian* War (as it was called) ended, after it had endured about five years from the first beginning, in the thirty ninth Year of *Artaxerxes*.

92. This Peace yet effected nothing on his behalf, the interests of the several States being at this time so contrary, that they presently after broke out afresh into civil Wars; and what Forces could be spared out of *Greece*, being not employed for, but against him. For, three or four Years after, the Maritime Parts of *Asia* revolted from him, and *Tachos* now King of *Egypt* made great Provision for the War, both by Land and Sea; and hiring many Soldiers out of several

Xenoph. lib. 7.

Pl. Arax.
Plutarch ad
Ann. lib. 1.
cap. 21.

Pl. Max. l. 6.
c. 3. *ratu*.
Strabo, 1.
Xenoph. at
Plataea.

idem lib.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 103.
ann. 3.

idem ad Olymp.
104. ann. 3.

SECT. 3.

A defection from Artaxerxes.

several Republicks in Greece, drew also to his party the Lacedæmonians, who had conceived displeasure against Artaxerxes, because he made Messene to be comprehended in the general Peace. At the same time had he then to deal with the Egyptians, the Greek Cities in Asia, and the Lacedæmonians; and besides them several of his Lieutenants in Asia revolted; amongst whom were Ariobarzanes of Phrygia (who had lately seized upon that Country after the Death of Mithridates) Manolus of Caria, a powerful Prince, having many strong places, especially Halicarnassus, in his Power; with whom joined Oromes of Mysia, Autophradates of Lydia, and of the Ionian Race, the Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, Cilicians: and besides these the Syrians, Phœnicians, and almost all that bounded upon the Sea. The General Command over all was given to Oromes. By this so general a defection, half of the Tributes were withdrawn from the King; and the other Half sufficed not for warlike preparations.

93. But Oromes having got the chief Command, and therewith received a years pay for twenty thousand men, betrayed those that had entrusted him with so great a Power. For, promising himself no small matters from the King, he first sent up to him those that brought him the Money, and then betrayed many Towns, and a Band of Mercenaries to those who were sent from him for that purpose. At the same time things went in the same course in Cappadocia, accompanied with some memorable Circumstances. Artabazus the King's General invaded that Country with a numerous Army, and Datames the Governour thereof, who had revolted, meeting him with a great Party of Horse, and twenty thousand Foot, pitched his Tents against him. The Captain of Datames his Horse was his Father in Law, who to ingratiate himself with the King, and to provide for his own safety, having first agreed with Artabazus, by Night passed over with all his Troops unto him. But Datames not at all discouraged hereby, exhorted his Mercenaries to constancy, and promising them a large Donative, presently led them against the Revolters, whom he fell upon, just as they were joyning with the Enemy, and with great Violence made great slaughter of both. Artabazus being ignorant of the matter, suspected that the Revolters went about again to betray him, and return to Datames, and therefore gave order to his Souldiers to fall upon the Horse approaching; whence Mithrobarzanes (for so was the Revolted called) being shut up in the midst, whilst one part laboured to repel the Traitor, and the other to be revenged upon him for his Treachery, was reduced into great Straights, and out of extreme despair made great Slaughter on both Sides, till at length having lost ten thousand men, the rest were put to Flight by Datames, to whom some returned and asked Pardon; others betook themselves to a place, whence being not able to stir they were killed, to the number of five thousand men.

94. Whilst these things were thus carried on, Rheomithres was sent into Egypt to Tachos for aid, from whom obtaining five hundred Talents, and fifty Gallies, he returned to Lemus, a Citie in Asia, where sending for many of the Officers of the Revolters he laid Hands on them all, and sent them up to the King, by which Treachery he reconciled himself unto him. Tachos by this time had prepared all things for the War, having obtained out of Greece two hundred Gallies, ten thousand most valiant Souldiers, and out of Egypt it self raised eighty thousand Foot. Artabazus the King of Lacedæmon he also procured to come to him, promising him the Command of all his Forces. Upon the report of his landing, all sorts of Presents were dispatched to him; but the Courtiers finding no Train, nor any thing of State about him, only an old Man, little of Stature, not at all trimmed, but with coarse and old Cloathes, sitting on the Shore upon the Grass, they greatly despised him, and were seized with wonder at his poorness of Spirit, when they beheld how amongst the Presents, taking the Meal, Calves, and Geese to himself, he gave the sweet Meats and Oyments to be divided amongst the Slaves. And Tachos himself gave him not the chief Command according to his Promise, deriding him for the smallness of his Stature, and saying, that the Fable was fulfilled in him, the Mountains are in Travel, and a Mouse is brought forth; to which with Anger and Scorn he answered, that afterwards he should have cause to think him a Lyon.

95. With Tachos also was Chabrias the Athenian, though not sent from the State as was Artabazus, but on his own account, who advised him wanting Treachery, to command his richest fort of Subjects to furnish him with as much Money as they could spare, and he would repay them out of his yearly Tributes, which course he following got great store of Money, and yet injured no man.

To

SECT. 3.

Artaxerxes.

Nectanebus King of Egypt.

Artaxerxes having served him, in his return died.

Artaxerxes dying having before his death made Darius King, who plotting against him,

Report to death.

Ochus his wicked Practices for the Kingdom.

To him he committed his Fleet, to Artabazus the Conduct of the ten thousand mercenary Grecians, to Nectanebus his Son (or rather the Son of his Brother, or Sister, being called his Nephew;) reserving to himself the command over all; and though Artabazus advised him rather to manage the War by his Lieutenants, and stay in Egypt, he stayed in Phœnicia, the Spartan following him, though against his Dignity and Disposition. Coming into Phœnicia, he sent Nectanebus against the Cities in Syria, to whom came a message from the Viceroy of Egypt left there by Tachos, signifying that he had revolted, and now invited him to seize upon the Kingdom; to which he consenting, drew presently to his party, all the Officers by gifts, and the Souldiers by large Promises. Tachos now being in fear of his own Servants, and Artabazus whom he derided, betook himself to Sidon, and thence to Artaxerxes, by whom he was courteously entertained, though not declared General in the Egyptian War, (and so by the help of Artabazus recovered his Kingdom) as Diodorus writeth.

96. Another King besides these two was made by the Egyptians of Memphism, of whom ten thousand arose, and for him made War upon Nectanebus. The Cafe being such, Artabazus took part with Nectanebus, whom he thought more to favour the Grecians, took the other Prisoners, and confirmed him in the Kingdom, who importuning him to stay and winter with him, he refused, hasting homewards, for that he knew the Lacedæmonian State to be at this time engaged in a War, destitute of Treasure, and yet to keep Strangers in constant pay for want of their own men. Nectanebus when he would not stay, dismissed him with great Gifts and Honours, giving him two hundred and twenty, or two hundred and thirty Talents for the maintenance of the War at home, with which taking Ship, he sailed homewards, though in the midst of Winter; making haste, lest through his absence the State should do nothing the next Summer; but being carried by Tempest into a desert place, called the Haven of Menelaus, lying betwixt Cyrene and Egypt, he there fell sick and died. His Friends laying his Corps in Wax, for want of Honey, carried it to Lacedæmon, where it was buried according to his worth and dignity.

97. About the time of his Death died also Artaxerxes the King of Persia, after he had reigned forty three Years. He had one hundred and fifteen Sons, of which three only were legitimate; Darius, Artabazus, and Ochus, the rest being begotten of Concubines, of which he kept three hundred and sixty, with which yet he could not be contented without the addition of Artabazus his own Daughter, his own Mother to please him, becoming a Bawd to his incestuous affections. When he was grown old, perceiving his Sons to strive about the Succession, and especially Ochus (who although the youngest, hoped by the means of Artabazus to procure the Kingdom of him) fearing lest after his death he might do as his Uncle Cyrus had formerly done, contrary to the custom of Persia, which ordinarily admitted not of two Kings at the same time, he made Darius the eldest, now fifty years old, King, whilst he lived, lest his Death should involve the Empire in civil Broils. It was the fashion for him that was made King, to ask, and receive something at the hands of him that made him, according to which Darius asked Artabazus to Wife, which formerly having been Concubine to Cyrus, Artaxerxes took, and afterwards married. He out of Indulgence to him first granted his request, for that she being a free woman, and no Slave, might chuse whether she would have him, and hoping she would refuse; but she willingly accepting of the thing, and he then repenting of what he had rashly promised, consecrated her as a Nun to Diana, that she might live for the remainder of her days a single life. Darius hereby incensed, through the provocation of Artabazus, (who bore Artaxerxes malice for defrauding him of his Daughter Amisbris, whom he promised to him, but married her himself) entered with fifty of his Brethren into a conspiracy against the Life of his Father, and the Plot being revealed by an Eunuch, was put to death with his complices.

98. Darius being removed out of the way, Ochus was more inflamed with a desire of reigning, to which he was more incensed by Artabazus his Sister. But he feared two of his Brothers; Artabazus legitimate, and the elder, and one Artabazus, who though base born, and the younger, yet was much esteemed for his Wisdom, and especially beloved by his Father. Both of them he resolved to destroy; the former by his cunning, and the latter by down-right cruelty; for he hired some who never ceased to tell Artabazus, as a great Secret, that his Father was resolved to make him away by a cruel, and shameful Death, and so often inculcating it unto him as speedily to be done, drove him to that fear and desperation that

Platarch in Artaxerxes, Justin lib. 20.

Tachos King of Egypt strengthened himself.

Diod. & Plutarch.

Sect. 4. that he poisoned himself, *Artaxerxes* mourned for him, but knowing the kind of his death, and suspecting the cause, yet through extreme Age was unable to search into the matter and find it out: only he embraced *Arjames* more affectionately than ever, and not obscurely signified that he only could trust, and rely upon him. *Ochus* judging then that no delay was to be used, procured *Harpages* the Son of *Teribazus* (who fell in the Treason of *Darius*) to murder him. *Artaxerxes* was already so spent with Age that he seemed to want but the least furtherance to his Death, so that word being brought him of the death of *Arjames*, he was not able to bear it, but died Heart-broken with Sorrow, after he had lived ninety four Years, in the forty third of his Reign; in the third of the one hundred fourth *Olympiad*. A. M. 3844. about three hundred and sixty before the Birth of Christ. He was esteemed mild and loving towards his Subjects, which Opinion was mightily confirmed by the Cruelty and Parricide of his Successor.

SECT. IV.

From the Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the beginning of Ochus, to the Death of Darius Codomanus,

Containing the space of thirty two Years.

I. *Ochus* succeeded his Father, after whom he was also named *Artaxerxes*, and whose Name the *Persians* put upon his Successors for a memorial of his mild and prosperous Government. Some think him by the *Persians* to have been called *Ochofueros*, or *Achofueros*; and that he is

to be taken for that *Achofuerus*, or *Ahasuerus* the Husband of *Ester*, mentioned in Scripture, who by the seventy, and *Folephus* after them, is named *Artaxerxes*. Some have thought *Cambyses* to have been the Man, but he reigned only seven Years, whereas above twelve are given to *Ahasuerus*. Neither could *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* be he, if the *Fews* with others rightly accounted the Book of *Ester* to have been the last in Order of all the Canonical Scripture of the Old Testament, and for that *Psalmist* his Wife is thought to be *Aossa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, it cannot be, because he never put away *Aossa*, on whom he begat *Xerxes*, and although some plead hard for *Xerxes* because his Wife is called by *Herodotus*, *Amestris*, which they take in the *Persian* Tongue to be only *Ham-Esther*, yet 'tis apparent out of the same Author, that she was the Daughter of *Otaanes* a *Persian* Satrap, by Religion an Heathen, and of a most cruel Disposition. Besides, *Ahasuerus* in the seventh Year of his Reign was at *Sulban*; but *Xerxes* in the seventh of his Reign was absent in the War with *Greece*, and though the *Greeks* corrupted foreign Names, and might call *Xerxes* him, whom the *Persians* named *Artach-sasta*, or *Artachas-ta*, yet not one in his own Language called *Achofueros*. Neither is it probable that *Longimanus* could be the man, who is both in Sacred, and prophane Story called *Artach-sasta*, and *Artaxerxes*; but no where *Ahasuerus*. The same may be said of *Nothus*, who both by *Nehemiah* and *Greek* Writers is called *Darius*, and of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, concerning whose Wife *Stativa*, such things are written as can neither agree with *Valstii* nor *Ester*. Now if that of *Ester* be the last Canonical Book; and *Nehemiah* lived to the time of *Darius* *Nothus*, then is it probable, that *Ester* lived in the Reign of his Son, or Grand-son, and cannot so conveniently be assigned for a Wife to any as to *Ochus*.

2. *Ochus* knowing of how great Authority his Fathers Name was to his Subjects, and how contemptible he should be after his Death was known, procured

of the Eunuches, Chamberlains and Colonels to conceal for ten Moneths, and in the mean time sending about the Royal Seal, commanded in his Father's name, to proclaim *Ochus* King. When all owned, and obeyed him as King, he then confessed his Fathers Death, and commanded a general Mourning, according to the custom of *Persia*, and presently taking away all Competition, filled the Court with the Blood of his Kindred, and Relations, no regard being had, either to Sex or Age. Amongst the rest he put to death his (b) Sister *Ochus*, being also his Mother-in-law, with cruel Torments, and his Uncle with his two Sons and Nephews, he caused to be set in an empty place, and killed with Darts, who seemeth well to have been Father to *Sisgambis* (Mother to *Darius* the last *Persian* King) whose eighty Brethren together with their Father, *Curtius* reporteth to have been murdered by *Ochus*.

3. From *Ochus* revolted *Artabazus*, against whom were sent some of the *Persian* Satrapes with seventy thousand men, and yet by the help of *Chares* the *Athenian* he overthrew them, and rewarded *Chares* with a great sum of Money, which he laid out in the paying of his Souldiers. *Ochus* knowing of this, expostulated seriously with the *Athenians* about it, who hearing that he intended with three hundred Ships to assist their Enemies (with whom they were now engaged in the social War) presently clapt up a Peace with them. *Artabazus* being forsaken of the *Athenians*, betook himself to the *Thebans*, who ordered *Pammenes* with five hundred men to pass over into *Asia* to assist him; by whose help *Artabazus* again overthrew the King's Forces sent against him in two great and bloody Battels, which got no small Credit to *Pammenes*, and his *Boeotians*. Yet a few Years after, when the *Thebans* were engaged in the *Phocian* War, and reduced to extremity for want of Money, they sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and obtained of him three hundred Talents, which he granted as it seemeth to put an obligation upon them to assist him in the War, which he renewed against the *Egyptians*.

4. Although *Egypt* had long before this revolted from the *Persian* Empire, yet *Ochus* not at all affecting War had kept himself quiet; for, having sent some Armies thither, by the Treachery, or ignorance of their Captains, they miscarried, so that having several times badly sped, though despised on that account by the *Egyptians*, yet being a lover of his ease and quiet he submitted to the Disgrace. But now at this time (about the eleventh Year of his Reign) the *Phenicians* and *Cyprians* taking Heart, and rebelling also, he resolved to chastise them all with Arms, and that in his own Person; and making great Provision of all things for the War, raised three hundred thousand Foot, thirty thousand Horse, and three hundred Gallies, besides Vessels of Burthen. The first Tempest of the War fell upon *Phenicia*, which revolted upon this Occasion. A famous Citie there was therein named *Tripolis*, consisting, according to it's Name, of three Cities distant a Furlong from each other, and inhabited by *Tyrrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Aradians*, in which the assembly General of the *Phenicians* met and resolved of their most important affairs. Herein the *Persian* Satrapes and Ambassadors, behaving themselves very uncivilly, and abusing the *Sidonians*, they thereupon resolved to rebel, and perswading the other *Phenicians* to side with them for the obtaining of their Liberty, sent to *Neftanebus* King of *Egypt* to desire him to receive them into Confederacy against *Ochus*. Then to begin their Hostility they cut down the Paradise wherein the Kings of *Persia*, when they came that way, used to divert themselves; burnt the Hay which the *Satrapes* had gathered for use in War, and punished such Officers as by whom they had been abused.

5. *Ochus* having notice of this, longed to be revenged of all the *Phenicians*, but especially of them of *Sidon*; and gathering his Forces together at *Babylon*, set out thence against them. In the mean time whilst he was on his way, the President of *Syria* and *Mazeus* Governour of *Cilicia*, with joyn't Forces fell upon the *Phenicians*; but *Tennes* King of *Sidon*, having received out of *Egypt* a supply of four thousand *Gracians*, over which *Mentor* the *Rhodian* was General; with them and his Citizens together, fell upon the *Satrapes*, worsted, and expelled them out of *Phenicia*. Whilst things were thus carried there; another War arose to the *Persians* out of *Cyprus*, wherein were nine Cities of good account, having the lesser Towns in their Subjection, and each of them a King; but all Subjects to the *Persian*, all which now, imitating the *Phenicians*, revolted. *Ochus* receiving tidings hereof, wrote to *Adrius* Prince of *Caria* (who being newly come to the Government, was by the tenure of his Principallity a

Friend

Sect. 4.

(a) *Joslin*.
(b) *Valerius*.
Max. lib. 9.
Ext. 12. 7.

Lith. 10. cap. 9.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 106.
Ann. 1. & 4.

Mem. ad Olymp.
107. Ann. 2.

Artabazus received
victory from
him.

He invaded
Phenicia.

Jacobus cap.
bellus, 411.

Ester's Husband.

SECT. 4.

Friend and Associate in War to the *Persian Empire* to provide Forces both for Sea and Land against them, who accordingly with great expedition making ready forty Gallies and eight thousand Mercenaries, sent them into *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Phocion*, the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, who heretofore had held the Island as King. These two landing their Men, laid close Siege to *Salamine* both by Land and Sea, and the Island having been quiet of late, and for that reason abounding with Riches, great numbers flockt out of desire of Plunder from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, inasmuch that the number of the Besiegers was doubled. Hereupon all the other Cities submitted themselves; only *Protagoras* held out still, and *Evagoras* thought by force to re-invest himself of that Kingdom, devolved upon him from his Ancestors: But at length *Protagoras* also submitting, obtained *Salamine* still; and *Evagoras* contented himself with a large Dominion given him in *Asia*, which ill governing, he fled again into *Cyprus*, and there taken was put to death.

Mentor the Rhodian offers to betray Sidon to him.

6. The King was on his March towards *Phenicia*, when *Mentor* the *Rhodian* understanding what strength he had, and how unable the Rebels were to make resistance, sent one to him privately, offering to betray *Sidon* into his Hands, and to do him especial Service in the Conquest of *Egypt*, being very well skilled in that Country and the River. *Ochus* not only offered him indemnity, but a large reward, if he would perform what he promised, and placing his greatest Felicity in the recovery of *Egypt*, sent to the chieft of the *Græcian* States, to desire aid. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* signified their desire to retain Amity and a good Correspondence with him, but at present could yield him no assistance; but the *Thebans* sent him one thousand men, the *Argives* three thousand, and the *Greeks* in *Asia* willing to shew their readiness, furnished him with six thousand. Before their arrival the King was got into *Phenicia*, and late down not far from *Sidon*, which the Inhabitants had by this time strongly manned within, and fortified with a threefold large Ditch, and high Walls, besides a Fleet of one hundred Gallies. For they exceeded by far all their Neighbours in Riches.

Tennes King of Sidon joyneth with him, and yet put to death by Ochus.

7. But *Tennes* their King had associated himself with *Mentor* to betray the City, whom leaving therein with command of a Part thereof for the better carrying on of the Treachery, he himself with five hundred Soldiers went out, pretending to go to the publick convention of the *Phenicians*, having with him one hundred of the prime Citizens as his Counsellors. These he brought straight to *Ochus*, who put them all to death as Authors of the Rebellion, and after them five hundred more, who came as Suppliants with Olives in their Hands, after he had understood from *Tennes* that the City should be surrendered to him without any Conditions, thereby to strike a Terror into the other Towns. After this, *Tennes* easily prevailed with the mercenary *Egyptians* to let him and the King into the Town, which being done, and *Ochus* having it in his Power, judging him now to be of no use to him, he commanded him also to be slain. The *Sidonians* before the King approached had burnt all their Ships, left any private Person should convey himself away during the Siege. Now seeing themselves betrayed, and their City full of the Enemy which swarmed on every side, they set fire to their Houses, and therein burnt themselves with their Wives and Children, so that (accounting Slaves) above forty thousand are thought to have perished in the Flames. The King sold the Rubbish thereof for many Talents, much Gold and Silver being found therein, because it had flourished with great Riches. By this Tragedy of *Sidon* the other Cities being terrified, yielded themselves unto the *Persian*.

Sidon taken and burnt by the Inhabitants.

8. The (a) Auxiliaries out of *Greece* being come to *Ochus* after the taking of *Sidon*, he set forward with his whole Army towards *Egypt*, (b) taking *Pericho* a City of *Judea* (as it's probable) in his way, and drawing many *Peus* along with him in his Expedition. Coming (c) to the Lake *Sirbonis*, he lost part of his Army in the Whirlpits and Bogs, through ignorance of the place, and at length arrived at *Pelufium* the first frontier-Town, which was held with a Garrison of one thousand Men. Now the King divided the *Græcian* Forces into three Bodies, and over each constituted a Captain of their own Nation, and joyned a *Persian* with him: the other Forces he kept in his own Command, being greatly intent about the main buisness. On the other side *Nectanebus* was not a whit discouraged, having in pay twenty thousand *Græcians*, and as many *Africans*, besides sixty thousand of his own *Egyptians*, and an innumerable Company of Boats for the River. But by his Conceitedness and want of Skill he miscarried,

Ochus invadeth Egypt.

SECT. 4.

ried, having formerly prospered whilst he used the Conduct of the *Græcian* Captains, but now his Fortune changing upon his sole managing the War, for which he thought himself sufficiently able. After then he had fortified his Garrisons, with thirty thousand *Egyptians*, five thousand *Greeks*, and half of the *Africans*, he seized upon such places, as were most advantageous for passage into the Country.

9. Things standing thus betwixt them, *Nicostratus* the Captain of the *Argives* getting some *Egyptians* for Guides, passed with the Fleet through a Ditch, and in a place something remote and out of sight landed his men, and pitched his Tents; which being known by the Garrison, a party issued out, and fell upon them; but the *Græcians* after a sharp contest, slew their Captain, and of them about five thousand men. *Nectanebus* upon report made of this Defeat was greatly discouraged, fearing all the rest of the *Persian* Army might be easily transported, and suspecting lest the Enemy should bend his utmost strength against *Memphis* the Metropolis, was especially concerned for it, and with that party which accompanied him returned thither. In the mean time *Lacrates* the *Theban*, General and principal of the *Græcian* Captains drained the Chancel by cutting a Ditch, and passing over his Soldiers, raised a Battery against *Pelufium*, by which the Walls being much broken, the defendants raised still Palliades in the place, and the *Græcians* within stoutly defending the Fort, a great Contest hapned for several days. But as soon as they heard of the Kings departure, they desired a Parley, and *Lacrates* interposing an Oath, that upon yielding of the place, they should depart with such things as they brought out of *Greece*, they presently yielded. Then *Artaxerxes* sent *Bagoas* an Eunuch of great authority with him, with a party of *Barbarians* to take possession of *Pelufium*, who meeting the *Græcians* took from them many things contrary to the agreement. This they received in great disdain, and called upon their Gods as Witnesses of the Oath, which to keep *Lacrates* fell upon the *Barbarians*, put them to flight with the loss of some, and defended his Country-men, for which being accused by *Bagoas*, the King defended what he had done, and punished the Authors of the Violence.

10. *Pelufium* being taken, the other Towns were easily reduced by this stratagem of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, the third Captain of the *Græcians*. These places being held by Garrisons consisting of two sorts of Nations, *Græcians* and *Egyptians*, he caused this Rumor to be spread abroad, that *Artaxerxes* had resolved to deal mildly with all those who should deliver up any Towns, but such as should withstand him, he would prosecute with as great severity as the *Sidonians*; and he gave in charge to the Sentinels to let as many Citizens go out as would. By this means this report was presently spread all over *Egypt*, and thereupon mutinies followed betwixt the Strangers and Natives in every Garrison, each endeavouring first to betray their trust, and gain credit of the Conquerors by their speedy Treachery. Accordingly when *Mentor* and *Bagoas* laid Siege to *Babylis*, the *Egyptians* secretly sent to the latter to yield to him the Town upon security of a free dismissal. The *Græcians* suspecting the matter, pursued the Messenger, and getting from him the whole truth, in a great rage fell upon the *Egyptians*, whereof some they slew, others they wounded, and drove the rest into a corner of the Town. The *Egyptians* signified this to *Bagoas*, and desired him with all speed to come and take possession of the Town, and in the mean time a Messenger was sent to *Mentor* from the *Græcians*, who advised them as soon as *Bagoas* should enter the Town to fall upon the *Barbarians*. As soon therefore as part of his Soldiers with him was entered, they shut the Gates, and killing all the Soldiers, took *Bagoas* himself Prisoner.

11. *Bagoas* (a) seeing his only hope to be in *Mentor*, earnestly besought him to be the means of his deliverance, promising him to do nothing for the future without his approbation, who procuring his release, and having the Town delivered up into his own Hands, as he got the credit of the enterprise, so engaged he *Bagoas* to him, who entered by Oath into Friendship and endearedness, which he also kept to the last, and by which Union they both became afterwards the most powerful of all the King's Officers. After the surrender of *Babylis*, the other Cities made their Peace, but *Nectanebus* lying at *Memphis*, and seeing what Progress the Enemy made in his Conquest, would not endanger his personal safety for a Kingdom, but packing up all his Treasures got him away into *Aethiopia*. Then became *Artaxerxes* Master of all *Egypt*, and demolishing the Walls of the greater Towns, spoiled the Temples, and got much

Nectanebus fled out of Egypt.

(a) Diodorus de J. l. 14.

(b) Diodorus de J. l. 107.
(c) Strabo l. 16.
(d) Strabo l. 16.
(e) Strabo l. 16.

Sect. 4.

treasure. He carried away the Writings of the Priests, which afterwards *Bagoas* restored to them for a great sum of money, he (b) derided *Apis* and all their gods, and for that the *Egyptians* had for his dulness (c) called him *Apis*, he sacrificed *Apis* being taken by violence, to an *Ass*, making his flesh also be dressed up for meat. Then rewarded he the *Gracians* with great munificence, according to their particular merits, and making *Pherenates Satrapa* of *Egypt*, he returned laden with glory and spoil unto *Babylon*, taking (d) in his way a great number of *Fews* captive, of whom some he placed at *Babylon*, and others in *Hircania* upon the *Caspian Sea*.

12. *Ochus* rewarded *Mentor* the *Rhodian* with one hundred talents of silver, and much costly household stuff, and making him governor of the Coasts of *Asia*, gave him full power to make war upon his Rebels. He used his power moderately towards *Artabazus* and *Memnon*, who formerly had revolted, and now were fled to *Philip King of Macedonia*: those he reconciled to the King, and sent for them both with their families; for *Artabazus* had by the Sister of *Mentor* and *Memnon* eleven Sons and ten Daughters, by which number *Mentor* being much affected, not only procured him his pardon, but preferred by degrees all the youths to honourable command in the Army. After this promise of pardon he allured *Hermias* the Eunuch Governor of *Avarnus* into his hands, whom casting into prison, he took his Ring and therewith signed letters, wherein was commanded in his name, that such as had command of any Castles or Towns should deliver them up into the hands of the bearers, which was accordingly done, and then sent he *Hermias* up to the King, who caused him to be hanged, *Aristotle* the Philosopher and *Xenocrates* the *Chaldean*, (whom he had sent for to him) made their escape out of such places as the *Persians* had got into their hands. Afterwards *Mentor* either by force or policy, reduced all such Captains as had revolted.

13. *Philip* the son of *Amyntas* at this time reigning in *Macedonia*, grew very potent, and besieged *Perinthus*, a Town in *Thrace*, situate upon the *Propontis* with thirty thousand men, and very strong provision for War; so that he straightly pressed the inhabitants, giving them no rest through his continual attempts. This *Artaxerxes Ochus* taking notice of, and being very jealous of his sudden growth, commanded the *Satrapas* of the Maritime Coasts of *Asia* to relieve the *Perinthians* as effectually as might be, which they so performed as he missed of his design; and this afterwards was objected as a sufficient cause, amongst others, for the invasion of *Asia*.

14. In the reign of *Ochus*, as some think, hapned those things which are said to have been done in *Fudat*, during the reign of *Artaxerxes*, and to have given an occasion of imposing a Tribute upon that Country. After the death of *Eliashib* the Priest, his son *Johb* succeeded him in his Office according to his birth-right, who had a brother named *Fylbus*. This *Fylbus* being in great favour with *Bagoas*, the Kings General, had a promise from him that he should have the Priesthood, by which he was so heartened as to strive with *Johb* in the Temple, and so far provoked him as he slew him there. *Bagoas* hearing this, endeavoured to enter the Temple, and when he was forbidden asked if they counted him more impure than the Carrels that lay within, and getting in by force, took these occasion to punish the *Fews* seven years for the death of *Fylbus*. For two Lambs being daily offered in the constant sacrifices, he imposed upon every one a Tribute of fifty drachms, which amounted to the yearly rate of sixty *Attick* Talents. But if these things hapned in the time of this *Artaxerxes*, and he be taken for *Asiarnus*, then must this murder have been committed towards the beginning of his reign, and this Tribute of seven years been exacted before *Mordecai* the *Few* came in favour, which was after the fall of *Haman*, in the twelfth year of *Asiarnus*.

15. During the reign of *Ochus*, in his ninth dear, died *Maufolus* the petty King of *Carria*, more famous after his death than whilst living, to whom his wife *Artemisia* succeeding, because he left no Children, burned with such affection towards him, that reducing his bones and ashes into powder she drunk it, desiring to become a quick and breathing monument of her husband. She proposed great rewards to such Orators as would speak eloquently in his commendation, in which did several notable men of that time. For the preservation of his memory the raised such a monument as deserved to be reckoned amongst the seven wonders of the World, and in the work whereof the most exquisite artificers that then could be found were employed. *Scopas* on the East

Philip King of Macedonia opposed by *Ochus*.

Affairs of *Judat* in the time of *Ochus*.

Maufolus his monument.

(b) *Salp. de*
verus lib. 2.
Year. lib. 2.

(c) *Adrian.*
var. lib. lib. 4.
var. lib. lib. 4.

(d) *Origen. l. 3.*
cap. 7. fuerit
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 107.
cap. 4.

Idem ibid.
Polygen. lib. 6.
Strabo lib. 13.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 107.
cap. 4.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 11.
cap. 7.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 106.
cap. 4.

Strabo lib. 14.
Capit. lib. 12.
cap. 18.

Sect. 4.

East part, *Bryaxes* on the North, *Timochus* on the South, and *Leochares* on the West, who notwithstanding *Artemisia* died of melancholy before the work was completed, yet proceeded to the finishing of it, intending it as a monument, not only of *Maufolus* (upon which account the *Romans* called their most exquisite pieces of Architecture *Maufolea*) but also of the excellency of their Art; to transmit their own names as well as his posterity.

16. *Bagoas* had risen to that power with *Ochus*, that he ruled all things at his pleasure, the King doing nothing without his consent. Yet either misboubing of his security through the cruel disposition of the King, or willing to have a greater power, owing *Ochus* also some displeasure for killing the *Egyptian God Apis* (he belonging to that Country) he poisoned him by the means of a Physician, after he had reigned twenty three years. Being dead, he cast him to the Cats to be devoured, another being buried in the Royal Sepulchre, in his stead, and that he might express his cruel disposition, of his Thigh-bones he caused sword hilts to be made. In his stead he made King his youngest son *Artes*, killing all his other sons, that the new King being destitute of kindred and friends, might yield the more obedience to himself. In reality he now reigned, usurping all, except the meek Title; but *Artes* beginning to look to himself, when he had ground to suspect that he intended to call him to an account for his wickedness, he made him away also with all his Children in the third year after he had set him up.

17. All the Children of *Artes* perishing with him, and the Royal family thereby being desolate, *Bagoas* made choice of one (a) *Codomannus* his friend, and placed him in the Throne, whom some Authors would have not at all to be descended of the Royal line, being a Carrier of Letters, but others make him the son of *Asfanes* (brother to *Ochus*) by *Siggambis* his sister, according to the custom of the *Persian* marriages. Whilst he was a private man in the *Cadusian* War he shewed himself valiant, killing an Enemy, who challenged any one of *Ochus* his Army to a single Combat, and thereby for the present procuring great rewards, honour, and the Government of *Armenia*, after *Artes* his death came to be remembered by the people, which made choice also of him for their King, and that nothing of Royal Majesty might be wanting to him gave him the name of *Darius*. Not long after his perishment *Bagoas* repented him of what he had done, and being much verled in King-killing, provided a potion to send him, after *Ochus* and *Artes*, which he having notice of, called him to him, and in a pleasant humor offered it to himself to drink, and thereto compelled him, satisfying the people sufficiently in that he thus required him, who fought the same way to entrap him.

18 By this *Darius* was sent into *Samaria*, as a *Satrapa*, *Sanballet*, a *Cuthaan* by birth, and so of the same Original the *Samaritans* themselves were. He thinking it good policy to procure Amity with the *Fews*, his Neighbours, married his daughter *Niciso* to *Manasse* the brother of *Faddus* the High Priest.

19. *Darius* with the Empire of *Persia* was necessitated to espouse a quarrel with the greatest Monarch then known in the World except himself, and with such a people in combination with him, as easily excelled all others in Military skill and valour. The quarrels which hapned betwixt the *Persians* and *Gracians* had been many, and as many bickerings and contests in the field had ensued thereupon, wherein as the *Greeks* both at home and abroad had constantly had success agreeable to their dexterity, so each foil of the *Persians* gave its great a stroke to their credit, inasmuch as they were fligited by the other, especially after the retreat of those that assisted *Cyrus*, who in despite of all *Artaxerxes* could do, marched through the midst of his Territories as Conquerours; and having seen the great riches of those Countreys through which they passed, carried home a longing desire after them, and an indignation that such things should be enjoyed by those who seemed not in capacity to defend them.

20. The disadvantage of the *Persians* was the rising of the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, to that high pitch of greatness to which it had been of late advanced by the abilities of *Philip* the present King, who though he might have pretended a cause where none was, yet there was some occasion of offence given him, though but counted a necessary allay to his rising fortune so terrible to the *Persian* Empire: For when with great preparations he had besieged *Perinthus* a City of *Thrace*, *Ochus* gave order to his Lieutenants to assist the besieged, which was so powerfully done, as his design miscarried: Yet he having brought all *Greece* to his beck, and established his interest sufficiently in *Europe*, resolved up

Plinius lib. 36.
cap. 5.

** Pausan. in*
Arctad. lib.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 111.
cap. 2.
Adrian. Var.
lib. lib. 6.
cap. 2.

(a) *Diodorus.*
Strabo lib. 15.
** Plutarch. in*
Alexand. lib. 1.
Diodorus, Ar-
rianus, Curtius.

Joseph. lib. 10.

Curtius lib. 6.
cap. 5.
Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11.
cap. 7.

Pind. Arrianus
lib. 1. pag. 41.

Seçt. 4. on *Asia*, and assembling the estates at *Corinth*, procured himself to be declared General of all *Greece* for the *Persian War*; for which he made mighty preparations, imposing a certain number of Souldiers upon every Citie. The next Spring he sent over as before him into *Asia* three Captains, *Parmenio*, *Amynas*, and *Atalus*, under pretence of freeing the *Greek Cities* there, which happened the same year that *Alex* died, and he lived himself not long after, being stabbed by one *Pausanias*, as he was solemnizing the nuptials of his daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander King of Epirus*. Hereupon *Darius*, who before studied how to turn the War into *Macedonia*, thought himself secure, despising the youth of *Alexander* his son and Successor, who exceeded not the age of twenty years.

21. But *Alexander* being a young man of a great and restless spirit, and of wisdom and valour far above his age, overcame all difficulties both in *Greece* and *Asia*, which his Enemies had raised (getting himself to be chosen in a little time General of the one, as his father had been, and in the other suppressing betimes the sedition of the Army of *Atalus*, by taking of him out the way) and most vehemently burnt with a desire of the Conquest of the *Persian Empire*; from an endeavour after which he might by no means be diverted. Having either by fair, or foul means settled his matters in *Europe*, he passed over into *Asia* two years after his fathers death, and landed at *Troas* with a Fleet of sixty long ships. He first cast a spear out upon the shore, and leaped out in a frisking manner, as taking possession of the Continent. Then presently he made a visit to the Tombs of *Achilles* and *Ajax*, to whom he made a parentation, and mustered the Army he had brought over with him. Concerning the number of Forces, those that were there present themselves have not agreed in their relation, but according to the greatest probability, there were of foot thirteen thousand *Macedonians*, of the Associates seven thousand, and five thousand Mercenaries, besides of *Odryse*, *Triballi*, and *Thyrians* five thousand, and one thousand Archers, with such as fought with Darts. Of horse there were one thousand eight hundred *Macedonians*, one thousand eight hundred *Thessalians*, and of other *Grecians* six hundred, besides a Guard of nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*.

22. *Darius* after he had heard how *Alexander* was declared General of *Greece*, and was much spoken of for his valour, shook off his former security and buckled himself to preparation for resistance. He got together a considerable Navy, and raised great Forces, for command of which he made choice of most expert Captains, and amongst the rest of *Memnon the Rhodian*, a man very excellent in Military matters, whom he sent into *Phrygia* with a band of five thousand Mercenaries to reduce *Cyzicus* to his obedience. He passed over the Hill *Ida*, and on a sudden set upon the Citie, and had well-nigh taken it, but the Defendants making strong resistance, he plundered the Territories adjacent, and then retreated with much booty. In the mean while *Parmenio*, one of the three Captains sent into *Asia* by *Philip*, and who stood close to the interest of *Alexander*, took by storm *Syrnium*, a Town of *Phrygia*, and sold the inhabitants. From thence he went to *Pitane* to attempt the same upon it, but *Memnon* coming upon him, struck such a terror into his men that he was forced to raise his siege. After this, *Callas* with a band of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries engaged with the *Persians* in a battel at *Troas*; but being overmatched in numbers, he was worsted, and betook himself to *Rhætum*. These things fell out before the passage of *Alexander* into *Asia*.

23. After (a) *Alexander* was landed, the *Persian* Captains met to consult about carrying on the War, whom *Memnon* advised by no means to hazard a battel, but to lay wait the Countrey before him, thereby to hinder his march any farther for want of necessities; and then to pals all their Forces over into *Macedonia*, and so to transfer the seat of the War into *Europe*. This whole Council was rejected as below the *Persian* courage, and a resolution taken to engage, so that gathering their forces together they marched into *Phrygia* towards the *Hellspont*, and pitched their Tents upon the River *Granicus* (which runneth through the plains of *Asia*) intending it should be a defense to them. (b) *Alexander* in his way thither passed by *Lampascus*, the inhabitants of which either having already revolted to the *Persian*, or else suspected of such an intent he resolved utterly to destroy. As he was thus minded *Anaximenes* an Historian of that place, well known formerly to his father, and also to him, presented himself to him, to whom he swore in so many words, that he would not grant what he was about to ask, which the other readily apprehending desired

desired of him that he would destroy *Lampascus*, so that with his sharpness of wit Sect. 4. being circumvented, he was constrained to spare it against his will.

24. *Alexander* having with great trouble and danger passed the River *Granicus*, then (a) engaged with the *Persians* in a great and bloody battel, wherein much valour was shewn on both sides. *Spiribobates*, a *Persian Satrapa of Ionia*, and son in Law to *Darius*, a man of a great courage, with a strong body of Horse fell upon the *Macedonians*, whom no one being able to withstand, *Alexander* himself grappled with him, a fierce combat ensued, he wounding the King, who yet at length slew him. But *Rojaces* his brother coming in upon *Alexander*, gave him such a blow upon the head as broke his helmet and lightly wounded him, and a second had killed him outright but that *Clitus*, surnamed *Niger*, a *Macedonian*, putting spurs to his Horse, in good time cut off the hand of the *Barbarian*. A great conflict then ensued betwixt the principal *Persians* and *Macedonians*, and many of the former lost their lives upon the place; amongst which of special note were *Aryxes* and *Pharnaces*, brother to the wife of *Darius*, and *Mithrobarzanes* Captain of the *Cappadocians*. These being slain, those that opposed *Alexander* began to flye, and afterwards all the rest; of the hundred thousand foot which the *Persians* brought into the field about ten thousand being slain, and of the twenty thousand Horse, two thousand. Of *Alexander* his Army one (b) reports nine Foot-men, and a hundred and twenty Horse-men to have fallen, but (c) another only thirty four in all, amongst which were nine Foot-men. The King by confession of all deserved most commendation for his valour, and next to him the *Thessalian* Horse-men. (d) *Aristes* the *Persian* fled into *Phrygia* and there killed himself, because through his advice, he seemed to have been author of this overthrow.

25. *Alexander* after he had refreshed his Army, marched through *Lydia*, having *Sardis* delivered up to him, and came to *Ephesus*, where he dissolved the Oligarchical form of Government, and set up a Democratical one in its room, commanding the same to be done in all *Greek Cities*, which he ordered to be left to their own Laws. The *Persians* which escaped at *Granicus* were come to *Miletus* with *Memnon the Rhodian*, against which Citie he went and besieged it both by land and Sea, and by his Engines making great breaches in the walls, the Inhabitants yielded themselves to his mercy, to whom he gave both life and freedom, but such *Barbarians* as he took he either slew or scattered them up and down in the quality of slaves. A little after he dissolved his Fleet, consisting of a hundred and sixty Ships or more, only reserving a certain number for the conveying of Engines and other instruments for a siege, amongst which were twenty Auxiliary Vessels belonging to *Athens*.

26. *Memnon*, after the taking of *Miletus*, with the most considerable *Persian* Officers, and a multitude of Mercenaries, betook themselves to *Halicarnassus*, the greatest and most elegant Citie in *Caria*, which he took upon him to defend for the King, to whom he sent as Hostages his Wife and Children, and thereupon command was given to all the Maritime parts of *Asia*, to obey him as their Captain General in the War. *Alexander* in the mean time sent his Engines thither by water, together with provision for his Army, and marched himself by Land thitherwards with his whole Force, setting at liberty in his way all the *Greek Cities*, which he left to their own Laws, and freed from Tribute, professing that he undertook this Expedition for the freedom of the *Greeks*. In his way he was met by *Ala* the Queen of *Caria*, who after the death of her Husband *Larices*, was depozed by her Brother *Pexodarus*. She delivered up *Alinda*, the strongest City in the countrey wherein she dwelt, into his hands, and imploring his help for the recovery of the Kingdom, adopted him for her son. He despised it not, and left her the Government of *Caria*, over which he declared her Queen, by which courtesie the Citie being overcome, sent him Crowns of gold, and delivered up themselves into his power.

27. *Oromobates* a *Persian*, Son in Law to *Pexodarus*, after his death kept possession of *Halicarnassus*. With whom *Memnon the Rhodian* and other *Persians*, after the taking of *Miletus*, joyned themselves. *Alexander* now besieged it, and with all his might endeavoured the taking of it by assault; but such was the pertinaciousness of the defendants, that they held him out, and making a sallie had given him a defeat, if the old Souldiers buckling their Arms to them had not come in in good time, and repulsed them with great slaughter; after which the Enemy forsook the City, and so he took it, and levelled it with the ground. The Castle he fortified with a wall, and a notable ditch, in which

Alexander of Macedonia invaded Asia.

The battel of Granicus.

Diadmus at Olymp. 111. ann. 3. Justin lib. 11. Arrian lib. 1.

(a) *Diadmus lib. 1.*

(b) *Justin 11. Troas.*
(c) *Plutarchus Arrianus lib. 1.*

Diadmus at prius.

Alexander set eth at liberty all Greek Cities.

(a) *Diadmus at Olymp. 111. ann. 3.*

(b) *Justin lib. 11. Arrian lib. 1. Euseb. Hist. lib. 2.*

He taketh R. Caricassus.

Diadmus Arrianus Arrianus.

Sect. 4. which for the defence of *Caria* he left three thousand foreign Foot, and two hundred Horse under the command of *Peolomy*; and reformed to his adoptive Mother *Ada*, the Principality of the Country. Thence he proceeded towards *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, that reducing the Sea-Coasts into his power, he might render the Enemies Navy unserviceable to him, which he in a good measure performed, and came in the midst of Winter into *Mylia*, a Region of *Phrygia*, where he entered into League with the Ambassadors sent to him from *Phaselis*, and the lower *Lycia*, who furnished all the Cities into his hands. Afterwards he went into *Phaselis*, where he formed a Castle built by the *Pisidians*, to infect the Country.

The treason of Alexander Lysimachus.

28. Whilst (a) he here remained, he undertook of a plot against his life, by *Alexander Acropus*, called also *Lyncestes* (from *Lyncus* a Town of *Epirus*, as it's probable) who was promised by *Darius* the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, and a thousand talents of Gold besides, if he could any way procure his death. His Mother had by letters advised him to take heed of him, and the thing being confessed by *Assines a Persian*, whom *Darius* under a shew of a Message to the Governour of *Phrygia*, had sent to deal with him in this matter, he committed him to custody, not thinking it safe to put him to death, lest thereupon some trouble should follow, in *Macedonia*. From *Phaselis* he marched to *Perga* on the shore of the *Pamphylia* Sea, concerning which many ancient Historians reported, that it by an extraordinary providence gave way to him, and herein *Josephus* hath rather been too credulous, whereas (b) at a low water the place used to be dry, and gave way to passengers; only *Alexander* happening to come thither in Winter-season, and trusting all to the goodness of his Fortune, would march through before the water was fallen off, so that his men waded all the day in water up to the navel. (c) Subduing all in his passage, at length he came to the Lake of *Alcania* in *Phrygia*, and thence in five Encampings to *Celene*, the Castle of which being held by the *Satrapa* of *Phrygia*, with a thousand *Carians*, and an hundred mercenary *Gracians*, after sixty dayes tresp (in which they had in vain expected relief from *Darius*) was yielded unto him.

(b) Strabo lib. 14.

(c) Arrianus lib. 4.

29. In *Celene* he left a Garrison of one thousand five hundred Souldiers, and declaring *Antigonus*, *Satrapa* of *Phrygia*, went forward for *Gordium*, having written to *Parmeno* to meet him there with his Forces, who accordingly came; and there arrived also a supply of one thousand six hundred and fifty men out of *Greece*. This *Gordium* a City in *Phrygia*, had been the regal City of *Midus* the Son of *Gordius* King of this Country (concerning whom notable Stories are related) and herein was a Temple of *Jupiter*, wherein *Alexander* heard that there was a yoke belonging to *Gordius*, the bands of which whosoever could untie, the Oracles promised him the Empire of all *Asia*. When he had taken the Town he came into the Temple, and asked for the yoke, which being brought to him, when he could not find the ends of the thongs which were hid among the knots, left his frustrate endeavour should be ominous, he cut them in pieces, with his sword, and thereby either eluded or fulfilled the Oracle.

He cutteth in two the Gordian knot.

30. *Darius* this while sent a great sum of money to *Memnon*, whom he had declared General of all his Forces, wherewith he raising many men all over where he came, and rigging a Navy of three hundred ships, betook himself resolutely to his work. He presently reduced *Chius*, and sailing to *Lefbus* easily took *Antissa*, *Methymnus*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Eressus*; but *Lefbus* and *Mitylene* more strongly fortified, with great loss of men. His name being blazed abroad by these actions, most of the Islands *Cyclades* sent their Ambassadors about a Peace, and a rumour being spread that he intended to fall upon *Euboea*, a great fear seized upon the Inhabitants thereof, and many of the *Gracians* who envied the Fortune of *Alexander*, began to take courage, and conceive new hopes, amongst which were the *Lacedemonians*, who alwaies had despised both his alliance and that with his Father. Thus prosperously succeeded *Darius* his affairs under the management of *Memnon*; but Providence having otherwise determined concerning his estate, *Memnon* died shortly after, and with him the King's success was even extinct. Hewas in good hope that the War would have been translated out of *Asia* into *Europe*, necessitating *Alexander* to return; but understanding his death, he consulted with Friends whether he should manage the War by his Lieutenants, or go himself in person, and give the *Macedonians* battel.

Atween Darius his General and him,

31. The *Persians* perswaded him to march in the head of the Army, which thereby would fight with more alacrity, but *Chariademus*, (or *Eudemus*), an *Athenian*, a man much admired for valour and prudence (who by the command of *Alexander* being banished his Country, was come to the *Persian* Court) advised him

Diodorus lib. 17. Curtius lib. 3.

him not rashly to commit the Fortune of his Empire to the hazard of his own life, but keeping the chief Power in his own Hands to send some expert Lieutenant to the War. He told him that one hundred thousand men would be sufficient for this Enterprize; a third part of them being *Gracians*, with which he doubted not to engage to perfect what already was well begun by *Memnon*. The King at first gave ear to what he said; but the *Persians* obstinately opposed it, and so interpreted his words as if he affected the chief Command, for that end, that he might betray the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Hereat he grew angry, and in his Passion upbraided the *Persians* with Cowardise, which so far incensed the King, before this exasperated against him, that his Anger overtopping his Reason, he cast a Belt about him after the *Persian* manner, and commanded him to be put to death, who foreseeing his Ruine, cried out as he was led away, that shortly he would repent it, and pay sufficiently for so unjust proceedings. After the cooling of his Passion he repented too late of his rashness, and considering the valour of the *Lacedemonians*, berought himself what man of worth he might find fit to succeed *Memnon*; but finding none to whom he might commit so great a Trust, was necessitated to expose himself to danger for the preservation of his Kingdom. Then raised he Forces in all places, which he commanded should meet at *Babylon*, where accordingly were found four hundred thousand Foot, and above one hundred thousand Horse, and with this number (taking his Mother, Wife, one Son of six Years of age, and two Daughters marriageable along with him) he marched towards *Cilicia*.

32. *Alexander* in the mean while placed *Satrapae* over *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, which voluntarily yielded themselves, and hastened towards the Straights of *Cilicia* called *Pyle*, which being quired by those that were there placed to maintain them, he easily passed, and came to *Tarsus*, which *Armenians* the *Persian* also forsook, and wafting *Cilicia*, to frighten the *Macedonian* Army of Provisions, fled again to the King. Here *Alexander* fell sick of a Disease which (b) one wrote he got by too much Toil, (c) others assign no particular cause at all; but according to the general Tradition, (d) he contracted it by sitting himself all hot and sweaty into the River *Cydnus*, whence such a cold seized upon his Nerves that he fell speechless, and so small hopes there were of recovery, that little probability was conceived of protracting the danger. Only one Physician named *Philip* an *Acanthian*, who used a speedy and desperate kind of course in his practice, undertook the Cure. But by Letters from *Parmeno* he was lately advised to beware of him, as being corrupted by *Darius* for a great sum of Money to make him away. Yet he counting it safer to commit himself to the doubtful fidelity of the man, than perish by a certain Disease, put himself into his Hands, and taking the Potion, gave him the Letters of *Parmeno* to read, fixing his eyes upon him as he drank, whom as he saw nothing troubled at the matter, he took more courage, and recovered the fourth day after.

(b) Aristobolus.
(c) Diodorus.
(d) Justinus lib. 3. cap. 8. extirpe. excep. ult.

33. *Darius* having notice of the sickness of *Alexander* hastened towards *Euphrates*, thinking to prevent him, and seize upon *Cilicia*. But he sending *Parmeno* before to possess himself of the *Pyle*, or Straights that part *Cilicia* and *Syria*, followed from *Tarsus* and came to *Anchiale* built by *Sardanapalus*; and thence to *Solor*, where he placed a Garrison, and fined the Inhabitants two hundred Talents of Silver for their affection to the *Persians*. Hence he marched against the *Cilicians*, inhabiting the Mountains, which having brought under, he returned, and understanding how *Prolomy* and *Alexander* his Lieutenants had overthrown *Orontobaces* the *Persian*, who held the Castle of *Halicarnassus*, whereby the parts adjacent were reduced to obedience, upon this good news he sacrificed to *Apollonius*, and reformed the Democratical Government of the *Solians*. Then giving order to *Philotas* to lead about the Horse to the River *Pyramus*, he marched with the Foot by the Sea-Coasts, and came thither, whence he passed over to the City *Mallos*, where he had notice that *Darius* lay at *Sochus*, a place distant two days march from the Straights. From *Mallos* he passed to the City *Issus*, which being forsaken by the *Persians*, *Parmeno* had seized on, and cleared the Passage thither, where he consulted whether he had better pass forwards, or there expect his supplies out of *Macedonia*. *Parmeno* perswaded him that no place could be more convenient for him to fight in than that straight one about *Issus*, because both their Armies would then be equal in effect, such narrow places being incapable to receive a multitude. After three days he passed the Straights and came to *Myriander*, where much Rain falling held the *Macedonians* in their Tents.

Quintus Curtius lib. 4.

Sect. 4.

34. *Darius* in the mean while by the perfuasion of some *Gracians* about him, had made choice of the Plains of *Syria*, most capable to receive his Multitudes, and opportune for the Horse to charge in; and for some time here he continued; but *Alexander* delaying his march, he was perfwaded by his Counsellors that he dared not to adventure any further, or look him in the Face, and because Winter approached he would lose no time, and therefore sending away his Money and Stuff of most value, with such Persons as were not fit for War, unto *Damascus*, he hastened into *Cilicia*, where he supposed *Alexander* to have possessed himself of the difficult passages, as not daring to try battle in open Field. Supposing that he pretended Sickness, and hid himself in the Straights, he passed over the Mountain, and went to *Issus*, most imprudently passing by, and leaving him at his Back. Taking this place, and therein such of the Enemy as being sick and weak were there left, he cut off their Hands, and then fearing their Arms sent them away to tell their King what they had seen; for he thought now the Enemy to have left *Issus*, and fled for fear of him, and for that reason hastened over the Hill *Pinarus*, thinking to fall upon him in the Rear. *Alexander* knowing for certain that he was passed by, took thence occasion to encourage his Soldiers, who now could not be overmatched by Multitudes, and sending a party of Horse to view the Straights, returned thither by Night, and repulsed himself of them. Then refreshing his men for the rest of the Night, he set a strong Watch upon the Rock, and in the Morning went down into the path, and set his Army in order for a Battle.

The Battle of Issus.

35. This being done the Armies joyned ere long, and *Alexander* seeing where *Darius* was, made towards him, which when *Oxyathres* the Brother of *Darius* saw, to prevent him, he placed a Company of most valiant Horse-men before the Chariot, which cut off many of *Alexander* his men, who pressed forwards. But the *Macedonians* giving way to none in Valour, with great violence broke in amongst them, and then a mighty slaughter followed, and a great heap of Carcases lay before *Darius* his Chariot. Many of the most noble Captains amongst the *Persians* fell, some of the *Macedonians*, and *Alexander* himself received a wound in his Thigh. *Darius* his Chariot Horses being wounded with Spears began to fling, and threatened the overturning of him, when fearing he should be taken alive he leaped out, and mounting on Horse-back, he cast away his royal Apparel, and shifted for himself, after which his Cavalry was put to the rout and ran away. The Infantry discouraged herewith made no considerable opposition, the great multitudes being unserviceable in so fright and precipitous a place, and being put to the rout so hindred the flight, and trode one another down, that more damage accrued hence than from the meer strength of the Enemy. Of the *Persian* Horse *Arrianus* writeth ten thousand to have been slain, and of the Foot ninety thousand, with whom others consent as to the number of the Horse, but as to the Foot there is little agreement, some accounting more, and others less: forty thousand are reported to have been taken.

36. Of *Alexander*'s men five hundred and four *Curtius* saith were wounded; thirty two Foot-men were slain, and of Horse-men one hundred and fifty, which more reckon less by twenty, though another increaseth them to three hundred. *Alexander* following the Chace was forced to pass with his Phalange over the Enemies dead Bodies, and with one thousand Horse did great execution, but was not able to reach *Darius*, who rode upon a Mare that had a Foal left at home, and therefore ran with more speed, he being accustomed to have some kept for such necessities. His Tents were easily taken, and therein his Mother, Wife, Son, and two Daughters; but of Money not above thirty thousand Talents; the rest being sent before-hand to *Damascus*. The Women hearing that *Alexander* was returned with the Robe of *Darius*, made great lamentation, which he understanding, sent *Leonatus* to them to put them out of fear as to his Death; to promise them the maintenance of their former dignity, and a Visit from him to be made the next morning. As soon as it was light, he went to them with *Hephestion* his greatest Favourite, both whom when the Mother of *Darius* saw, and knew not which was the King, she made reverence to *Hephestion*, as seeming to her from the worth of his Clothes to be the greater person, which when she understood to have been amiss, was troubled at it, and asked his pardon; to which he answered, smiling: *Be not troubled Mother, for he also is Alexander*. This Battle of *Issus* was fought in the Month *Mamastherion*, *Nicostratus* (or *Nicostrates*) being *Archon* at *Athens*, in the fourth year of the one hundred and eleventh Olympiad, the fourth of the reign of *Darius*, and the fourth of *Alexander*. A. M. 3672.

37. *Alexander*A. M. 3672.
Olymp. 111.
Ann. 4.
Darius 4.
Alexander 4.

Sect. 4.

37. *Alexander*, after this victory, marched for *Syria*, and sent *Parmenio* before him to *Damascus* to seize upon *Darius* his Treasure, which by *Cophenes* the Keeper thereof was betrayed into his hands, and for that he was rewarded with death by one of his Complices, who sent his head to *Darius*. Of Coyne here was found two thousand and six hundred Talents besides five hundred pound weight of Bullion, and a World of other riches. Of men and women thirty thousand were also taken with seven thousand beasts that carried burthens. Then was *Parmenio* sent to seize upon the *Persian* Fleet, and others to take in the Cities of *Syria*, which upon the report of the success of the battle at *Issus* was easily done, the Governours of *Darius* yielding themselves with their Treasures. As *Alexander* travelled into *Syria*, many petty Kings met him adorned with their Diadems, whereof some he received into friendship, and others he deprived of their principalities, as they had deserved of him. When he came to the City *Marathon*, he received Letters from *Darius*, wherein he desired the ransom of his Wife, Mother, and Children, and offered other conditions of peace; but such as rather became a Conquerour, than one that had now been thrice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction to *Alexander*, the Title of King. He disdained his offers, justified his War from the invasion of *Greece* by the former *Persian* Kings, and the treachery of *Darius* himself, who hired one to murder him, as *Philip* his father had formerly been killed by some set on by them. He promised him his relations without Ransom, if he would come himself as a Suppliant for them, and safe conduct, both knowing, as he said, to overcome, and shew favour to the Conquered. And the next time he wrote he bad him remember that he did it not only to a King, but to his own King also.

38. *Alexander* marched to *Byblus*, which yielded to him upon composition, and thence to *Sidon*, the inhabitants of which being so hardly used formerly by *Ochus*, in hatred of the *Persians* sent for him. The King of *Sidon* was one *Strato*, who being the son of *Gerosstratus* the King of *Aradus* the Island, Governed it in his absence (he joyning his ships, as the rest of the *Phœnician* Kings, to the fleet of *Darius*) and meeting *Alexander* as he came into *Phœnicia*, put a Golden Crown on his head, and gave up *Aradus*, and *Marathus*, a great and wealthy Town, standing upon the Continent over against it, with *Marianne*, and all that belonged unto them, into his hands. But now because he had done this rather for that the will of the people was such, than out of his own inclination, *Alexander* deprived him of his Kingdom, and permitted his beloved *Hephestion* to bestow it upon any of his friends. He chose to confer it upon a *Sidonian* by whom he was entertained; but he refused it, for that it was unlawful for any but one of the Royal stock to possess it. He wondering at the greatness of his spirit, joyned with so much honesty, bid him choose any one of the Royal Race on whom to bestow it, who accordingly made choice of *Abdalmou* (or *Abdalmomius*) a poor Gardiner who wrought for his living, but of unblameable life, and defended of the Royal family. *Alexander* admitting of him, said, the habit of his body could not hinder the nobleness of his stock, but desired to know with what patience he had endured such poverty, to whom he answered, That he wished he could as well bear a Kingdom, and that those his hands had satisfied his desire: whilst he had nothing, nothing was wanting to him. The King being much taken with his carriage, not only gave him the house-hold stuff of *Strato*, but most of the booty got from the *Persians*, subjected the Countrey adjacent unto his power, and afterwards also the City of *Tyre*, according to *Diodorus*.

39. Now was all *Syria* in the hands of the *Macedonians*, and whole *Phœnicia* also except *Tyre*, which City was seated in an Island about half a mile distant from the Continent. As he marched thitherwards, the *Tyrians* sent him a Crown of Gold of great value, in a Congratulatory way, and a large quantity of provisions; which he received as from friends, and friendly signified to the Messengers their intention to go into their City, to pay some vows he had made to *Hercules*. They told him there was a Temple of *Hercules* without the City, in the place called *Old Tyre*, wherein his devotion would be most suitably performed, and so dissuaded him from entrance, that he was enraged thereat, and threatened ruin to the City, telling them, that though they were confident in the strength of the place, and despised his Land Army, yet in short time he would make them find they were in the Continent. And in confidence that their Town, not only fenced with high and strong Walls, but also with the Sea,

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Was

Darius his
Lieutenants
revolt to A-
lexander.His offers
corn by
Alexander.

Curtius lib. 3.

Justin. lib. 11.
Curtius lib. 4.Arrianus lib. 2.
Curtius lib. 4.
Justin. lib. 11.Diodorus ad
Olymp. 111.
Ann. 4.

Curtius lib. 4.

Justin. lib. 11.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 112.
Ann. 1.Plutarch in
Alexander.

Arrianus lib. 2.

Sect. 4.

was impregnable, they resolved to stand out against him, being encouraged also by the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, who after their yearly custom (in token of obsequence to their Mother City) were come to celebrate the sacred Anniversary, and promised them certain, and speedy supply by Sea, which for the most part at that time was commanded by their Fleets.

40. *Alexander* yet having not his Navy at hand; and foreseeing that a long siege would be a great hindrance to his designs, sent to them about an agreement; but contrary to the Law of Nations, they slew the Messengers, and cast them into the Sea, with which affront being much moved, he resolved to besiege them. Ere he could do this, such a quantity of earth or other matter was to be cast into the Sea, as to join the Island to the main land, which by reason of the depth of the water, and the force of the Current, was a task almost insuperable; but there being great store of stones and rubbish at hand in *Old Tyre*, he caused it to be utterly demolished, and by the hands of many thousands of his own men, and the people of the neighbouring places, set upon the work. The *Tyrans* (whose King *Achelmicus* being absent with *Darius* his Admiral, had left them to the Government of his son) hindered it all ways possible, and when it was near concluded, a violent wind spoiled a great part of it, but to repair it he caused great Trees to be cut down in the Mountains, which together with the boughs cast in, and earth heaped upon them, resisted the violence of the waves, and at length by the great number of hands, and incredible industry, the Island became a Peninsula. But for all this, the *Tyrans* having the command of the Sea, their City seemed yet to be impregnable, whereupon *Alexander* had thoughts of gathering together a Fleet; but in the mean time came in the Kings of *Aradus* and *Byblus*, who had withdrawn themselves with their Fleet from *Antiochades* the *Persian* Admiral, and with them the *Sidonian* Gallies. Besides these Vessels belonging to *Phœnicia* (which were eighty in number) at the same time came ten from *Rhodes*, from *Solos* and *Mellos* three, and from *Lycia* ten, besides one great Gally from *Macedonia*. All these he pardoned, as having been necessitated to join with the *Persians*. And *Achelmicus* the King of *Tyre* now left *Antiochades* and came home; *Arrianus* writing that he was taken in the City.

41. From the Mountain *Libanus* was wood brought for the making of Engines, Towers, and Ships, in which work whilst *Alexander* his men were employed, some of the wild *Arabians* fell upon them, slew thirty, and took scarcely so many. He upon notice hereof left the charge of the Siege to *Perdiccas*, and *Craterus*, and speedily with a ready Band of men went into *Arabia*, where when they came to the mountainous parts of the Hill called *Antilibanus*, they left their Hories and marched on foot. When it grew night, and the Enemy, approached, though his men were before, yet would he not leave his School-master *Lysimachus* being weary and spent, but still drawing him on was parted from the Army, and forced with a few about him to pass the night in a dark and cold place. But seeing many fires to be kindled afar off by the Enemy, he being nimble of body ran to one of them, and killing two *Barbarians* that there sat, brought away a fire-stick burning to his Companions, who therewith kindled a great fire, and struck such a terror into the *Arabians*, as all that night they passed in quietness. Then partly by force and partly by agreement he reduced the Country into obedience, and in eleven days time returned to *Sidon*, where he found arrived out of *Peleponnesus* four thousand *Grecish* Mercenaries, under the conduct of *Alexander* the Son of *Polemocrates*.

42. Having then got together a Navy of an hundred and ninety or two hundred ships, he set sail from *Sidon* and came to *Tyre*, the Inhabitants whereof refused to fight by Sea, but yet abated none of their courage, though thirty Messengers were come from *Carthage* to let them know, that that State being hindered by a domestic War, could not afford them any succour. They sent their wives and children thither to be out of the danger, being thereby the more willing to undergo any themselves, which they little regarded, making stout resistance, but at length the City was taken, one faith by treachery, another by a stratagem, but more by plain force; *Alexander* himself alone first going down from the wooden Tower he had reared, by a bridge laid upon the Wall. The Inhabitants, though the Enemy had entred, called one upon another, and fortifying the narrow passages stood out still, till the number of seven thousand (the most of those that fought) were slain. The Conquerour condemned the women and children that were found unto bondage, the young men to the number of two thousand he caused to be

Alexander his great attempt for the Conquering of *Tyre*.

Tyre taken.

* *Palestina*

Sect. 4.

hanged all along the Shore, or crucified, as another telleth us, (which was accounted a fervile kind of death) because the *Tyrans* Slaves had formerly conspired against their Masters, and slain them all with their whole Families, leaving no free people alive, except one *Sirato* and his Son, to whom and his Posterity they committed the Kingdom. Fifteen thousand the *Sidonians* saved upon the account of Kindred (they reckoning both *Tyre* and *Sidon* to have been built by *Agenor*) from whom the City was again re-peopled, and to such as had fled to the Temple of *Hercules*, *Alexander* granted indemnity, amongst which the King and his Family were, with some *Carthaginians* which were come for the Honour of *Hercules* to the Metropolis. This befel *Tyre* in the Month *Hecatombæon*, when *Annicetus* (otherwise called *Niceratus* and *Nicetas*) was Archon at *Athens*, in the first year of the hundred and twelfth Olympiad, the first of *Darius*, and the fifth of *Alexander*, A. M. 3673.

43. During this Siege, the Officers of *Darius* which escaped from the Battel at *Iffus*, with all those that followed them, and the youth of the *Cappadocians*, and *Paphlagonians*, attempted to recover *Lydia*; but *Antigonus* who there commanded for *Alexander* overthrew them thrice in several places. At the same time also *Aristimenes*, who was sent with some Ships by *Darius* to recover the Coast of *Asia*, lying upon the *Hellepont*, was wholly defeated by a Fleet of *Macedonians* which *Alexander* had sent for out of *Greece*.

44. Whilst *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, another Ambassage came to him from *Darius*, who now offered him ten thousand Talents as a Ransom for his Relations, and all *Asia* betwixt the *Hellepont* and the River *Halys* in Dower with his Daughter; which Conditions that he might incline him to receive, he set before him the difficulties of passing into the eastern Countries, and laid the loss of the last Battel to the straightness of the place: he sought to terrify him by threatening to incamp him in the plain Countries, and bade him consider how impossible it was to pass the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with things of the like nature. The Proposals being brought before a select Committee of *Alexander's* Friends, *Parmenio* who was now old, and full of Riches and Honour, said, that if he were *Alexander*, he would accept of them, to which the King answered, that so would he, if he were *Parmenio*. But he returned answer to *Darius*, that he offered him nothing but his own, and what Victory and his own Valour had posset him of; that he was to give Conditions and not to receive any, and that having passed the Sea it self, he disdain'd to think of resistance in transporting his Army over Rivers. As for his Daughter, he said he would marry her, though without his consent, and if he would taste of his humanity, he should come and refer himself to him. *Darius* having received this Answer, prepared himself anew for the War.

45. *Tyre* being taken, *Alexander* invaded *Fudea*, resolving to bring all *Palestine* into subjection. At this time *Faddus* was the High-Priest there, whose Brother *Manasse* married *Nicaso* the Daughter of *Sanballat*, who had been sent from *Darius* to govern *Samaria*, being both Sons to *John*, called in *Nehemiah*, *Fonathan*, and *Fohanan*, who was Son to *Fehoiada*. *Manasse* thus marching himself, the People was displeased at it, and *Faddus* desired him to put away his Wife; not only the People but the Law so requiring it. Hereupon he repaired to his Father in Law, and told him, that his Wife was dear unto him; but he must either part with her or his Priest-hood, who answered that he would so bring it about, that he should not only be Priest, but an High-Priest also, being minded to build for him upon Mount *Gerizim* near to *Samaria* a Temple like to that of *Jerusalem*, which thing he would obtain to be confirmed by *Darius*. Many betook themselves to *Manasse*, being allured with the Newness of the thing, and the liberality of *Sanballat*; but *Alexander* at that time passing the *Hellepont*, the consultation thereupon was disturbed. After *Darius* was beaten and retired back into *Persia*, *Sanballat* revolted unto *Alexander*, and going over to him with eight thousand men, though now very old, desired of him leave to build this new designed Temple, persuading him it would be for his interest, that thereby the Jews being divided amongst themselves, might be the less able to resist him. *Alexander* yielding to his request, he returned, and falling with great industry upon the work, he died not long after.

46. This was at such time as *Alexander* lay before *Tyre*, during which Siege, he sent round about to demand an Oath of Allegiance, and Assistance from the several Cities, and amongst the rest the Messengers came to *Jerusalem*. *Faddus* or *Faddus* the High-Priest answered, that he had entred by Oath into

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Society

Darius sendeth new proposals to *Alexander*, which he receiveth.

A Temple built by *Sanballat* on Mount *Gerizim*.

Faddus the High-Priest of the Jews refusing to break his Faith.

A. M. 3673.
Ol. 112. æt. 1.
P. C. 422.
Darius 5.
Alexand. 5.

Estib-in Chron.
Gen. lib. 11.
chap. 25.
Josephus Antiquities lib. 11.
chap. 8.

SECT. 4.

Alexander invadeth Judea.

But his wrath is appeased.

Society with *Darius*, and whilst he lived he might not by any means break his Faith; with which answer *Alexander* being moved, after the taking of *Tyre* (not of *Gaza* as *Fosephus* thinketh, for then he must have returned backwards) he invaded *Judea*. The High-Priest and People then looked for nothing but Ruine, but he imploring the assistance of God, was warned in a dream to go out and meet him, adorned with his Pontifical Vestments, with the *Levites* and People, as in a solemn Procession. *Alexander* meeting this long Train, lighted from his Horse, and adored the Priest, at which thing all the rest being amazed, *Parmentio* asked him the reason thereof, to whom he answered, that he worshipped not the Priest, but the God whom he served, for that whilst he was yet in *Greece*, and consulted about his Expedition into *Asia*, such an one appeared to him, advised him to it, and promised him success. Then going up to the City he ascended to the Temple, and sacrificed according to the directions of the Priest, who shewed him the Prophecy of *Daniel*, wherein was foretold, that a *Græcian* should obtain the Empire of the *Persians*. He accounting himself the man rejoiced thereat, and the next day offered to the People whatsoever they would ask of him, who requested that they might live after their own Laws and Customs, that on every seventh year in which they sowed not, they might pay no Tribute, and that such of their Country-men as inhabited *Babylon* and *Media*, might also be left to their own Laws, all which he readily granted them. He offered them also, if they would follow him, the freedom of the exercise of their Religion, whereupon many gave their Names to the Expedition; and then leading his Forces to the neighbouring Cities, he was friendly received by them.

47. The *Samaritans* met him in the way, desiring him to visit their City *Scima*, (situated at the foot of the Hill *Gerizim*, and inhabited by the Runagates of the *Jewish* Nation) to honour their Temple with his presence, and to remit to them also the tribute of every seventh year, they sowing not therein; for that they were *Hebrews*, though not *Jews*, as descended of *Joseph* and his two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, all which he referred to his return. By this time his Officers had recovered several places that had revolted, as *Callus*, *Paphlagonia*, *Antigonus*, *Lycæonia*; and *Balarus*, *Miletus*, after he had overthrown *Idarnes* the Captain of *Darius*. *Cilicia* he had committed to the care of *Sofrates*, and the Country about *Tyre* to *Philotas* the son of *Parmentio*, who had delivered his charge of *Cebestis* to *Andromachus*, that he might follow the Expedition. All the Towns of *Palestine* he had got now into his hands, except *Gaza*, which *Batis* the Eunuch resolved to hold out against him. This was a City distant from the Sea about two miles and an half, of difficult access by reason of the depth of sand about it, the Sea near unto it being very muddy; it was large, situated upon an high Rock, and compassed with a strong wall. Hitherto, having commanded *Hephæstion* to go before with the Fleet, he came, and fate down before it with all his Forces.

48. Having viewed the situation of the City, he resolved that light kind of earth to be fit for receiving of mines, which he commanded presently to be attempted, and seeing that no wooden turrets could be erected by the walls because of the looseness of the sand, he made a great heap of earth and stones to be laid, which equalled the height of the walls, on which he planted his Engines for battering. By the advice of *Artabanus* his Prophet, he contained himself for a time without the reach of the Arrows, but the *Arabians* whom *Batis* the Governour (called *Babernes* by *Fosephus*) had hired, issuing forth set fire to the Engines, and beat away the *Macedonians* from the Mount, upon which he ran in with the Targeteers to the rescue, and kept his men from running, but he himself received a wound on his shoulder. Afterwards those Engines being come by water with which he had taken *Tyre*, he caused the whole City to be surrounded with mounts two furlongs broad, and two hundred and fifty foot high, whereby confisting both with Engines above ground and below, at length after two months it was taken, the wall being broken by a Mine, at which breach the *Macedonians* entered. *Alexander* himself led in his men, and when his former wound was not yet quite cured, received a bruise on his thigh with a stone. The defendants stirred not from their places, but fighting to the last, were all slain to the number of ten thousand. The women and children the Conquerour made Slaves, and furnishing the City with a new Colony gathered out of the places adjacent, used it as a Garrison in the War.

49. From *Gaza* he sent *Amyntas* the Son of *Andremo* with ten Gallies into

Macedonia, *Carinus* lib. 4.

SECT. 4.

He marcheth for Egypt.

Foundeth Alexandria.

Macedonia, to make a Levie of the stoutest young men, and bring them over, because the War though prosperous, wasted his old flock of Soldiers, and he could not to well trust foreigners as his own subjects. Then marched he strait for *Egypt*, and the seventh day after his removal from *Gaza* arrived at that place, afterwards called *Alexanders-Camp*, and came to *Pelufium*. Here met him great multitudes of *Egyptians*, who being weary of the infolence and avarice of the *Persians*, expected his coming, and gladly received him. Placing a Garrison in *Pelufium*, and commanding that the Ships should sayl up the River to *Memphis*, he having the *Nile* on his right hand, came, through the desert to *Heliopolis*, and thence crossing the River, unto *Memphis*, which when he approached, *Masaces* the *Persian* Governour met him, and delivered into his hands eight hundred Talents, with all the royal household-stuff. Here he sacrificed to all the *Egyptian* Gods, and celebrated Games, and then sayled down the River to the Sea; and when he came to *Canopus* sayled about the Lake *Mareotis*, betwixt which and the *Egyptian* Sea, he chose out a place whereon to build a City, which he would have called after himself *Alexandria*.

50. In this place towards the Sea and Haven stood once a Village named *Rhacotis*. When the figure of the new City was to be delineated, for want of Chalk, they marked out the ground with Meal, which presently was seized upon by an innumerable company of Fowls of all sorts, that from the Sea and Lake came flocking thither, and devoured it all. Hereat the King was discouraged, but his Prophets told him, that it signified the City should be exceeding populous and wealthy, and nourish all sorts of men. He himself designed in what place the Forum should be, and where the Temples that were to be Consecrated to the *Egyptian* and *Græcian* Gods, and herein used the skill of that noble Architect *Dinocrates* (called also *Stasistrate*) who was employed by the *Ephesians*, in restoring their Temple formerly consumed with fire. This (afterwards Famous) City was founded by *Alexander* in the fifth year of his Reign, and the first of the hundred and twelfth *Olympiad*, the four hundred and seventeenth of *Nabonassar*, from which year, the moneth *Thuth*, as also the fifth of *Darius*, the supputation of the years of *Alexander* is begun by *Ptolomy* the Mathematician, and a Native of this City. A. M. 3673. three hundred twenty nine years before the *Aera* of Christ.

51. Leaving the care of his new designed City to fit Overseers, he took a journey toward the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, situate in the vast sandy deserts of *Libya*, because he had heard that *Pergus* and *Hercules* had formerly gone thither; or to know his fortune, or that he might at least have occasion to boast of his knowledge of it. In the midst of his way he encountered Ambassadors, sent to him from the *Cyrenæans*, who brought a Crown with other great gifts, amongst which were three hundred excellent horses trained up and taught for the War; which receiving in good part, he entered into confederacy with them. Two great dangers especially to be met with in this journey, viz. want of water in so dry a place, and of being overwhelmed by heaps of sand, which the South-wind threw upon fifty thousand of *Cambyses* his army, he escaped wonderfully by abundance of rain which is said to have fallen, whereby the way was made more firm and passable; and two Crows are reported to have been his Guides, and in the night time when they could not be seen, by their croaking to have given notice which way they tended. When he arrived at the Temple, the Priest, either hired to it, or mistaking the *Greek* language as it is thought, saluted him by the name of *Jupiter's* son. Hereupon he took the name upon him, and to his Mother *Olympias* as well as others wrote with that Title. She facetiously checked him for flandering, and bringing her in danger with *Juno*, by making her an Whore to *Jupiter*. By the terror hereof he hoped to do wonders with the *Barbarians*, and because *Hammon* was painted with the upper part like a Ram, and the nether like to a man, he also would appear to be horned, for which reason amongst the *Arabians* he obtained the name of *Dulcarnain*. When he received an answer satisfactory, as he pretended, he returned into *Egypt* the same way he came, or, as another wrote, by a more direct one towards *Memphis*.

52. Being come to *Memphis*, he received many Embassies from *Greece*, whence also came a new supply of Forces, viz. four hundred *Greekish* Mercenaries from *Antipater*, and five hundred horse out of *Thebais*. The neighbouring Cities he exhausted for the peopling his new one, which he ordained should be the Metropolis of *Egypt*. Amongst other sorts of people the *Jews* also whose fidelity he approved, were enrolled inhabitants, having equal privilege with

He besiegeth Gaza.

Diodorus, *Josephus*, *Carinus*, *Arrianus*, at *Strabo*.

Goeth to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*.

Strabo lib. 17.

Plutarch. in *Alexandria*.

Strabo.

Arrianus lib. 31.

Diodorus ad *Olymp.* 112. ann. 2.

Josephus lib. 2.

Callinus lib. 13. cap. 4.

Arrianus, *Cur-tius*, *Justinus*, *Josephus*, *Strabo* lib. 2. *Antiquit.* lib. 11. cap. 8.

SECT. 4. with *Gracians*, and obtaining the name not only of *Alexandrians*, but of *Macedonians*, also: and to the Souldiers of *Sabbath* the *Cuthean*, who followed him into *Egypt*, caused he Lands to be assigned in *Thebais*, which Province he committed to their defence. He greatly desired to see not only the remoter parts of *Egypt*, but *Ethiopia* also: but the War depending yet with *Darius*, hindered him, and therefore disposing of *Egypt*, he removed in the Spring to *Tyre* in *Phenicia*. Over *Egypt* he left *Achylus* the *Rhodian*, and *Pencestes* the *Macedonian*, with four thousand Souldiers; and the care of the River *Nile* he committed to *Polemon*, with thirty Gallies. As for the Civil Government, he left it to *Dolaspes* the *Egyptian*, to rule according to the ancient Laws.

53. Ere his departure, he understood of the death of *Andromachus* the Governor of *Syria*, whom the *Samaritans* had burnt alive. With all expedition he removed to revenge his death, but being on his way, the murderers were delivered up to him, whom he punished according to their deserts, and placed *Memnon* in his Room. Taking the City *Samaris*, he gave it to the *Macedonians* to inhabit, but the Country about it to the *Fews*, for their fidelity to him, with immunity from Tribute. Coming to *Tyre*, he celebrated Games, as he had done at *Memphis*, and sacrificed again to *Hercules*; and nominating several Governours over the places already Conquered, took his journey towards *Euphrates*.

54. *Darius* having understood of his design, to find him out whithersoever he should go, gave out orders for all his Forces to meet at *Babylon*, whereof some consisted of such Nations as rather seemed to fill up the names of men than to make resistance. This Army being almost greater by the half than that which perished at *Issus*, many Soldiers wanted Arms, which were sought for with all diligence. Some have reckoned one Million of Foot, and four hundred thousand horse, besides two hundred Chariots, and fifteen Indian Elephants; whereas *Alexander* his Forces amounted but to Fourty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. In the month *Hecatombeon* *Alexander* came to *Thapsacus*, where he found two bridges on the River *Euphrates*; but such as reached not quite over to the further side. *Mazeus* was sent thither to hinder his passage, with order also if he could not do this, to spoil, and destroy all things in his way; but upon his approach he made haste away, and *Alexander* then making up the bridges, transported over all his Forces, and so proceeding through *Mesopotamia*, having *Euphrates* and the *Armenian* Mountains on his left hand, made for *Babylon*, not the nearest way, but that which was more convenient for provision and moderation of heat. As he went forwards, he was given to understand by some Scouts which he took, that the King had pitch'd his Camp on the further side of the River *Tigris*, with intentions to hinder his passage, but coming thither, he neither found him, nor any opposition at all. This River was so swift (being upon that account by the *Persians* called the *Arrow*) that by the violent force of its stream it drove many weighty stones before it, and those that lay in the bottom were made so round, and well polished by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing, so that the *Macedonian* foot-men to wade the River, were forced to entangle their Arms, thereby making one weighty body to resist the fury of the stream; so deep the Channel was on the further side, that to keep their Bowes from being wet, as also their Arrows, and Darts, they were inforced to lift them above their heads, so that *Darius* might here have easily resisted the *Macedonians*, and given a check to the fortune of the Conqueror, had not the fate of the dying *Persian* Empire befotred his mind, and deprived him even of all common prudence.

55. Having (though with great danger) passed the River without any loss save of a little of the Baggage, he led on through *Alyria*, having on the right hand the River *Tigris*; and on the left the *Gordian* Mountains. On the fourth day after his passage *Mazeus* sent a party of one thousand horse to attack him, which was easily repelled by the *Pannonian* Captain *Arifon*, who slew their Captain, and bringing his head to *Alexander*, demanded a Cup of Gold as his fee, according to the custom of their Country, to whom he replied, smiling, That an empty one was due, but he would give him one full of good Liquor. Two days he here continued, giving orders for a march the next morning; but it hapned that in the first watch the Moon was eclipsed, and seemed of a bloody colour, whereto (as all other common people long time after) the *Macedonians*, not know-

ing the cause, were marvelously affrighted. They apprehended it as a certain token, or prelude of their overthrow and destruction, and began to murmur, that for the ambition of one man that dislained to own *Philip* for his father, and would be called the son of *Jupiter*, they should all perish, being forced to make War, not only against Worlds of Enemies, But against *Rivers*, *Mountains*, and the *Heavens* themselves. He knowing it to be dangerous to lead his Army to fight whilest it was possessed with matter of terror, called the *Egyptian* Astrologers, to assure them that this Eclipse was rather a certain prelude of good success: and he made it out only by this reason, that the *Gracians* were under the Aspect of the *Sun*, and the *Persians* of the *Moon*; and therefore the Moon failing and being thus darkened, the *Persian* glory was to be eclipsed. *Aristander* the Southlayer affirmed the same, promised *Alexander* good success, and affirmed a battel was to be fought in that same month, for the sacrifices portended victory. Hereby the Souldiers were settled, and their courage redoubled, according to the great influence of superstition upon the common sort of people.

56. Thinking it wisdom to make use of the present disposition of their minds he marched thence, and proceeded, till he heard that *Darius* was not much above twenty miles distant from him, upon notice whereof he rested there his Army for four days. Here were intercepted Letters written by *Darius* to the *Gracians*, to persuade them to kill, or betray him, which by the advice of *Parmenio* he suppressed, and removing thence it hapned that *Statira*, the Wife and Sister of *Darius*, through the tediousness of the journey, and grief, fell into untimely travel, and died; at which disaster *Alexander* shed tears, and spared no cost in solemnizing her Funerals, grieving that he was thus deprived of so fair an occasion of shewing mercy. One of her Chamberlaines, by name *Tiro*, an Eunuch, slipped away, and carried the news of her death unto *Darius*. He fell of bearing his head, and deplored the fortune of the *Persians*, which not only suffered the Queen to be taken Captive, but dying in that condition to want the Ornament of a Royal Funeral. Being satisfied that there was no want of any such Ceremonies, or of tears from his Enemy to bedew her Hearse, he fell into a jealous conceit that nothing but unchaste affections had drawn them from *Alexander*, and lamented his Wife's condition, who had been subjected to the lustful power of the Conqueror. But being with much ado persuaded of his continency, with hands lifted up to Heaven, he prayed that he himself might be able to restore the full return of the *Persians* to his posterity as he found it, that so he might be in capacity to requite *Alexander* for his noble carriage towards his relations; But if the fatal time was come, and it so seemed good to *Nemesis*, and the vicissitude of worldly things, that the *Persian* Empire should receive its period; that none but *Alexander* might sit in the Throne of *Cyrus*.

57. He dispatched away to him then another Embassy of ten of his principal friends, and offered him for his Mother, and two Daughters at Random of thirty thousand Talents, and in portion with his Daughter *Statira* all *Asia*, betwixt the *Hellepont* and the River *Euphrates*. He answered, that sometimes he endeavoured to corrupt his friends, and otherwhiles his Soldiers to destroy him, and that therefore he was to be profecuted nor as a just and fair enemy, but as a pernicious murderer: that what he had already got, though now offered to him, was the reward of War, by which the bounds of both their Kingdoms should be limited, and that they should both abide by what the fortune of the next day should assign them. *Darius* had before this come to *Abela* a City belonging to *Babylon*, where leaving the greatest part of his baggage, he went to the River *Lyant*, over which laying a Bridge, he transported his Army in eight days, and proceeding ten miles pitcht his Camp upon the River *Bumelus*, near to a Village called *Gangamela*, which in the *Persian* Language signified the house of a Camel; for that *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* gave this place to the maintenance of a certain Camel which had been tired in carrying his provisions through the Desarts of *Scythia*. This was a Champaign Country and such ground; as were high he caused to be levelled, to be convenient for the fighting of his Horse, and that he might have a free prospect round about him.

58. Understanding from his Ambassadors returning, that he must expect nothing but a battel, he sent *Mazeus* to defend a passage which he never yet dared so much as to hazard; the rest of the Army he caused to march above a mile farther in battel-array, and there to expect the Enemy. *Alexander* fortifying his Camp

An Eclipse of the Moon did encourage his men.

Carthage.

Exhibition.

Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2.

Arrianus, ceteris, lib. 5.

Statira the wife of Darius died.

Alexander passed both Expeditions.

And Tigris.

SECT. 4.

Side Plate in the Alexander.

Statira, Carian. Daughter of Darius.

Statira lib. 16.

A Pannick four fixeth on the Macedonians.

Sect. 4.

Camp which he left with an ordinary Guard, went forwards towards the Enemy, and in his march a pannick fear seized on his Army, by reason of the Lightning of the Heavens in the Summer-season, which they took as proceeding from some attempt of *Darius*; with some pains he undeceived them, and thought good to fortifie himself in the same place that night. Yet in the night he departed thence about the second watch, as thinking to fall on the Enemy by break of day. Upon his approach *Mazæus* with his Horse forlook an Hill which he had seized, and returned to *Darius*, and this place *Alexander* by the advice of *Parmenio* chose himself, as safer than the Plain, and from which one might take a full view of the Persian Army. Before the Fight his friends came to him and complained of the Soldiers, because in their conferences they had agreed to take all the profit of the plunder to themselves, without bringing any thing to his Treasury; whereat he smiled, and said, they told him good news concerning the discourses of such as were resolved to overcome, and not to flee. Many then of the Soldiers resorted to him, and bad him be of good cheer, and not be afraid of the multitude of the Enemies, which would not endure their very shouting for the battel.

59. The two Armies lying in the view of each other, in the eleventh night after the Eclipse of the Moon, *Darius* kept all his men in Arms, multi'ring his Forces by torch-light, which made all the Plain betwixt *Niphates* and the *Gordæan* mountains be of a flame. *Alexander* in the mean time whilst his *Macedonians* took their rest, was busie in his sacrifice with *Aristander*. *Parmenio* and others would have had him fallen upon the *Perfians* in the dead of the night, thereby to strike more terror into them; but he answered, them, that he would not seek Victory; which *Darius* was afraid of, and therefore contained his men in Arms all the night, which not a little injured his affairs the day following. All the night *Alexander* passed without rest, being careful for the main chance; but about the morning watch fell to fast asleep, that it being full day he could hardly be awaked, and to his friends demanding the cause thereof he replied, that now he was eased by *Darius* of all his care, seeing he had gathered all his Forces into one place, and therefore in one day he hoped to put an end to his daily labours and danger. His whole force consisted of about seven thousand Horse, and fourty thousand Foot, over which his chieftest Captains were *Parmenio*, with *Philotas* and *Nicanor* his Sons, whereof this commanded the Foot-Regiment of the *Argyres*, or Silver-Shields; *Cæsus*, who commanded the *Elimiots*; *Perdiccas* Captain of the *Orfista* and *Lynefta*; *Meleager*; *Polysperchon*; *Elpheftion* Captain of his Life-guard; *Menidas*; *Philip* the Son of *Balaccus*; *Craterus*; *Erigyus* the *Mitylenean*; *Philip* that headed the *Thessalian* Troops, and *Clytus* the black who led the Kings Regiment. He himself commanded the right wing, and in both caused the battel to be made something bending-wife, lest they should be incompass'd with the multitudes of the *Perfians*.

60. *Darius* having marshalled his men according to their several Nations, took the command of the wing opposite to *Alexander*, and led on against him. After a found to the charge on both sides, and a great shout, the Armies met, and in the first place the fortyed Chariots being driven with great fury upon the *Macedonians*, struck them with great contemnation, for that *Mazæus* the General of the Horse following the Chariots close, made the charge the more terrible. But the *Macedonian* phalanx, according to the King's order, beating their Targets with their Spears, made such a noise, that the Horses skared therewith bore backwards, and retreated for the most part; and though some went still forwards, yet the *Macedonians* parting asunder, made a lane and let them pass through, but with the loss of many whom the Scythes had caught. After the Arrows and Darts were spent, the Armies came to hand-strokes, wherein the Horse were first engaged. *Darius* in the left wing was stoutly defended by his followers, who fighting under his eye, laboured all they could with their multitudes to oppress the *Macedonians*. And *Mazæus* in the Right wing charging with great valour, at the first onset did great execution. Then sent he a Party of two thousand *Caducians*, and one thousand of the choicest *Scythian* Horse, to fall upon the Enemies Camp, where a great tumult following, some of the captive women took their opportunity, and got away to their friends, but *Sigambis* Mother to *Darius* refused to stir, and kept her self quiet in the same place, not thinking it fit to trust her self to the doubtful fortune of an escape, or shew any ingrateful disrespect to *Alexander*: the *Scythians* plundered most of the baggage and departed.

61. In

Sect. 4.

60. In the mean while, 'part of the Horse that fought about *Darius*, with their multitudes pressed fore upon the *Macedonians*, and forced them back, where by the second time the Victory seemed to incline towards the *Perfians*. *Alexander* seeing how he was concerned to relieve his men, broke out with his own Regiment upon *Darius* himself, and with a Dart flew his Chariot-driver. The Cour-tiers hereupon crying out, those that were further off supposed the King himself to have been slain, and therewith brook themselves to their Heels, which the next seeing fled also for company. The Ranks also about *Darius* began to be broken, till at length all one side was bared, and then he accounted it time to fly, and therewithal such a Dust was raised, *Alexander* with his Troops giving the chase, that it could not be discovered which way he fled, using great celerity therein, and for that purpose mounting a Mare that had lately foaled, as he had done before at the battel at *Iffus*. Whilst these things were thus carried in the left Wing, *Mazæus* in the right fore pressed upon his adversaries, which *Parmenio* with the *Thessalian* Horse and others for a time sustained, but being put fore to it, he sent to *Alexander* for speedy relief. But he could not be found; so that he was forced to use his utmost Skill in making the *Thessalians* endure the brunt; and at length put the *Barbarians* to flight, after they were disheartened with the report of their Princes Fortune.

61. *Darius* with a few in his Company came to the River *Lycus*, which having passed, when some advised him to break down the Bridge, lest the Enemy should make use thereof in the Pursuit, knowing that if he should do so, he must leave many thousands of his Men as a Prey to him, he answered, that he had rather give way to the pursuers, than take it from those that fled. Here *Alexander* immediately pursued him, but not being able to reach him, he returned, and sought a more sharp encounter than ever with some *Perthians*, *Adians*, and many of the valiantest of the *Perfians*, wherein though he had the better, yet he lost Sixty of his followers, and *Elpheftion* with *Cæsus* and *Menidas* were wounded. Of the *Barbarians* (a) one maketh above ninety thousand to have been slain, of the *Macedonians* five hundred, and many wounded. Another (b) counteth of the former three hundred thousand to have been slain, and a great number taken, with all the Elephants, and such Chariots as were not broken; Yet of *Alexander's* men but one hundred at most, with one thousand Horses, partly killed outright, and partly heart broken in the chase. A (c) third reckoneth forty thousand *Perfians*, and less than three hundred *Macedonians* to have been lost. This Battle was fought at *Gaugamela* a Village situate upon the River *Bumelus*, which being but an obfcure place, the *Macedonians* to imoble their Victory, gave out that it was at *Arbela*, a Town of good note, some fifteen Miles distant, beyond the River *Lycus*. *Alexander* obtained the Victory on the fifth day of the Month *Boedromion*, in the sixth year of his Reign, as also the sixth of *Darius*; *Aristophanes* (not *Aristophanes* his Successor, as some mistook) being Archon at *Athens*, in the second year of the hundredth and twelfth Olympiad. A. M. 3674.

62. *Darius* fled from the River *Lycus* to *Arbela*, where he arrived about midnight, and then concluding that *Alexander* would march to *Babylon* and *Susa*, resolved to flee to the utmost Borders of his Kingdom, there to renew the War; and accordingly withdrew himself into *Media*, beyond the Mountains of *Armenia*. About midnight *Alexander* set forwards for *Arbela*, hoping to take him there with all his Treasure, but arriving the next day, he found not him, but met with much Treasure, with his Bow and Target. Now seemed the Empire of the *Perfians* to all men to be dissolved, and thereupon *Alexander* was declared King of *Asia*, and for joy thereof sacrificed with great magnificence to his Gods, and bestowed Riches, Houles, and Countries upon his Friends. Foreseeing that the Air thereabouts, by reason of the corruption of the dead Bodies might be infectious, he removed with all speed from *Arbela* towards *Babylon*, being in his way met with *Mazæus* the Governour, who gave it up into his Hands, and *Bagophanes* the Keeper of the Castle and the King's Treasures, lest he should be exceeded by *Mazæus*, caused the way to be strowed with Flowers and Garlands, silver Altars heaped with Frankincense and other Odours being placed on both sides. The Towns-men came also to meet him, whom he commanded to follow his Rear, and so entered the City and Palace in a Chariot, with his armed men about him. Thirty days he spent in looking over *Darius* his householdstuff, all which time his Army girted themselves with the conceitments of the Town. Here the *Chaldeans* shewed him the

L 1

motions

The battel of Gaugamela.

Alexander declared King of Asia.

Entrench Babylon.

A. M. 3674.
Olymp. 117.
A. P. C. 433.
Darius 6.
Alexander 6.* Justin lib. 11.
Cæsius.
Diodorus.

Sect. 4.

motions of the Stars, and the appointed vicissitudes of times: and *Calisthenes* the Philosopher sent into Greece unto *Artabazus* (whose cousin-german his Mother was.) the Celestial observations of (a) one thousand nine hundred and three years. He consulted these men about his affairs, and at their desire caused such Temples to be rebuilt, as *Xerxes* had out of anger destroyed, after his overthrow in Greece. And especially care was taken for that of *Belus* in the midst of the City, the Ruines of which were so great, that the labour of (a) ten thousand men for two months was required for the clearing of the ground. He commanded all his Soldiers to lay their hands to the work, amongst which the *Fews* only refused to do it, who thereupon received great incommmodity, till such time as they were discharged of this task by the King, as (c) *Hecataeus* the *Athenian* wrote in his Book concerning the *Fews*, who also at that time lived with *Alexander*.

(a) *Porphyrius*
apud *Simplicium*
ad *Calist.*(b) *Strabo* lib.
16. pag. 738.(c) *Apud* *Johannem*
Strabonem lib. 11.

63. He committed the charge of the Castle of *Babylon* to *Agathon* of *Pydna*; with a Garrison of seven hundred *Macedonians*, and three hundred *Mercenaries*, appointing *Maxenus* the *Satrapa* of the Country. To *Apolodorus* of *Amphipolis*, and *Menetes* of *Pella*, he assigned the Government of the *Militia* of the *Satrapies* of *Babylon*, and the other Countries as far as *Cilicia*, leaving them two thousand Foot, and ten hundred talents of Silver, to hire as many Soldiers as they could; and to *Mithrinus* who betrayed the Castle of *Sardis* unto him, he granted *Armenia*. Of the money which he found at *Babylon*, to every *Macedonian* Horse-man he gave seven *Mine* (each *Artick* *Mina* containing an hundred Drachmes, and about three Pound two Shillings six Pence Sterling) and to every stranger five; to every *Macedonian* Foot-man two; and to every stranger two months pay, for a reward. Then set he forwards from *Babylon*, and in his way met with a supply of five hundred Horse, and six thousand Foot, sent out of *Macedonia*, with six hundred Horse out of *Thrace*, and three thousand five hundred Foot; and out of *Peloponnesus* four thousand Foot, and three hundred and eighty, (or according to *Diodorus* little less than one thousand) Horse. These were also accompanied with fifty of the Noblemen's Sons of *Macedonia*, for a Guard to the Kings person.

64. Drawing near to *Susa*, he met with the Son of the *Satrapa* thereof, sent unto him with a Messenger that brought Letters from *Philoxenus*, whom presently after the Battle at *Gangamela* he had sent thither. The Letters imported that the *Susians* had yielded their City to him, and that all the King's Treasure was safe for him, which *Abulites* the *Satrapa* sent his Son also to signify, either for that he thought to obtain favour, or as some thought, being underhand ordered by *Darius* to do so; that *Alexander* being busied with such Booty, he might have time to consult the better for his own affairs. On the twentieth day after his departure from *Babylon* he arrived at *Susa*, where he took possession of betwixt forty and fifty thousand (as is to be gathered from all Authors) Talents of Silver, besides Gold and Rich Furniture. Many things he there found, which *Xerxes* had brought out of Greece, and amongst the rest the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent back unto *Athenians*. He left the Mother and Children of *Darius* at *Susa*, with Masters to teach them the Greek Tongue, and then committing the City to the care of *Archeulaus*, the Castle to *Xenophilus*, the Treasury to *Callistratus*, and the *Satrapa* of the Country of *Susa* to *Abulites*, in four encampings he came to the River *Pasitigris*, being resolved to invade *Persia*.

65. Near to the Country of *Susa* lieth that of the *Uxians*, running out into the Borders of *Persia*, and leaving a straight passage betwixt it self and the *Susian* Dominions. The inhabitants of the low-land Country became without much ado subject to *Alexander*; but the other with some slaughter he forced to submit; and whereas they demanded money of him which they used to receive from the Kings of *Persia* for their passage, he imposed a Tribute of one hundred Horses, five hundred Cattle, and thirty thousand Sheep yearly to be paid; they living like Shepherds, and using no Money. After this he committed the Baggage, with the *Thessalian* Horse, the *Mercenaries* and Associates, with the rest of the Army that used heavy Armour, to *Parmentio*, to lead that way into *Persia*, that was passable with Carriages; and he himself taking the *Macedonian* Foot with the Horse of the Associates, and others, with all speed marched a nearer one through the hilly Country. Being arrived at the Straights of *Persia*, he found *Artabazanes*, a *Persian* *Satrapa*, seized thereof, by whom he was repulsed also with some disgrace and loss, being forced to retreat four miles from the Straights; but at length being

Cometh to
Susa.He is opposed
at the Straights
of Persia by
Artabazanes.*Diodorus*,
Curtius,
Plutarch.*Arrianus*,
Polyænus,
Strabonem
lib. 4.

Sect. 4.

led by a Shepherd another difficult way, he came upon his Enemies on a sudden, and put them to flight. But *Artabazanes* in the midst of near forty Horse and five thousand Foot, with great slaughter on both sides broke through the Army of the *Macedonians*, which on both sides had beset him, and made for *Persepolis*, the chief City of that Country; but being shut out by those that kept it for the Conqueror, he turned again upon his Enemies, and with great valour renewing the Battle, perished with all his followers.

He cometh to
Persepolis.

66. Having private notice from *Tiridates* the Eunuch, Keeper of the Treasure at *Persepolis*, that they there had an intention to rise if upon hearing of his coming, he took the Horse, and all the Night marched thitherwards. Being a quarter of a mile from the Town, about eight hundred *Gracians* met him in manner of Suppliants, whom the former *Persian* Kings had reduced into bondage, and as a token of slavery cut off their Feet, Hands, Ears, or Noses, and having marked them with some *Barbarian* Letters, kept them as laughing stocks for derision. They besought *Alexander*, that as he had done by Greece, so he would also deliver them from the cruelty of their Enemies. He offered to send them back; but they rather chose to receive some grounds to live on, than returning home, to carry greater disgrace than comfort to their Relations. To each of them he gave three thousand Drachms and ten Garments, with Cattel, Sheep, and Corn, for the stocking of their Grounds. The next day he called a meeting of his Officers, whom he told that there was no City more inveterate against the *Gracians* than that, which had been the Seat of the *Persian* Kings, and that therefore by the destruction of it they were to make a Parentation to their Ancestors. The Town, all besides the Palace, he allowed the Soldiers to plunder, who made a great slaughter of Captives, and got inestimable Riches in that place, which heretofore of all, they had been most secure. Entering the Castle, he received the Treasure which there had been heaped up from the time of *Cyrus* the Great, containing a great quantity of Gold and Silver. *Diodorus* saith, he took thence one hundred and twenty Talents, Gold being reckoned at the reckoning of Silver; part of which he employed in the present service of the War, and the rest sent to *Susa* to be kept.

which he
carried to be
plundered.He harrazeeth
the Country of
Susa.

67. Leaving a Garrison in *Persepolis*, and a great part of the Army with the baggage there, with one thousand Horse and a party of Foot, he made an invasion into *Persia*. Much rain fell, and grievous Tempests ensued, but he persevered in his purpose, as also when they came to such places as were full of Snow and Ice; and though the Inhabitants fled from their Cottages to the Mountains, and killed his Stragglers, yet he brought them to submit; and laying waste the Territories of *Persia*, subdued also the *Mardi*, a Warlike Nation, differing much from the Customs of the other *Persians*; and on the thirtieth day returned to *Persepolis*. Then did he distribute Gifts to his Friends, making no spare of Treasure, and there he wintered four Months, rather enervating than refreshing his Army with the delicacies of the Place. For the Celebration of his Victories he offered magnificent Sacrifices, and Feasted his Friends Princely; and to the Feast admitted Courtisans. Amongst the rest, was *Thais* the *Athenian*, the Mistress of *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*. She gave out, that the King would Attchive a most gallant Enterprize, if, in a Frolick, he would with them set on fire the Pallace, and thereby, in one moment, overthrow the Glory of the *Persians* by the Hands of Women. This finding acceptance amongst the younger sort, now in the midst of their Cups, one amongst them desired that they might Revenge the Injuries offered to the Temples of the *Greeks* with burning Fire-brands, which was seconded by others; but yet they said, that so great an Affair did only belong to *Alexander*. He being moved herewith, wasled out by *Thais* in a Dance with the Minstrels, and fire receiving a Fire-Brand from him, first set it to the Pallace, after which all the rest followed, and so that Structure was reduced into Ashes. Thus was the Fury of *Xerxes* against *Athenians* revenged by a Woman, and Native of that City, in the same way, though accompanied with derision. But *Alexander* afterward repented too late, alleging that he should more grievously have punished the *Persians*, by forcing them to behold him seated in the Pallace and Throne of *Xerxes*.

Cometh to Pa-
sargade.

68. From *Persepolis* he removed to *Pasargade*, a City founded by *Cyrus* the Great, and the ancient Seat of the *Persian* Kings; which being delivered up to him by *Gobazes* the Governour, he therein found six thousand Talents. Here he saw the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in a Garden, into which he Commanded

Strabo lib. 15.
Artab. pag. 730.*Strabonem*

L 1 2

Sect. 4.

Stobolus (who wrote the story) to enter, who there found a Golden Bed, a Table, and Cups, with a Golden Basket, and great store of Apparel, and Robes adorned with Pearl. On this place *Cyrus* overthrew *Atissares* the Mede in his last Battle, and thereby obtaining the Sovereignty of *Asia*, in memorial of it built this City, and a Palace, which being by *Curtius* named *Persefada*, or *Pasagada*, signifieth the Army of the *Persians*. Then *Alexander* either by force or fair means, became Master of all the other Cities of *Persia*, about the time of the rising of the seven Stars, from which the Antients used to begin their Summer. He placed over this Country *Phraortes* a *Satrapa*, and then being minded to pursue *Darius*, set forwards for *Media*, where he heard he was; but being within three days Journey of *Ecbatane*, there met him *Bisthanes* the Son of *Oechus*, who reigned before *Darius*. He assured him that the King was gone thence five days before, having taken with him seven or eight thousand Talents, and being accompanied with an Army of six thousand Foot and three thousand Horse.

He cometh to Ecbatane.

What Darius did after the battle of Gaugamela.

69. *Darius* stayed at *Ecbatane* some time, to receive such of his Soldiers as had escaped the Battle, and for the furnishing of them with Arms. He raised Forces in the Neighbouring Nations, and sent to the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and the higher Countries to retain them in obedience. And he determined, if *Alexander* should stay about *Babylon* or *Susa*, to continue in *Media* in expectation of some better change of Fortune: But if he should pursue him, then to betake himself into *Parthia*, or as far as *Bactria*, and lay all the Country wait as far as he passed, to cut off provisions from the Pursuer. He sent therefore the Women with all his Furniture and Carriages to the *Caspian* Straights, and stayed himself with such Forces as he had raised at *Ecbatane*, till such time as *Alexander* was within less than two hundred miles of him. Then thought he of *Bactria*; but fearing to be overtaken by *Alexander* (against whose celerity no distance seemed to be sufficient) he changed his purpose, and though he fled, yet prepared he himself rather for a Fight than Flight. His Army consisted now (according to *Curtius*) of thirty thousand Foot (whereof four thousand were *Grecians*, commanded by *Patron*, a man for his constant Fidelity to *Darius*, never enough to be commended) and three thousand three hundred *Bactrian* Horse, under the Command of *Bessus* the *Satrapa* of the Country.

Curtius lib. 5.

70. *Alexander* being come to *Ecbatane*, sent back towards the Sea the *Thessalian* Horse, and other Associates, bestowing on them, besides their full pay, two thousand Talents. To *Permenio* he gave in charge to bring all the Treasure out of *Persia* into *Ecbatane*, to be committed to the trust of *Harpalus*, whom he left with a Garrison of six thousand *Macedonians*, besides some Horse, and of the Associates; and then afterwards he ordered him to march through the Country of the *Cadusians* into *Hyrcania*. *Clitus* he Commanded to go with his own Regiment into *Parthia*, whither he himself intended to come; but now with a select party, with incredible speed pursued *Darius*, and in eleven Encampings came to *Abaga*. Here seeing no hope ever to reach him (who before this had passed the *Caspian* Straights) he stayed five days, and then marched for *Parthia*, and on the first day pitched his Camp by the Straights, and on the next having entered them, news was brought to him concerning the Captivity of *Darius*.

Alexander pursued him.

71. For, *Bessus* the *Satrapa* of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* a Colonel of Horse, though his own Servants rebelled against him, and drawing their Men to their party, caused him to be bound, with an intention if *Alexander* should overtake them, to curry favour with him by the delivery of such a Prisoner into his hands; but if they should escape, then to kill him, seize upon his Kingdom, and renew the War. They seized on his money and stuff, and taking into their society *Braeus*, or *Barzaenes*, the *Satrapa* of the *Arachoti* and *Drangis*, led him away Captive in a Chariot, bound in Golden Fetters, as becometh so great a King; but yet, lest he should be known, they covered the Chariot with bafe Skins, and unknown Men drove it, his Keepers following aloof off, lest he should be discovered to any that asked of him. The *Persians* having none now to follow, joynted themselves to the *Bactrians*, and with the rest owned *Bessus* for their General. But *Arabazus* with his Sons and Soldiers, as also the *Greeks* (whose Captain was *Patron*) separated themselves from them, and taking another way towards the Mountains out of the high Road, departed, and went into *Parthiene*.

72. Upon notice of this Conspiracy, *Alexander* concluded that more haste was to be used, and therefore taking along with him a party fit for such Expedition, he left the rest of the Army to *Craterus* to come after with more leisure; and travelling all that Night, and the next day till Noon, gave his men a little time to rest,

Gad. tom. II. Stephans.

Arrian.

Sect. 4.

rest, and then again setting forward, came the next morning to that place where *Bagiftenes* the *Babylonian* (who brought him notice of the condition of *Darius*) had departed. Then again marching fast that night, and the day following until noon, he came to the place where *Bessus* laid hands on *Darius*, as *one telleth us; but **Curtius*, as *another, where they that conducted him had rested the day before. Here he met with *Melon*, *Darius* his Interpreter, who being sick and not able to follow, now counterfeited himself a Fugitive, and fully acquainted *Alexander* with the King's Condition. He hereby was further quickened up to use all expedition, but his men spent with continual travel must needs have rest, and therefore he made five hundred Horsemen to dismount, and the Officers of Foot, and others most valiant amongst them to take their Horses, being arrived as before, that so they might be both Horse and Footmen as need should require.

73. Whilst he was thus busied, *Orsillos* and *Mithraenes*, two *Persians* who detested the Parricide of *Bessus*, came back from him, and acquainted *Alexander* that he was five hundred Furlongs off, but that they could lead him a nearer way, where by he might soon overtake him. With this Conduct he began his Journey that Night, and being come three hundred Furlongs, Encountered *Bronchelus* (or *Antibelus*) the Governor once of *Syria* under *Darius*, who told him that *Bessus* was two hundred Furlongs off; that as he thought he made for *Hyrcania*, and marched

And upon Alexander's approaching morally wounded him.

out of order as fearing no danger, and therefore might easily be surpris'd. He then continued his industry to overtake him, but he and his Complices had notice of his approach, and coming to *Darius*, bad him mount on Horseback, and withdraw himself by flight from the Enemy. He refusing to do this, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaenes* threw darts upon him, and leaving him mortally wounded, wounded also the Horses that drew him, lest they should follow far, and killed two Slaves which accompanied him, having none now to follow him but a Dog which he had brought up. Having done this, the murderers with six hundred fled with full speed, and that they might not venture altogether, *Nabarzanes* went towards *Hyrcania*, and *Bessus* with a few Horsemen in his Company kept on the way for *Bactria*. The rest of their men straggled as they were led either by hope or fear, five hundred Horsemen imbodyed themselves, not knowing whether to flee, or to receive and fight the pursuing Enemies.

Arrian. lib. 5. cap. 2.

74. But *Alexander* having notice of the fear and anxiety of the Enemy, sent *Nicanor* with part of the Horse on before to restrain their flight, he with the rest following after; and when they were come up, so little courage appeared in the *Persians*, that though they resisted, yet three thousand were presently slain, and the rest straggled about like Sheep, *Alexander* giving command then to his Soldiers to abstain from slaughters. Now appeared an incredible thing, more Prisoners than they that took them, whilst the Conquered were so stupified, that they neither considered their own multitude, nor the small number of their Enemies. In the mean while, the Beasts that drew *Darius* having none to drive them, wandered out of the way for half a mile, and being wearied both by their wounds and heat, stood still in a certain Valley. Not far of was a Spring, to which *Polystratus* a *Macedonian* being directed, came almost spent with thirst, and whilst he was drinking water in his Helmet, he espied the Horses fainting away, by reason of the darts sticking in their sides, and drawing near to consider of the matter, found *Darius* in the Chariot sorely wounded, but yet breathing. He desired some water of him to drink, which though none of the best, yet he laid was the best that ever he drank. He prayed him to carry his thanks to *Alexander*, for his great humanity and courtesy towards his Relations. As for himself, he desired rather a seemly than noble Burial, but bad him put him in mind how dangerous it would be to all Princes to suffer his death to go unpunished. He wished him the Empire of the whole World, and gave his hand to *Polystratus* as though to be presented to *Alexander*; after which, wishing him a reward, for his kindness, from the Gods; he expired.

Darius discovered by Polystratus.

Diod.

A view of his Reign.

75. This was the end of the Life, Reign, and Empire of *Darius*, a man who, if we look at warlike matters, was fit for nothing less, but in other things did nothing unbecoming Royal Majesty. And neither could he, for as soon as he began to Reign was he vexed by the *Macedonians*. Whilst he lived, one Croës presently succeeded after another; neither could he enjoy any rest from the beginning of his Reign: For within a while after, he received that overthrow at the River *Granicus*; then lost he *Æolia*, *Ionis*, and both the *Phrygia's*; the *Lydians* also and *Caryans* (all but the *Halicarnassians*) and not long after *Halicarnassus* its self, and then all the Maritime Coast as far as *Cilicia*. After this he received a great overthrow at

Issus,

Sect. 5.

Iffus, in which his Mother, Wife, and Children were taken: *Phanicia* and *Egypt* fell off from him. At *Arbela* (or *Gangamela*) losing a mighty Army consisting of all sorts of people, he disgracefully was forced to flee; then driven from his Kingdom, wandering up and down and wanting due Accommodations, at last he was betrayed by his own Servants, and at the same time both a King and a Captive was ignominiously bound in Fetters, and perished by the treachery of those, from whom he should have expected safety, as *Arrianus* writeth. This happened in the year that *Aristophanes* was Archon at *Athens*, in the Month *Hecatombeon*, when he had lived about fifty years, in the seventh year of his Reign, and the two hundred and third of this Empire, in the third year of the hundred and twelfth *Olympiad*, *A. M.* 3675, three hundred and twenty eight years before the ordinary *Aera* of Christ.

76. We have seen the end of *Darius*, and the Conclusion of the *Persian* Dominion; but have not yet done with the *Persian* History and Antiquities; many of which could not be made out nor discovered by the series of those Narrations concerning *Cyrus* and his Successors, without breaking the order and method thereof; and therefore judging it fit more fully to inform the Reader therein, we shall present him with a prospect of the *Polity* of that Kingdom, with this Caution and Admonition; that it respects and hath relation also to what followed in after times, when that People shook off the *Macedonian* Yoke, but became subject to the *Parthians*, and when they recovered their Liberty, and gave Laws to the Eastern Nations; and therefore we place it here not as an *Apparatus* to the *Persian* Empire, but a general Light to their Affairs.

S E C T. V.

The Polity, Customs, and Manners of the Persians.

The King called himself King of Kings.

1. **T**he Government we see was Monarchical, the Head of which in respect to the great extent of his Dominions, had the Title of *Great King*, and *King of Kings*; however toward the Period of their power they were scoffed at, for challenging it, by *Alexander* and other *Greeks*. And after that *Asaces* had overthrown *Selenus Callinicus*, and brought the *Persians* under the *Parthian* Yoke, his Successors took it as an high Affront if it was not given them by the *Roman* Emperors; inso much that *Phraates* receiving a Letter from *Augustus*, directed to him as to bare *Phraates*, in his Answer took to himself that of *King of Kings*; and to be even with him, gave him no other than that of *Cesar*. When the *Persians* afterward recovered their liberty, and the *Persian* Kingdom revived, the Kings thereof still challenged it as their due: Particularly *Sapor*, in a Letter he wrote to *Constantinus* the Emperor, assumed it together with other lofty Titles, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us. But this was no more than what *Nebuchadonosor* had done before.

The Kingdom Hereditary.

2. As the Government was Monarchical, so was it Hereditary; the Laws forbidding any to be admitted King, but one of the Royal Line if it had not failed. As herein they were conformable to the best Rules of Prudence, so also to the Dictates both of Prudence and Nature, in that the eldest Son was to be preferred. This was constantly and religiously observed for many Ages, till at length the Kingdom was bestowed at the discretion of the Nobility, yet ever upon one of the Royal Family. Sometimes the First-born after the Father was King, was preferred before the Elder Brother, whose Birth happened when his Father was yet but a private man, as we have seen in the case of *Xerxes* and his Brother; and long after because *Cabades* was weak sighted, *Croesus* younger than he was advanced to the Throne, it being unlawful for any one to Reign amongst them, that was imperfect or deformed in his Body. Generally Bastards were not regarded when there were any legitimate Sons, and yet some will have *Darius Nothus* to have been preferred before

Vide Libros tres de Regibus Persiarum Principibus et Administrantibus.

Persice Saapian quid sit Regem sicut ut Ammianus scribit lib. 19. ad initium.

Sect. 5.

The manner of the Kings Promotion.

fore *Jogans* the Legitimate Son of *Artaxerxes*. Though the Throne was not wont to be quitted but by Death, yet some Kings have given the Title to their Sons; while yet they lived, and when they went out on any Expedition, they were then wont to declare their Successors. It was the Custom for them to be inaugurated at *Pasagarda* by the Preests of their Nation, in the Temple of a certain Goddess like to *Pallas*. The solemnity was performed by putting off their own, and putting on the Garments which *Cyrus* wore when a private Man; eating a lump of Figs, tasting a sort of Turpentine, and drinking a draught of sowre Milk, having first been instructed in the discipline of the *Magi*. On the new Kings Head was set a Bonnet or Diadem called *Cidaritis*. He was placed in a Royal Chair or Throne, and sometimes would change his Name upon his promotion. Now was he adored by his Subjects as some God upon Earth, or rather the living Image of God. And the Adoration they performed by prostrating themselves on the Ground, which *Alexander*, after he grew so proud, required of his *Macedonians*. But *Cyrus* was the first that required and had it paid unto him; and that as soon as they came into his sight, not only when they were near unto him. And it was paid not only by Subjects but also by Strangers. For if Ambassadors of other Nations refused to give this Adoration, they were not admitted to speak to the King, but dispatched their Business by the Intervention of Messengers. This not only the *Fewes*, but the *Greeks* abominated and derided as not due to any mortal Man. But much more reason they would have had to refuse to adore his Image, which being of Gold, all were compelled to do that entred *Babylon*, in the time of *Apollonius*.

Now adored and respected.

3. Such as saluted or thus adored them, were wont to wish them perpetual Life and Empire, agreeable to that we meet in Scripture, *O King live for ever*. And they were not to forget when they met them to fold their Hands in their sleeves, the neglect whereof cost *Antiochus* and *Mitranes* dear, when *Cyrus* the younger usurped against his Brother. Their Subjects might better do, because they did it but very seldom; the *Persian* Kings being very rarely seen abroad, that by conversation they might not become vile and despicable. This gave the greater opportunity to the *Magus*, who counterfeited *Smerdis*, to cheat the People, which was wonderfully pleased with *Satira* the Wife of *Artaxerxes* for using such freedom, that she would go abroad and be seen in her open litter, and give free access to any of them, and that by order of her Husband, who was more kind in that respect also than his Predecessors. Without leave obtained none could enter the Palace, so that most transacted their Business at Court by Messengers, a grievance from which the Conspirators agreed to free themselves, except the King was private with his Wife, which Exception when *Intaphernes* disregarded, it cost him his Life. We know from the Book of *Ester* how it was death to come into the inner Court, except the King was graciously pleased to reach out to the venturing Persons his golden Sceptre. The Nobility were expected to wait before the Gate till they were called in, neither was it safe for them to neglect it. To be sure it was capital for any Subject to sit in the Kings Chair, neither was it lawful to wear his Robe. Nay such respect they challenged from their Subjects, that *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, forbade that any in hunting should strike a Deer before he had cast his Dart at him.

Looked from the Laws and Absolute.

4. But not only by these Shadows and Ceremonies was the Majesty of the *Persian* Kings kept from contempt, as with rails and barriers; they enjoyed not only the Shadow but the substance of Sovereignty. For they were looked from the Laws, so as they might do whatever they listed or lusted, as we have seen in the case of *Cambyses*, his marrying his Sister. As the *Turke* at this day most imitates these Patterns of the *Persian* haughtiness, so their pride in this particular, that all his Subjects he terms and holds as his Slaves; for so did also the Kings of whom we write, their Wives excepted; for, Wives they had who were esteemed of ingenious and free condition, of which amongst the *Turkes*, none could boast except *Roxelana*. As they gave to their Subjects no better terms than that of *Slaves*, so they received from them that of *Deputies* and *Lords*, which as the People owned them to be, so they obeyed them as such, patiently and piously, as *Curtius* writes. What Burthens they laid upon them they willingly bore, and esteemed it an Honour rather than an Injury to be beaten at the command of the King. Letters signed with his Seal none dared to contradict; neither was it, or rarely known, that any revealed his Secrets; the reason why *Alexander* was still uncertain concerning the measures that *Darius* took, and *Ammianus* saith they worshipped the Numen or Divinity of Silence. It's certain

Sect. 5.

certain that no nation whatsoever showed more dearness and affection to their Princes. They prayed for them; and they came not into their presence without a present, which though never so mean was wont to be kindly received. As they travelled, Husband-men and others of the meanest sort, presented them with such things as they had, and besides with the first Fruits of the Grounds through which they passed. The story of one who presented *Alexander* *Momonum* with an Apple of a great bulk, and for it received a great reward; and of another who having nothing else, brought him some Water in both his Hands from the River, *Cyrus*, is celebrated both by *Plutarch* and *Ellian*.

5. The birth Days of their Kings they kept as Holydays, and not only honoured whilst alive, but prosecuted them with the same respect when taken from them. For their death being known, *Nobis* for the space of five Days, was enjoined, in which, Courts were shut up, and Laws were silent. Moreover that Fire which every one kept alive in his House, as sacred and his Tutelary Deity, upon that occasion was extinguished. Such Majesty and Power did even the betrayers of *Darius* own and acknowledge in him as King; that when they designed to give him up, they bound him in golden Chains and Fetters. And truly such esteem the Majesty and Sovereignty of their Kings might challenge from them; but the People, the meaner sort especially, being governed by imagination, which receives Impressions from Sense, is wont to be wrought upon by glorious Objects, the Scarlet Gowns of Judges commanding such regard as would not be had unto them if they lay in Cuerpo. Therefore to procure Reverence, the Persian Kings had their Royal Ornaments: First upon their Heads they wore the *Tiara*, which was common to them with their Subjects, but that of the Kings was straight and upright, whereas these of the rest, fell down upon, or towards the Brow, rolled up or folded. Only to seven Conspirators against the *Magi*, a middle sort was granted and to their Posterity; which was prominent in the fore part of the Head, neither upright as that of the Kings, nor falling as the other of the more ordinary sort; for they were made of Linnen folden, and not of more substantial or thick Stuff, but as the Turbans of the Eastern Nations in present use. And so I am wont to interpret that of the three *Fens* which were cast into the fiery Furnace, their being bound in their Hats, as we read it in our present Translation; for they were Turbans or Caps wreathed together, which might easily be unloosed and become Bandage and Ligaments, not like our ordinary Caps and Hatts. Of the *Tiara*, we shall now only further observe that it came down if need were upon the Temples and Cheeks; but this, as we said, was a common wear both of Prince and Subjects.

6. The peculiar and proper Royal Ornament for the Head was the *Cidaris* or *Citatis*, for, by both these Names it was called. This though some Writers seem to confound with the *Tiara*, yet was distinct from, and added to, it, being no other than the *Diadem* which others mention as proper to the Persian Kings, or a Purple Fillet distinguished with white Spots, and perfumed. As the Persian Kings wore this *Diadem* or Fillet about their *Tiara*, so when *Alexander* began to take their state upon him, he added it to the *Macedonian Causia*. Long after this *Sapor*, King of *Persia* who lived in the time of *Constantinus*, changed it seems the Fashion of this Cap, for *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of him, that he wore upon his Head instead of a *Diadem*, a covering made in the shape of a Rams Head, adorned with Gemms, which possibly was his peculiar Fancy; though the *Tiara* was also formed into wreaths and rounds, and *Sidonius Appollinaris* writes of its being horned. But, farther as to other Ornaments, the Persian Kings wore the Stole or purple Robe which hung down to the Ankles, was excessively rich in Gold and precious Stones, and portraited with the Figures of various sorts of Animals, being in shape four square, as the *Greek Pallium* was, which was plaited and buttoned about the Neck. Besides this they wore a Tunick called *Candys*, which was common to other Persians; but that of the Kings differed from the rest, not only in value, but in Colour; for it was of the Sea Purple or *Phenician Dye*, when their Dominions extended to the Coasts of that Country, though afterwards in stead thereof they were supplied out of *India*. This purple Tunick had a white spot in the middle, it hung upon the Shoulders, and had its Sleeves down to the Fingers ends, which the *Romans* counted effeminate, and so did *Alexander*, who though he took up the Persian habit refused the *Candys*, it becoming a Man, in their Opinion, to have his Arms free and disintangled. From that Story we read in *Suetonius* concerning *Persian* his Jest about the Comet or Blazing Star, we may learn that these Princes wore their Hair

Their Ornaments.

The *Tiara*.The *Cidaris*.

The Stole.

The *Candys*.

Long Hair.

Sarabara or close Breeches.

Their Royal Palace.

Haire something long; for, when he heard it was of that sort called *Crimini* or streaming forth like Haire, he said it concerned the King of *Persia* and not himself. They wore Jewels at their Ears; were girt with rich Girdles or Belts; used *Brache* or close Breeches, which also did the rest of the Nation, by whom they called *Sarabara*, from which *Alexander* abtained as from the *Candys* and *Tiara*. But in *Persia* both Men and Women wore these Breeches; however the *Macedonians* and *Romans* did dispise them. In conclusion besides these Ornaments, The Kings bore golden Scepters in their Hands, as is evident from the Book of *Esther*.

7. The Kings for their Commodious manner of living, had their Royal Palaces in several Provinces, to which they removed as their Occasions or the Season of the Year did urge them. For the Seasons, generally they passed the Winter in *Babylon*, the Spring at *Susa*, and the heat of the Summer at *Ecbatane*. Of *Babylon* we have spoken already. *Susa* (in our Translation *Shushan* the Palace) was a City built by *Tichonus* and his Son *Memnon* upon the River *Chaspeas*, and took its name from *Lillies* wherewith that Region abounds, *Susum* in the Persian Tongue signifying that Flour. *Cyrus* made choice of it as a place convenient to inhabit, both for its pleasantness and its neighbourhood to the Nations conquered by him; and afterwards it was repaired and very much beautified by *Darius*, who is therefore by some Writers termed the founder of it. As for *Ecbatane*, it was the Metropolis of *Media*; and it seems they made choice of it for the coolness of the Air, and why might they not do it, notwithstanding they be laughed at for changing their places and termed *Nomades* from their flitting from one Region to another, the progresses of Princes being very requisite for the knowing and redressing of the Grievances of their People. Besides these three, they had several other Mansions, and several retiring places throughout the Country, which were pleasantly incompassed with Parks and Trees after the best Art and Contrivance, of which were most eminent *Pasargada* and *Persepolis*. The former *Cyrus* prized above all others, because there he overthrew *Astyages* (where upon it had the name of the Troop or Army of the Persians) and here was part of the Royal Treasures kept. But in *Persepolis* was inestimable Wealth heaped up; it being in a manner filled with the Spoils of the (Eastern) World. In it was a Castle incompassed with three Walls wonderful for their height and thickness, wherein stood the Kings Palace, the Royal Court of *Persia* marvellous for its rich Ornaments of Gold and other Materials. Besides what was bestowed upon the House it self, here was a golden Throne on which it was capital for any Subject to sit. The King lay upon a golden Bed, and his Chamber was decked with a Tree of Gold, and moreover a Vine made of Gold, the Grapes whereof were composed of precious Stones, being the workmanship of *Theodorus* a Native of *Samus*.

8. But rather more remarkable were the Gardens, Groves and Parkes adjoining to the Kings Palaces, admirable in their contrivance and planting, and for being stocked with all sorts of wild Beasts; if wild we may call them that are shut up betwixt Walls and Pales. These places of Divertisement they in their own Language called *Paradises*, the *Romans* *Frutaria*, and we *Parkes*; but in them were kept Bears and Bores, fierce beyond Madnes it self as *Ammianus* expresteth it: They were well furnished with Springs of Water, and had Towers built in them for Receptacles to the Hunters, as to many Castles of Defence against the Violence of the enraged Beasts. With the variety of Trees and the pleasant Walkes in these *Paradises*, the Persian Princes were wonderfully taken, especially *Cyrus* the younger, who himself contrived one at *Sardis*, ordered the Walks, framed the Wildernesses in them, and set many of the Trees with his own Hand: And *Alexander* after his Conquest seemed so much to be of the same mind, that he sent for several sorts of Plants out of *Macedonia* to increase the Persian Store. But wherever the Kings hunted, if they were thirsty and were pleased to drink Water, it was no other than that what was taken out of the River *Chaspeas* which ran by *Susa*, thence it was fetcht in golden Vessels, and in them, being boiled, was preserved for their Use; being carried along with them whithersoever they went as the lightest in Body, and sweetest of all others. To this *Pliny* and other Writers joyn the River *Eulens* as a Companion, which rising in *Media* takes its course also by *Susa*, so that we may question whether it was not one and the same River; for *Solinus* also writes that these Kings would drink of no other Water. If this was so sweet, we may hence perceive the power of Thirst which caused *Darius* when he was expiring and drank of muddy and stinking Wa-

Sect. 5.

Sarabara or close Breeches.

Inde Memnonian didit.

They drank only of Water running by *Susa*.

M m

ter,

Sect. 5.

One sort of Wine.

Their Diet.

Attendance at Table.

ter, to say it was the best that ever he had drank in his Life; for, as *Cicero* well observes, he had (scarce) ever formerly drank thirsting. But as they drank but of one sort of Water, so only one sort of Wine would content them, and that was the *Chalybion* which grew about *Damascus* in *Syria*; far sought and deer bought, being it seems, fit for *Persian* Kings as well as English Ladies. With this it was permitted them to be drunk one day of the Year, which they dedicated to the service of *Mithra*. Otherwise, it seems that by the Laws they were obliged to this sort of Temperance.

9. But if not Drunkards they might be Gluttons; and yet *Xerxes* by the Story of *Herodotus* concerning *Magageon* one of the *Aberites* who entertained him, appears to have eaten but once a Day. But it's to be thought this Meal like that of Children, lasted well nigh all the Day long, if he dined betimes; or all the Night if he supped; for if he had dined as well as supped, his Entertainers had not been able to sustain the Charges. What way soever they travelled, their Subjects were wont to entertain them at Supper, all the Cities being obliged to it either by Law or Custom according to their Abilities, for which Money was raised no otherwise than as Tribute; and so great was the expence sometimes, that it amounted to twenty, thirty, Tallents or more. When at their own charge, their Diet was most exquisite and costly. They had of Delicacies which their several Provinces produced, the first Fruits as it were presented to them. They used Oyl made of the *Persian* Walnut, and another sort made of a Thorne growing in *Caramania*; but it is observable that amongst all the several Spices, Sawces and Pickles reckoned up by such as write of this Subject, there is no mention made of Pepper and Vinegar, the best of all. Amongst all their Feasts those exceeded which they made on their Birthdays, which they believed to rise to such excellencies, that in their own Language they called them *Tycta* or Perfect. On those Days they combed and cleaned their Hair, and were wont to give Gifts to their People; neither could they well deny any Petition, then put up unto them. As their Meals were eminent both for quantity and richness of Dishes, so also for cleanliness and neatness in serving thereof. *Briflonius* gathers from the Hebrew Copy of *Esther* that *Artaxerxes* was served with seven Eunuchs. To be sure such as waited were as clean and neat as Water and rich Clothes could make them. And because the Lives of Princes are precious and in danger, they had their Tasters who when they had given the Liqueur to them, in a Vial, took some of it out with a Spoon or Cup, and pouring it into their left Hands, supped it up. And probable it is that for fear of Poyson they used the same Caution in their Meat as in their Drink, which generally hath been observed by other Kings, though these of *Persia* some will have first to have introduced the Custom.

10. But upon this account it was that the Office of Cupbearer (enjoyed by *Neemiah the Jew*) was as a place of especial trust, so of great esteem and honour; and so it was in the Court of *Alexander* where *Phillip* and *Follas* the Sons of *Antipater* prepared and tasted his Drink. Sufficiently known it is what a number of Butchers, Cooks and other Ministers of the Throat and Palate attended in that of *Persia*. To this purpose is observable what is told by *Athenæus* concerning those that followed the Waggon and Baggage of *Darius*, and were taken at *Damascus* by *Parmenio*. There were two hundred and seventy seven Cooks; of Scullions who made clean Utensils belonging to the Kitchens, twenty nine; thirteen Persons that provided Milk, and seventeen who took order for his Drink, of Cellar Men and such as purified his Wines seventy: of Oyment-makers forty; and such as made Garlands and Ornaments for the Head sixty and six. In the Court a Table daily was furnished as dedicated to the Genius of the King. The Room where he dined was furnished with Women Singers, with which and other sorts of Musick those Princes were wonderfully pleased, as well as with other Meriments at their Meals. For *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* that after the taking of *Damascus* he found, besides what we lately mentioned, no fewer than three hundred and twenty one of those Wenches that were Minstrels. When the Table was removed they left singing; but when the King called for Wine they renewed their Melody, and were wont with their vocal and other sorts of Musick all the Night long to lull him on sleep. No sort of Luxury was wanting that could be devised; for rewards were proposed to such as could find them out. Most commonly the King ate at meat by himself, sometimes the Queen with him, and some of his Children: but of *Artaxerxes* it is said that he took his Mother to the Table, placing her above him, as his Wife beneath him, and that with his Company at Meals, he sometimes honoured *Ofaces* and *Oxates* his Brothers.

Sect. 5.

Guests.

They had seven in Wine.

Vastly rich in their Ornaments.

Their Concubines.

Brothers. Moreover they were wont at certain Feasts, to entertain their Kindred as the *Romans* did theirs in their *Charistia*; others also sometimes in respect to some notable service, Strangers though they were, who could not be admitted to the Feast of the Kindred; and from the Books of *Esther* and *Ezra* we are informed, that sometimes they entertained their Captains, *Satrapas*, and great Officers.

11. But of such as they admitted, some supped within and some without the Room where the King did eat, and from those that supped within, the view of the King was intercepted by an Hanging or Curtain, so as he might see them but could not be seen. The number of his Guests exceeded not that of twelve: As for the order of their sitting, *Cyrus* placed those he least trusted on his Right Hand, and whom he most trusted on his Left; because the Left Side is most expeditious and least defensive: In like manner, as still at this day amongst the Eastern Nations, it's most honourable to go on the left hand, because such an one hath the advantage, commanding the Sword of his Companion which hangeth on his left Thigh. The honour was great to be thus entertained, and need there was for it, the freedom they enjoyed with it being so little, For look about them they must not, but hang down their Heads, lest any of the Eunuchs should espye them to cast an eye upon some of the King's Women: And they must also forbear all complaints, and take all patiently that was said or done unto them. And yet these Kings were not so insolent as by report were those of the *Parthians*, their Successors; for if they entertained any of their Friends at meat, the Guests took their Repast on the ground, and fed like Dogs upon what they cast from their Table, which was placed aloft from the floor; Nay sometimes upon some slight account, being taken out of the Room, they were beaten till blood followed; but in that plight were to fall down and worship him that beat them, as having conferred on them some special favour. The Kings of the *Parthians* did eat by themselves and on an elevated ascent, and they alone as Earthly Gods were served at a Table furnished with foreign meat. Those rather were to be envied to whom the Kings of *Persia* sent dishes of Meat from their Table, for so they were wont to do to their Friends; which custom was begun by *Cyrus*, as *Xenophon* writeth of him. To be sure with great quantities of Meat they were wont to be served, the remainders whereof went to the Waiters and Attendants; for not only their dyet, but also that of Slaves and of the very Dogs, as *Plutarch* observes from the late mentioned Writer, was served up to the King's Table.

12. For propagation of the Royal Offspring it was permitted the Kings to have several, and those Legitimate Wives. *Darius* had two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Anissa* the Widow, *Ariston* whom he married a Virgin, *Parmys* the Niece of *Cyrus*, and the Daughter of *Oxanes* at one and the same time. With what magnificence they Celebrated their Nuptials, we may learn from the History of *Esther*; how not only that King appointed a Festival to be kept by the People, but entertained his *Persian* and *Median* Nobility for a month, and granted Remission of Tributes to the Provincials, that they might with more cheerfulness attend the solemnity. Thence also we may perceive, that they set Diadems on the heads of such of their Wives as they had the greatest affection for; as also that these Queens were gorgeously apparelled. And indeed we are told by *Cicero*, that their Husbands were wont to bestow on them Cities or Territories for furnishing them with Cloaths and Ornaments, so as the Revenues of one was for the attire of the Head, another for Necklaces, and others for other Trinkets which were most in fashion and of value in those Ages; inasmuch that the *Acers* prided themselves in bearing the Names of some of them: Particularly *Socrates* in *Plato's* Dialogue, which goes under the Name of *Alexbiades*, tells how he had it from one who went Ambassador to the *Persian* King, that he passed through a large and fertile Country, which extended well nigh a days Journey, and by the Inhabitants was called the *Queen's Girdle*. *Athenæus* also relates, that *Antylla* a City of *Aegypt*, not far distant from *Alexandria*, was by the Kings of that Country and those of *Persia*, appropriated to the purchase of their Wives Girdles. So rich were they in their Cloaths, Oyments, and other Accoutrements, that well might they seem to themselves too great to be cheap, and accompany with any Subjects. And indeed no Jealousie possessed their Husbands in this kind, so as they never doubted the Children they bore to be their own, nor so much as appointed them any Keepers to watch them, or any other Guardians of their Chastity than Love or Fear alone. But so much did the *Persian* Kings indulge their Carnal Appetites, that to several legitimate Wives they added Mistresses or Wenches, the number of which was limited only by their own Appetites. But how great it was, we may understand by

Sect. 5. what we find of *Artaxerxes*, that by his Wenches he had an hundred and fifteen Sons; and of *Darius* that three hundred and sixty furnished his Court, and followed him on his Expedition. Nay it was told of a *Surenas*, who was next in place to the King of *Parthia*, that even he had no fewer than two hundred following him in the Camp. Some write, that three hundred women daily attended in the *Persian* Court, and took their sleep in the day time, and passed all the night in fingering and Minstrelsy. But the King's Mistresses had a *Gynæceum* of their own, wherein they were separately kept and attended by Eunuchs, with all things conducing both to their Health and Cleanliness. By times the King took them to his Bed, and they followed him not only in Expeditions, but when he went out to hunt.

Their Eldest
Sons how edu-
cated.

13. Of such Children as they had by their legitimate Wives, they took especial care, and chiefly as to their Education. As soon as the eldest or Heir to the Kingdom was born, he was committed to the trust and oversight of the most eminent Eunuchs, who made it their business in the first place to order the swaddling and forming of his Limbs, that he might, if possible, become a most beautiful Person. When he was seven years old he learn'd to ride, and to teach him that skill, had the best Masters that could be found; and now by degrees he was taught to take delight in hunting. At fourteen he was delivered to those they termed *Royal Pedagogues*, four men the most wise, just, temperate and valiant persons that could be found in the Nation. Of these the first being most eminent for Prudence, taught him the Doctrine of the *Magi*, such as *Zoroaster* the Son of *Horomaze* taught, which showed the worship of their Gods. The second being of high esteem in Acts of Justice, studied to frame his mind to the love of Truth and Sincerity. The third, who was as remarkable for Temperance, endeavour'd to make him Lord and Commander over his Carnal Lusts and Appetites: And the fourth and last, having a great Name for his Fortitude, labour'd to render him void of all Fear and Cowardice. When he came to be King, he was awakened in the morning by one of his Bed-chamber, who bad him arise, and take order for such Affairs as *Mejromasdes* was pleas'd he should advise about; agreeable to which Custom was that particular Injunction of *Darius* after the burning of *Sardis*, that one of his Attendants at Dinner should three times say aloud, *Remember the Athenians*. Every day they gave their attendance at Sacrifices, for the performance of which, thousands of Oxen, Asses, and Deer sometimes fell in one day. But this was not to be done without the presence of the *Magi*, who as they assisted in the private Consultations relating to Civil matters, so especially in Religious Concernments: And some report, that as the Kings sacrific'd they made discourses concerning Piety, as they were wont to harangue concerning Valour, before their Armies engag'd in Fight.

How they tra-
velled.

14. Great Attendance and Ceremonies of State, they esteem'd necessary for preservation of Respect due to the Majesty of the Sovereign Power; and indeed upon this account *Fulian* the Emperor was blamed for turning the Eunuchs, Cooks, Barbers, and such like out of the Court upon the death of *Constantius*; Royal Authority being contemptible if there be no Pomp observ'd in the Palace. Out of the Court the King was never seen on Foot, but either mounted on Horseback or in his Chariot, or if he walk'd it was upon Tapestry: The Chariot was drawn by white Horses, bred in *Nisæum* a Region of *Media*, famous for a breed of extraordinary bigness. When he alighted he was not to step upon the ground, how near soever it was, nor to lean upon any of his Attendants, but to make his step upon a golden Footstool, with which one of his Servants ever followed and attended the Chariot. As they rode they were not to read or force their minds on any grave or serious matter, upon which and other accounts *Seneca* had reason to call them *Barbarous*, as not being cultivated by any sort of Literature. When they were to travel into *Media*, they were wont to make Proclamation three days before their setting forward, that the Inhabitants should kill all the Scorpions they could meet with, because that Country abounded with them, and such as dispatched many they were wont to reward; and they were oblig'd to make progresses into all their Provinces by virtue of an ancient custom founded upon the mutual interest both of themselves and their people; for the necessities of the Provincials the grievances and oppressions under which they labour'd, they could not so well understand in their own Court. By their presence in the several concerned places they might best compose the differences betwixt several Cities, restrain the turbulent humour of factious Persons by reason and good words, curb the Insolence and Rapacity of Magistrates and null all unjust Sentences and Decrees: In conclusion, lend their present and helping hand wherever it was wanting. Into such Provinces as they could not go themselves, they sent their Deputies to understand and report the true state of them:

Such

Such Governors as were found to have by their forecast and due Administration, benefited the Countries committed to their charge, they rewarded and promoted to higher places, and others who had ill managed their affairs, they punished and removed: For if the Fields were not well and duly tilled, Merchandise indolently followed, and mechanic Arts as diligently practis'd, Tributes could not be paid, nor money circulate throughout the Body politic, though it be necessary for the preservation of the whole, that it should do so. To make this more effectual, they had two sorts of ordinary Officers in the Country, viz. the *Governors of Forts and Garrisons*, who were to defend the Provincials from all force and violence; and the *Prefects of Cities*, who saw that all the Inhabitants thus protect'd, should follow their business, for the public security and advantage.

They are in
Judgment.

And had Roy-
al Judges.

15. The Kings of *Persia* were wont in Person to hear Causes, and sit in judgment upon Capital matters, wherein they us'd deliberation, giving no hasty Sentence, nor condemning any for one offence, except the misdemeanors of his life did over-balance his merits: But a Sentence of Condemnation once given by the King, could not be by the King be revoked; such Persons being apprehended by their *Girdles*, were instantly deliver'd to the Sergeants & Officers, and so led to Execution. If the King was angry with any, his face was cover'd, as we learn in the case of *Haman*. But from amongst the most knowing men of the whole Nation, were certain select Persons chosen, whom they call'd *The Royal Judges*, who had their places for life, and decid'd Controversies in all cases; held their Circuits about the Provinces, and attended upon the King in his Journeys. As it highly concern'd King and People that they should be just and not mercenary, so were they very severely punish'd when any corruption could be discover'd. The Story is commonly known of *Sifamnes*, whom for his guilt in this kind, *Cambyses* caus'd to be flea'd alive, and his Son to sit upon the Judgment-Seat cover'd with his Skin; and though *Ammianus* writes *Marcellinus* doubteth concerning the truth of it, yet little need there was he should do so, for besides this related by *Herodotus*, there is another, and more severe, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Tiribazus* a Governor, being by *Orontes* accus'd, for holding secret Intelligence with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Artaxerxes* refer'd the hearing of the matter to three Judges; whom finding afterwards to have been corrupted with money, he caus'd their Skins to be pulled over their Ears, and spread upon the Bench where he had appointed others to succeed them. As for fleeing alive, something like it is also related to have been practis'd by *Pyrhus* upon a *Tarentine*, for having a design to betray *Tarentum*, how having put him to death, he caus'd a Chair to be cover'd with Thongs made of his skin, and deliver'd it to *Milo*, to whom he committed the custody of the Castle, with the Garrison.

Seven in num-
ber.

How they re-
warded de-
erving Persons.

16. By the advice of these Judges who seem to have been seven in number, and to have been their Privy Counsellors, the Kings not only punish'd Offenders, but rewarded such as well deserv'd of the State; Commonwealth being preserv'd in a safe constitution both by Rewards and Punishments. They thought fit amongst others to reward such as begot many Children, but especially those from whom they had received some especial good or advantage, tending to the preservation of their Government or Persons, whom they term'd their *Benefactors*: To these they were wont to assign the next place to themselves, to honour them with a kils, to cloath them with a Vest of *Media*, as the *Greeks* then term'd that which afterward was call'd *Serica*, and to adorn them with a Chain of Gold, with golden Bracelets and a Scimitre; which Ornaments could be wore by none but such as the Kings design'd to honour, and took their Original from the *Medians* and *Babylonians*. But of all other Ornaments, those of gold belonging to Horses for Saddle or Chariot, were most esteem'd by the *Persians*; yet sometimes to their Friends they were wont to assign Lands and Territories for their maintenance: Nay it is said of *Themistocles*, that he received several Cities from *Artaxerxes*, particularly *Magnesia*, (out of which he rais'd a yearly Revenue of fifty Talents) to find him with Bread, Lampreys with wine, and *Myas* with other provisions for his Table, to which some add two others for his Cloaths and Bedding. Sometimes they would give the honour of Captain over an Army, which was reckon'd as an extraordinary favour; but the most noble Gift of all was that of a golden Mill, (as *Ctesias* writes) which among others was given by *Xerxes* to *Megabyzus*, by whose means he became Master of *Babylon*, and weigh'd six Talents. This was esteem'd the most noble gift, although that could not be but most acceptable which the Party himself did ask, for sometimes they gave their Favourites liberty to ask what they would, as appears by several examples. And this by the Laws he had liberty to do, who was nominat'd King by his Father or Ancestor yet living; yet the *Persian* Kings were wont

to

Sect. 5.

vide Valisii
Notas in An-
niam lib. 27. p.
260.

Quod remota
sola Patris
contemptibile
videtur legi-
timum.

Sect. 5. to be very munificent in their Largesses and Donatives to deserving Persons, without asking.

17. And especially to Foreign Embassadors sent to them upon occasion. *Ælian* reckons up the particulars with which they sometimes were presented, viz. *a Babylonian* Talent of the purest Silver, (a *Babylonian* Talent was in value seventy two *Attick* Mine) two Vials of silver, Bracelets, a Cymitre, and Chain of Gold each worth a thousand *Daricks*, besides a stole of *Media* otherwise called *Dorophorica* by the *Græcians*. When they gave their faith to them, they were wont to give them their right hands, which was a security inviolable, but their ordinary Oath was by the Sun, whom they thought the greatest Deity, and called by the name of *Mithras*. What time they could spare from publick businets, they usually spent in hunting, in which diversion, as Noble and most resembling War, they chose often to Exercise themselves: When they went to hunt they carried along with them one half of their Guards, and were accompanied with the Flower of the *Persian* Youth. For the following of their Game they kept such a multitude of *Indian* Dogs, that in the Plain of *Babylon*, four large Villages were assigned to maintain them, being freed from other Tributes. Not only in open Fields and Champions were they wont to hunt, but in those fenced places they called *Paradises*, did they persecute and kill poor Beasts, kept up as in so many Coops or Cages, which to destroy was no Mysteri. It was not lawful before the King had desisted, to let fly against any Beast, or to offer to Combat with him; which was so strictly required; that the story goes how when in this Exercise, *Artaxerxes* was set upon by a Lyon, and it was justly feared would be worsted by him; *Megabyzus* seeing him in danger, as the Beast raised himself upon his hinder Feet and became Rampant, prevented it by killing him; was condemned to lose his Head, because he dispatched him before the King had spent one dart upon him.

18. But to come to the subordinate Government, the Kingdom of *Persia* was divided into Provinces, which were governed by so many single Persons in Chief: The Provinces in their own Language they called *Satrapies*, and their Governors *Satrapæ*. How many they were is uncertain, the number being varied according to the pleasure of Princes as is most probable: Some Writers making mention of twenty, and others of above an hundred more than that number, in the Reigns of several of the Eastern Princes. And sometimes one and the same *Satrapæ* governed two or more Provinces, being by Latine Writers, when they would call them by Names of their own, termed *Pretors* and *Præfects*; although this ought not to be practised; for seldom are the employments of Officers the same in diverse Kingdoms or States. By the *Greek* Historians, when they also are of that humor, they are called *Eparchi*; the younger Sons of the Kings were wont to be employed in these Commands, which were noble and furnished with great Authority: For, to their care the Provinces were committed to provide for their Defence and universal Emolument; to raise the Tributes, pay the ordinary Magistrates their Salaries, and give their assistance in all Emergencies, of which they were to certify the King by Letters, or else by special Messengers. Upon occasion they were called to Consult with him about great affairs. They were much honoured by the Provincials, very well attended by young men of good quality at home, and when they went to hunt; and had a Noble Guard for their credit and protection. They had under them Secretaries Royal, who read the Kings Letters and dispatched other businets; they received allowances from the Publick, and it was not the manner or agreeable to the policy of the *Persians* to put them out of their Offices, so long as they well discharged them: But left their long continuance and great Power, which in honest men begets experience and opportunity to do good, should give them opportunity to oppress the people, or any way evilly to demean themselves; the Kings were accustomed yearly to send some of their chief Ministers into the Provinces, with full Authority to make inspection into their state and condition; to assist the *Satrapæ*'s if need should be; to restrain their violence and amend what was amiss themselves, or else to make report of what they found. The People were overjoyed at their coming, and as if the King himself came to bring them relief, called them his Sons, his Brothers, and his Eyes.

19. Besides the *Satrapæ* who governed single Provinces or more, there were other subordinate Officers, who presided some over particular Cities and their Towns; others had command in the Castles of the said Cities. For one and the same Person was not set over both the City and Cittadel of the same, but it was thought best policy to divide the Commands; so as one might be a spy upon the other, to such purposes as we have formerly declared. But when the *Satrapæ* came into the Province,

The Prefect of a City.

How their behaviour was inquired into.

The duty of the *Satrapæ*.

The Kingdom divided into *Satrapies*.

The *Phararchæ*.

Chiliarchæ.

Treasurers.

The Guard called *Immortals*.

Other *Satellites*.

Magistæ.

Suaves.

Several other Names of *Dignities*.

Dore-keepers and *Admirals*, with others generally Eunuchs.

it was his duty to oversee both, and as by his care of Artificers and Husbandmen, that they minded their Employments, and that Tributes were duly collected, to discharge the duty of the *Præfect* of the City, so by protecting them all to do what was incumbent on the *Phararchæ* or Commander of the Garrison. This *Phararchæ* was chosen by the King and displaced by his order alone, as was the *Chiliarchæ* who commanded Soldiers disposed and quartered alone in several Regions, for the safety of the Provinces, and bridling if need were the extravagant Power of the *Satrapæ*. Besides these, each Province had its *Treasurer* for receiving and keeping all the Royal Revenue belonging to it; which Treasure or Treasury in their Language they called *Gaza*. So great was the Income arising from Tributes, that accounts being cast up, fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Talents of *Eubææ* were yearly brought into the Kings Coffers, and *Fustini* speaks of a yearly product of three hundred thousand Talents in this way accruing unto *Alexander*. But over and above Tributes and Stipends, every Province contributed its share to the maintenance of the King and his Army; the *Satrapæ* of *Babylon* for four Months of the Year, and the rest of *Asia* for the remainder. The *Armenians* sent in Horses by way of Tribute; for, of this noble Creature besides what were for War, eight hundred were kept for Stallions, to serve sixteen thousand Mares; for, twenty Mares were kept for every Horse. What numbers of *Indian* Dogs were maintained for the Chace, we have already said.

20. Wherever the Kings went, they were attended and guarded by ten thousand *Persian* Horse called *Immortals*; because though the Persons miscarried, the number of them never died, to supply which, others were still chosen into the rooms of the deceased. They were adorned with golden Chaines, wore Vests imbroided with Gold, and Sleeves to their Coats sparkling with Gemms, being chosen out of the best of the Nation, and that Nation alone. Of these there were a thousand select Persons, who for that they had golden Aples fixed to their Lances, were by the *Greeks* both called *Doryphori* and *Melophori*, the Name and Service of which *Alexander* kept up after the overthrow of *Darius*. With a great number of *Satellites* besides these, were the Kings protected either in Battle or in their Palace, chosen also from amongst the most faithful of the *Persian* Nation, till *Darius* the last King broke the Custom. And these had their *Præfect* or peculiar Captain, and one of them followed the Kings Chariot with the golden Footstool lately mentioned; neither received they any pay, but had allowances, for their maintenance, of necessary Provisions and the Meat which came from the King's Table. Of the *Doryphori*, there were some which being next the Kings Person in the greatest trust and dangers, were called his *Kinsmen*, honoured with the liberty of kissing him, and a Feast, to which no stranger was admitted. Besides there were another sort who being called *Homatimi* from their being equal in honour, watched before the Gates of the Palace, till, by the Kings order they were dismissed; although all the *Persian* Noblemen were wont also, as we said, to give their Attendance at the Gate.

21. By a general Name, the Nobles or principal Courtiers of *Persia* were called *Megistænæ*, which is to be met with in Writers as well Sacred as Profane. But amongst the *Partho-Persians*, the chief in dignity next to the King had the Title of *Surenas*, for that a Title it was, *Plutarch*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Zozimus* assure us, and not a proper Name of a Man. He it was that put the Diadem about the Kings Head. Besides this we meet with several other Names of Dignity, and may sooner meet with them than understand them. *Ammianus* mentions the *Pitaxæ* which its uncertain whether it was appropriate to the King or the Title of a Subject. *Procopius* writes of the *Chanarragan* as being a *Magister Militum* or Dux of a Limit. He mentions the *Ovarizes*, but tells not what he was, and makes the *Mirranes* whom *Ammianus* calls *Merenes* of the same Office as the *Chanarragan*. Others will have *Cardarian* to be the name of Dignity amongst the *Persians*, to whom they say it was ordinary to take Names from Dignities, and receive those that were given them by their Parents. As also that the *Darigmedus* was of highest esteem, and to be compared with the *Choropolates* at *Constantinople*. They also tell us that the *Pherochams* enjoyed the same with the *Magisterian* Dignity in the Emperors Court; and others say that *Zieb* was a Name of greatest Dignity amongst the *Persians*. Although none seems to found higher than *Surenas*, which signifies our Lord. But of these let such as are skilled in the *Persian* Language confider.

22. But in or near to the Kings Person, besides the Guard that watched at the Gate, were the *Dore-keepers* who forbade passage to all intruders, and next them these

Sect. 5.

Vide *notis* in *Ammianus Marcellinus* lib. 23 p. 250.

See *Darius* in *lib. 1.*

Sect. 2.

Scribes who wrote Edicts.

these we may call *Admissionales* who stood at the Door to carry all Messages in unto him, and to return Answers. These most commonly were Eunuchs, as were also their Chamberlains, or those of the Bedchamber and their Cupbearers; for such *Cyrus* thought fittest to be trusted nearest to his Person, though so great were the Insulences and Abuses committed too often by them, that they were abominated by some Princes in after times. But in the *Persian* Court Eunuchs waited also on the Queens, and had custody of the rest of the Kings Women. But for matters of State they had their Secretaries attending, which by the Eastern Nations were called *Scribes*; we mean by Names answering to the signification of this, who wrote their Letters, Edicts and Decrees. Their Edicts and Rescripts ordinarily began thus; *The King saith, or the King saith thus*; and they were sealed with his Ring. But what Character the Ring had engraven is uncertain. Some have said the Kings own Image; others the Image of *Cyrus* the first King of the *Persians*, and others the Image of *Darius* his Horse, which by neighing procured him the Kingdom. The Edicts were sent by Messengers throughout the Provinces, but kept in Memorials, and registered in the *Archives* of the Kingdom. For besides two places of Record, or two Treasuries as they termed them, in one of which Books belonging to Science were kept, and in the other Papers relating to Accounts and the publick Revenue, there were other Paper Offices wherein were preserved for the use of Posterity, Chronicles or Commentaries of whatsoever happened of any Importance, which others might consult upon occasion, and the Kings themselves sometimes would have read unto them, as we find in the History of *Mordecai* the Jew.

Physicians.

23. The Kings, however Barbarous, had the most learned men in the art of Physick, that the neighbouring Nations could afford, to attend them, whom according to the Laws of the *Roman* Emperors, we may term *Archiatři*. Such they had out of the *Egyptian* Nation, and *Darius* would have put some of them to death for being unskillful as to his particular case, but they were pardoned at the Intercession of *Democedes* a *Greek* Physician of *Crotone*, who did the Cure. Of *Greek* Physicians who then were more learned than any other, its to be presumed they wanted not some. For, *Ctesias* who served in the Army of *Cyrus* the younger, being taken prisoner became Physician to *Artaxerxes*; and from the Epistles of great *Hippocrates* it appears that he was very much courted to come and live with the same Monarch. These Monarchs had also some at hand who should tell them the time of the Night or Day. They had such as bore up their Train. And when they rode, they had a number of Servants who carried Scepters before them. And if we should mention all the Officers belonging to them, and relating to the more private or ordinary services of their Courts, to their Patrimony, or *Res privata*, as the later *Romans* called it; if we should discourse of the Officer appointed to relieve Strangers, of the Curators of their publick buildings, and of such as had the charge of Horses and of Dogges, we might possibly seem to be too tedious if not impertinent. Of the *Curfus publicus*, we cannot be silent, instituted as is reported by *Cyrus* the great, who observing how far one Horse would run in one day, appointed certain Stages and Mansions for changing of Men and Horses, and delivering of Letters or other things given in charge from one Post to another. This was called *Angaron* and *Angaron*, and the Men themselves *Angari* and *Astande*. If what *Plutarch* writes concerning *Darius* the last King of *Persia* be true, that when he lived a private life, he was one of the Kings *Astande*, it was no vile or mean Employment.

A Poyson they used when resolved to dye.

24. Such were the Kings of *Persia*, and so they lived or desired to live; if they could not, they made provision for the most speedie and easiest Death. They were provided of a Poyson made of the Excrements and inwards of a little *Indian* Bird called *Dicaeetus*, of which whosoever took a very little quantity in a draught of Drink, expired shortly after without any Pain or Torment. This Poyson being given them by the Kings of *India*, was esteemed as a very choice and extraordinary Present, and being kept if need should be, for the use of the King and his Mother, it was not lawful for any other *Persian* to have it. Being dead, their Funerals were celebrated with all magnificence, and the Sacred Fire as they accounted it, was then put out. Their *Mausoleum* or place of Interment, some say was at *Persepolis*, although *Cyrus* was buried at *Pasargade*, where his sepulcher was kept by *Magi*, who for their maintenance had a Sheep every Day, and an Horse every Month allowed them. And *Josephus* makes mention of a Tower built at *Ecbatane* by *Daniel*, when he flourished in the favour of *Darius*, which continued to his time, and remained so fresh that it seemed to the beholder to have been finish-

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Sect. 5.

ed but that day. In this Tower, he saith, the Kings of the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Parthians* were wont to be buried, which custom continued to his very time; and that the custody of the said Tower was intrusted with a Priest of the Jewish Nation. Their Monuments were wont to have Epitaphs inscribed upon them, and particularly those of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, both the one and the other are related: But this was no new thing in the East, if the Epitaphs of *Ninus* and *Sardanapalus* be not counterfeited, as we have no reason to believe they were.

25. From the Kings of the *Persians*, it's fit we pass to speak something of the manner of their Government, of their Rites and Customs; and how their Religion ought to be considered in the first place; but that it must be referred to one more proper. As for their civil Rites and Customs, they are reported to have been founded upon excellent Laws and Constitutions, and such as excelled all others in this respect, that they tended to the prevention of Punishments, by preventing of the Crimes themselves. In other Kingdoms and States we find very wholesome Ordinances indeed for prevention, but still it is of the like for the time to come, and ill manners have produced good Laws; or if they have been made by Legislators antecedent to a Society or Common-wealth; yet though not in practice they have been, yet in Theory they have supposed the Commission of those mischiefs they endeavoured to redress. But the *Persians* chose rather to fo intrust Children and so to principle their Youth, that they should abhor Theft, Rapine, Murther, Adultery and the like, by a good Education; and that smart of the Rod might prevent Execution and chocking by the Halter. They left not Children in the hands and power of Parents to dispose of them as should suit their humor; neither when come to ripeness of Age, permitted them to live as they listed, but by a sort of breeding in a publick *Forum* and other rules, fo endeavoured to mould and frame the Spirits of all free-born men, that there should be no need of Terror arising from pains of death. This institution and these Rules are laid down by *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*, or his Books concerning the Institution of *Cyrus* the elder. Indeed these Books, *Cicero* was of opinion to have been written, not so much by any true Historical Account, to make an impartial Relation concerning *Cyrus* his breeding, as in way of a Romance to give an Image and Representation of a just and perfect Government. But as for what concerns the Rites and manners of the *Persians*, he himself professeth, as *Brissotius* urgeth, that he feigneth nothing; and not once affirms, that such Ordinances as were made by *Cyrus*, were observed to his own time: Now, an Eye Witness, and one who had himself travelled through so many Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, who dare adventure to suspect? Besides many things written by him are attested by *Herodotus* and others. This plea of *Brissotius* may at least prevail for a suspension of our misbelief.

The liberal Forum.

26. However it will not be amiss to say in short, from this information of *Xenophon*, that for the education of Youth in learning and good manners, the *Persians* had a publick School or liberal *Forum*, as it was termed. Here were the Tribunals or Courts of Justice, and places where Wife Men fate both to teach and execute Laws: The *Forum* was distinguished, as it were, into four Classes or parts; whereof one was of Boys, or such as were under seventeen years old; the second of young men under twenty eight; the third of full grown men under fifty from the former term; and the fourth was the Class of Old Age. All sorts met in their several Apartments, and the young men, except married, there lay and took their Reflections, and shewed themselves before the Magistrats with their weapons fit for the Exercises they underwent. The people being divided into twelve Tribes, so many men were set as Governors over each Class; and most care being had of the two former, most choice Persons were appointed from amongst the Seigniors to instruct them. *Strabo* writes, that Boys came not into the sight of their Fathers till four years old, which Age *Herodotus* extends to five and *Valerius Maximus* to seven years; adding this reason, that so their Parents might more patiently bear the loss of them, if they chanced to dye within that time. From five years to twenty, as *Herodotus*, or as *Strabo* saith to twenty five, they especially instructed them to speak truth, a lye being esteemed as a servile vice, and most opprobrious of all others, by that Nation. And what was highly suitable with veracity, in the next place they were taught to be just in all their ways, and give to every man his own.

That of Bog's.

27. That this they might the more readily do by examples before their eyes, as *Augustus* at *Rome* permitted the Sons of Senators to be present in the Court, to teach them the way of Government; so the *Persian* Youth was admitted to hear Causes and Decisions; although afterwards *Xenophon* confesses and bewails, that from their hearing of such cases, they learn'd to practise more Injuries and Violence

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Sect. 5.

The good Examples their Masters gave them.

Their way of Instruction by Fables.

Next to lying, a fault to be in debt.

Ingratitude.

Disobedience to Parents.

Sons were in the Dominion of their Fathers.

Education of young Noblemen.

than Justice and Equity, as Vice and Luxury brake in and ushered in the downfall of their Empire. And as amongst Boys themselves and young Men, differences continually arise, either for things stolen, reproachful words, or upon some other occasions; their Masters were wont to spend time in examining these complaints, and to punish the Offenders, whether such as falsely accused, or were proved guilty; and thereby shewed them how to become Judges when their time should come. But as without Sobriety and Temperance, which curb and restrain immoderate Appetites, no virtue can exert it self, and these things are taught more by example than Precepts; their Masters by their spare manner of living and exemplary continency, shewed them the way, and gave them incentives to a sober life; and before them they took their victuals, not with their Mothers, and not till the signal was given, their meat being bread, their sauce *Nasurtium*, and their drink water taken from the nearest River. By this course of Diet and Abstinence they enjoyed health; and exercise being joined to it, their Bodies became so dry and solid, that they seldom spate or had occasion to wipe their Noses: And we cannot let pass what *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates concerning the dead Bodies of the *Persians* that were killed at the Siege of *Amida*, how they could easily be distinguished as they lay, and known whose they were by reason of their dryness, when those of the slain *Romans* speedily putrefied, and could not be discerned after two days.

28. Their manner and course of Instruction was this, besides the good example their Masters gave them in submitting themselves to the dictates of the Seniors. In Tables and pleasant Tales they involved wholesome hints and documents for framing of the lives and manners of their Scholars. They taught them Songs wherein were extolled the praises of their Gods, and great and laudable Actions of their Ancestors; they instructed them in the nature and virtue of Plants, that as occasion should serve they might shun the hurtful, and furnish themselves with Remedies against distempers, and preserve their health by proper applications. But the thing which they endeavoured to make odious to them next to lying, as the most heinous thing the Nation abhorred, was being in debt: They esteemed a man in debt no better than a Liar, as by it so made *ipso facto*, considering what excuses, evasions, denials, and perfidious Answers such do make, and that they conceal their Persons as well as their Intentions. But this is a misfortune rather than a fault, and a burden to which ingenious Spirits are constrained often to submit; that is rather a crime, willfully to make deserving Persons unfortunate. Therefore nothing more did they abhor than that black and ugly Vice of Ingratitude, as indeed containing in it self all other Vices; inasmuch that by their Laws and customs an action lay against that man who being unmindful of a benefit received would not make a return when it lay in his power. *Ammianus* saith that their Laws made against Ingratitude, in severity exceeded all others; as that those were also severe which were made against defectors, than whom few were more odious amongst the *Persians*.

29. Those ever excepted who were disobedient to Parents, for whom that Nation had such Reverence, that it was counted worse than ill breeding to sit down in presence of their Mothers, except they had their permission so to do. And they gloried in this of old, that amongst them none was found to have laid violent hands upon them; for if ever any thing like to this happened, upon diligent inquisition it was found that the wickedness had been committed by some supposititious or adulterous brood; neither could they once believe that any but a spiritous off-spring would attempt such a crime, it being contrary to Nature for a true Parent to be murdered by a legitimate Issue. The Piety indeed of *Ataxerxes Mnemon* is very remarkable which he shewed toward his Mother, though she had procured the death of his dearly beloved Wife. It's evident from *Aristotle* that Sons were under the Dominion and Power of their Fathers, and this Power in the opinion of the Philosopher was Tyrannical; for they used them, he saith, like Slaves. Such, during the Infancy and Youth of the Common-wealth, was that of Sons at *Rome*, who differed little in their condition from Slaves, their Fathers having power of life and death over them as well as the other. In conclusion as to vices, *Herodotus*, and not only he, informs us, that such things as were unlawful to be done, were also unlawful to be spoken.

30. But farther as to the Education of Youth, the Sons of Noblemen were educated while Boys, in the City at the entrance into the King's Palace, and in the Provinces at the Gates of the *Satrapæ* where they learn'd Lessons of Temperance and Continency, and were Spectators of Punishments executed upon ill Livers. As to Exercise, they were taught from five to twenty, or five and twenty, to shoot in the Bow, to Ride and manage an Horse, and cast Darts; and this Exercise continued innum-

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Sect. 5.

The practice of men.

Of those of fifty.

Other Customs.

After the dissolution of their Discipline.

bent upon the *Ephēbi*, or young men, to fit them the better for War: And a certain War was Hunting esteemed, wherein these young men were exercised together with their King, who usually led out half of them into the Field, and left the other half to watch about the Palace; for the Boys went home from the *Forum* every Night, but they lay in their Apartment Night and Day to insure them to Temperance, and to have them ready against any violence or other necessity which might require their help. Besides this, they were used to Run fifty in a Company, a course of thirty or forty Furlongs, one of the Kings Sons, or some Son of one of the *Satrapæ* being Captain of the Company: And Dancing also they practised after their own Country manner, the better to obtain a Command of their Limbs. Being thus employed and rendered fit for service, the Magistrates made use of them for apprehending Thieves and other Malefactors, and doing other business wherein Diligence and Agility were required.

31. When arrived at Mans estate or ripeness of Age, they assisted the Magistrates (chosen out of their own *Classe*) if need was, with their Council and Advice, or went to the Wars where now they fought not like *velites* or with missile weapons, but hand to hand, having on a Breast-plate of Brass, bearing in the Right Hand a Basket Target, and in the Left a Sword, as a *Persian* in Armour was wont to be painted. When arrived at Fifty they were reckoned amongst the Seniors, and by benefit of their Age obtained mission from warfare, and were not compelled to pass in service out of their own Country, but staying at home attended the deciding of publick and private Causes, for not only did they hear matters relating to Money and Estates, but publick Officers and others were accused before and sentenced by them; it being lawful to any of the People to accuse. As they sentenced and deposed, the creation of Magistrates belonged also to them, and to them alone Offices of Magistracy and afterward the honour of Seniority to such as had passed through the publick Discipline. Such had, when Boys, been educated in the *Forum* as we have said, and thence passed into the *Classe* of the *Ephēbi*, and after that into the other of perfect Manhood; for it must not be imagined that in what we have said of the *Persian* Institution and breeding up in these Classes, all *Persians* were indifferently concerned; it was only their Children who had wealth or Estates to be at the expence, and could maintain their Sons in the publick Schools of Justice. But if such Sons were so educated and born Subjects of the King, they were admitted of what Nation soever, *Hyrcanians* as well as *Persians* or *Medes*.

32. As to their more general Customs and demeanour, Laughter was by them very unseemly, especially when vehement and extraordinary or in publick, neither was it decent to be seen to make water or evacuate, but this was done secretly and at home. Neither were they wont to do these things or to eat and drink in Journeys, but these Journeys *Xenophon* confesseth, in his days were wont to be so short, that there was no great need of any Refection. And who considers their sort of Diet will not wonder that they had little temptation to eat, or occasion to evacuate; for besides Bread they ordinarily eat nothing but *Nasurtium*, except a Cake made of Flour with water and some Oil, and besides they made use of Salt and *Cardamom*. But this sort of Diet we may believe to have been in fashion in old times, in the days of *Cyrus*, when the *Persians* lived with great labour and parsimony by reason of poverty and the barrenness of the Soil they inhabited. Afterwards when the *Median* and *Lybian* Triumphs gave them a taste of foreign delicacies, they fell like those they conquered into excess and riot: Now ordinary food would not content them. Wine now must discharge the duty of Water and that to temperance, from the ill example of their Kings. We have seen how guilty *Cambyses* was of this crime, but *Xenophon* especially dates the decay of the ancient Discipline from *Ataxerxes*, and those about him their giving up themselves to intemperance in this kind. But from the History of *Elther* it's apparent that in the days of *Artaxerxes*, they were arrived at that extravagancy as to compel one another to drink, else what reason could he have to prohibit this practice? when hot with drink they would also have women introduced.

33. Yet *Herodotus* writes that in their Cups they were wont to Consult about as high as State Affairs, but if they debated any thing at Table, they were wont the next Day when more sober to consider of it, and then to confirm or reject their former Opinions: though they would also call to the Test when drinking, what-
out of their Wine they had considered, whether matters of War or others, and some say their drunken Councils they most approved. After the dissolution of the ancient Discipline, not only the Kings but Nobility, and all the People according to their Wealth loved to fare after the most delicious sort. Especially on

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Sec. 5. their Birth days whereon some would kill and Roast whole Oxen, Camels, Horses or Affes, and others according to their Ability lesser Animals. But by the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus* it appears that the Nation was returned to Frugality again. *Herodotus* writes that in his Days they used sweet Meats, or second Courses, but he relates that they shunned Curiosity and Luxury of Feasts as a Plague, and especially greediness of Drinking. Neither, the Kings Meals being excepted, had they any set or appointed Hour of Dining, but every mans Belly was his Clock or Dial, and when it called upon him he eat what came to Hand; neither after he had enough did any throw in any superfluous Meats. Extraordinarily Cautious they were; so that passing through the Gardens or Vineyards of their Enemies, they neither desired nor touched any thing therein, for fear of Poyson or some sort of Treachery. Besides what *Justin* long before had written concerning the *Parthians* being sparing in Diet, *Procopius* adds concerning the *Persians* that therein they were hard and singular. And he interprets what *Xenophon* writes that their custom was to eat but once a Day; that it was towards Evening.

Their sumptuous Feasts.

34. However before reduced to their temperate way of Life, or when they pursued to be sumptuous in their Entertainment, they had beautiful Boys to wait at Table; they used Ointments, Garlands and Perfumes. The Attendants were not to speak one word, nor so much as gape or spit, it being indeed a custome amongst them, for all to keep silence at the Table, except he that sung a merry Song, which should be as a condiment to their Meat. They wanted no Bakers, Confectioners, Cooks, nor Butlers upon occasion; nay they had Artificers who made it their Trade to finde out Allurements of the Belly. Cupboards and Tables they had fit forth and adorned with all sorts of Cups and drinking Vessels of great value and rarity. When *Paulinus* had defeated *Mardonius* and was become master of his Baggage, seeing all his Furniture, in Vessels and Tapestry of Gold and Silver, he commanded his Cooks and other Officers to prepare him a Supper after the same manner as *Mardonius* his Custome was to be served. They diligently obeyed his Orders, to the admiration of *Paulinus* who was amazed to behold the golden and silver Bedds, the rich Furniture and the whole preparation. That they were wont to take their Repasts upon such Bedds covered with costly Carpets is otherwise evident, and as curious they were in their Bedds whereon they slept, for which they had their peculiar Bedmakers, in the mystery of whom the *Greeks* were no whit skilled; so that when their King made Presents of those Bedds to them of that Nation, they presented also the Bedmakers with them. Their Beds were not only furnished with costly Curtains, but their Rooms hung with curious Hangings of Purple and other Colours, drawn with Images as our modern sort of Tapestry. These Hangings the *Greeks* called *Aulæ*, and the *Romans* from them; but because many such were found in the Palace of *Artalus* King of *Asia* who made the People of *Rome* his Heire, they imagined them so named from his *Aula* or Court. Indeed *Artalus*, as *Pliny* writes, first mixed Gold with them, and thence such golden Tapestry might well be called *Artalica*. But the *Babylonians* invented the variety of Colours interwoven, and their City to that sort gave a Name. The *Phrygians* first wrought that kind with a Needle, which received the name of *Phrygionæ*. And those that were woven with many *Licia* called *Polymitæ* were wrought at *Alexandria*. In conclusion the *Persians* used Carpets not only for hangings on their Wall; but to tread on upon their Floors. Of Ointments they had good store, especially in their Baths, where they had Slaves to attend them, as also to carry them on their Shoulders, and what not; being as *Ammianus* describes them crafty both in Prosperity and Adversity, Proud, Cruel, and exercising the power of Life and Death both over their Slaves and obscure *Plebeians*. But one thing they frequently made use of, which afforded no pleasant smell, and that was Garlick wherewith they even filled their Kitchens, thinking that thereby Serpents and other venomous things were driven away. When the Table was uncovered, what remained was by the Server distributed amongst the Slaves and Attendants who were to live upon it as long as it could last.

Promiscuous Lust.

36. Polygamy the *Persians* very antiently used, but then its thought rather out of design to propagate a numerous People, than for Lust; for they esteemed the strength of a Nation to consist in its being populous, and their Kings were wont with Gifts to support such as had begot many Children. But afterwards as Luxury broke in upon them, for their Lust they took many Women, and those under the notion both of Wives and Concubines, even so many as they had Wealth to maintain. And though they did not as *Ammianus* tells us, make use of Boyes, yet was there no natural shame amongst them, but they would marry or live with their own

own Mothers and Sisters. And that they might lawfully fo do with their Mothers, was the opinion of their *Magi*, though *Alexander* when he had conquered them removed this incestuous course, allowing them well to reverence but not marry their Mothers. The custom of marrying their Sisters it's said they received from the *Affrians*, and however that of Mothers was forbidden by *Alexander*, yet this of Sisters was propagated even to the *Macedonian* Race of *Ptolemies* in *Egypt*, where it continued the ordinary practice of these Kings to marry their Sisters, and to receive the Kingdom with them by the appointment of their Fathers. But however *Alexander* carried himself in this matter, *Agathias* complains of the *Persians* of his time, (after that of *Justinian*) not only for lying with their own Mothers, Cousins, and Sisters, but with their own daughters also: The ordinary time of marrying was at the vernal Equinoctial; before the Bridegroom went to bed, he eat an Apple or some marrow of a Camel, neither did he taste any other food on his wedding day.

Their Weddings.

37. Though they were pleased with Polygamy and a multitude of Wenches, yet were they given to Jealousie over both, and nothing did they punish more than Adultery; yet also were they antiently given to Boys, if *Herodotus* be to be credited; however *Ammianus* acquits them of that Vice: Nay it's said that Gelding of Boys proceeded from them as also the Name of *Spadomes* from *Spada* a Village where Castration first began; though some also fetch this Extravagance from the *Affrians* and *Medians*; *Ammianus* writing that *Semiramis* first offered this violence and injury to Males. To the custody of these Eunuchs they committed not only their Wives and Concubines, but also their Male Children. That they might omit nothing of pleasure they were also delighted with Musick; and the better to consult their ease they rarely went afoot, but either rode on Horseback or in Chariots. Riding, yet by their Ancestors as one of their principal Exercises for War, was used not for laziness, but to facilitate great and honourable Achievements; but they turned it into so great a sort of Luxury, that they burdened the Beasts they rode on with Saddles and Trappings, laying more Tapestry upon them than on their beds, though they also were furnished so as best to conduce to the pleasure of soft & delicate lying. Moreover the women were carried up and down in Litters, and a sort of Chariot they called *Armææ* wont to be drawn by Mules; but so close shut up as not to be seen. These also were adorn'd with costly Carpets and Tapestry, and adorn'd with Gold or Silver: For the middle sort of *Persians* flowing with Luxury, their wealth consisted rather in costly Furniture than in money; they gloried in Gold and Silver Vessels, and if any was in disgrace with the King, he was to be served in Earthen ware. In imitation of the Royal *Paradise* they diligently planted and cultivated their Gardens, set with Trees both of Fruit and pleasant shade, not only in rows and Walks, but Groves and Wildernesses for the Summer season. That they planted Vineyards is also believed, and at first they were generally Artificers and given unto manual labour; but as Luxury crept in, Artificers began to be despised, when they had applied themselves (or the better sort of them) to the practice of Arms. Yet notwithstanding were not such Arts as were necessary for subsistence and pleasure laid down and utterly neglected, for that both Husbandry and Handycraft Trades should diligently be exercised, it was the work of Presidents of Provinces accurately to see, as also Governors of Cities and Castles.

Gardens.

38. The *Persians* when they met were not wont in words to salute one another, but in room of that they kissed, and if they were of equal degree they kissed the Mouth, if of unequal he who was chiefest in dignity offered his Cheek to be kissed by the other: Indeed if one of meanest condition had occasion to accost a Person of Quality, he fell down and did him reverence. But none they esteemed so much as their Neighbours, and by the distance from themselves they measured all the goodness of the Inhabitants of the Earth, valuing their next Neighbours most, and those least who were most removed from them: And yet they abominated all Leprous and scabby Persons, suffering them not to abide in their Cities, though they might have an Eagles Nose as they lay *Cyrus* had, whom they prized above all Mortals. All *Persians* wore a *Tiara*, and when they would salute to purpose, they would take that Cap from their Heads, in reverence of the Persons whom they saluted: They used a loose and large Vest reaching to their Ankles, and taken from the *Medes*, the stole of whom was usually of that called *Sericum*. They wore also an inward Tunic which they called *Candys*, and hanging down from their Shoulders had sleeves to it; and was, as they pleased, of divers colours. To keep them yet more warm, they had another sort of Garment called *Cannæes*: they wore not only Sleeves but

Their Cloaths.

Mittens

Ammian. lib. 3. p. 260. Edit. vulgatae.

Aulæ or Hangings.

Sect. 5.

The sorts of their Capital Punishments.

Lesser Centures.

Punishment of High Treason.

Their Coin.

Their Burials.

Of old they were very warlike.

Mittens or Gloves; and besides something to cover their nakedness, had their *Bracca* to defend their Thighs from cold, at first made of plain and simple skins, afterward painted to all degrees of Luxury. The women wore large and laced Girdles, and the Nation had a sort of Shoe peculiar to it self, elegant enough in the times of Luxury; though at first, as in all other things, ill accounted in this particular: They delighted to appear gay in their Necklaces of Pearl, their Bracelets and Chains of Gold adorned with precious stones. As this custom they took from the *Medians*, so of the *Lydiens* they learn'd to bore their Ears, and thereat to hang Gems and other things then in fashion, as the *Lybians* also were wont to do. They not only loved to have their hair long, but to Nature added Art, wearing Periwigs or adventitious hair, which they also learn'd of the *Medes*, as they did to paint their faces and to colour their Eyebrows. In case of mourning they rent their hair from their heads, and tore their Clothes; nay we read that they would also cause their Horses and Cattel to be like them by making bare their hides. They also had their proper mourning weeds, and yet their women esteemed it the most contemptuous thing imaginable, to put their hands to the dressing, spinning, or ordering of Wool.

39. Of their Tribunals and form of Judicature, we have already spoken. If the sentence given against a Malefactor was Capital, it was executed either by Beheading, Crucifying, Burning, Burying alive, Fleaing, or Stoning. Beheading was a favour indulged to the Nobler sort, but it was not done with an Axe after the fashion of the *Romans* and the *English*, nor with a Sword as most Nations of *Europe* practice, but with a Razor or a Knife as the *Spaniards* cut the Throats of their Nobility with a crooked Instrument; and together with the Head the Right Hand was also cut off and sometimes fixed to a Gibbet. They were wont also to Nail even Great Men to Crosses, though sometimes not till after their Heads were off; and this sort of punishment *Alexander*, after his Conquest, inflicted upon several *Satrapæ* themselves. Such as they flea'd alive they sometimes cast to the Dogs, and making bottles of their Skins hung them up high. There were yet other sorts of Punishments which we have related in the History of *Persia*, as the flattening of the Heads of Prisoners between two Stones; and the device of the Boat, and forcing the Party to eat honey and milk by pricking the Eyes with Needles, as the Reader may remember. But these Punishments were inflicted for those they esteemed the most grievous offences. For still lighter crimes they had lighter censures, as Exile, Mutilation of Members, as of Nose, Ears, Hands, or Feet, which they too ordinarily executed upon their *Greek* and *Roman* Prisoners, and branded them in the Body: Sometimes they digged out the eyes of noxious Persons, and so Princes were wont to serve their Competitors. Besides, some they noted with Infamy, as by taking from them the trimming of their hair which they esteemed as the greatest Ornament: Of others they confiscated the Estates; and for a perfect discovery they were wont to examine guilty persons by torture.

40. But the greatest punishment of all was that which being inflicted for the highest offence, extended to the greatest latitude of Persons. This was, when for high Treason committed against the Prince, all the Kindred or Relations suffered together with the Malefactor. This the *Persian* Kings practised though so severe, and yet some of them, particularly *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, was so full of humanity that as *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, when delinquents were to be punished, in room of their heads he would cause their *Tiare* to be cut off, and instead of their Ears the strings that hung down from their Caps upon them. The greatest affront they esteemed it to be termed more cowardly and lazy than a woman, and the greatest indignity to be forced to ride on the bare back of an Ass. They were to be commended for this, that their faith they usually kept inviolable. So respectful were they to their Kings, that they strowed Flowers and Garlands in the ways where they were to pass, as they did also upon occasion of publick rejoicing. Their ordinary Coin was called *Staters*: one sort was stamped with the Image of *Darius*, and thence the pieces had the name, of *Daricks*, though some also with that of an Archer, according to the jest of *Agesilaus*, when he departed home out of *Asia*. These were probably of Gold; but in after times the *Persian* Kings only coined Silver money. In conclusion, they celebrated their Funerals with great pomp, burying them usually in the Earth, though in latter Ages they and the adjoining Nations suffered the dead to be devoured by Birds and Beasts, and such as these ravenous Creatures did not soon eat up, they accounted accursed.

41. We cannot dismiss the *Persians* without considering something concerning their Wars, without which they would have afforded little whereby to entice themselves to a share in this work. However they were degenerated toward the latter end

Sect. 5.

De Alanis lo-
quenti addit pau-
latimque Natio-
nes custodientes
ordinatæ militi-
æ armatæ
ad gentilitatem
sed videretur in-
venire ad Persi-
am. p. 437.

unde e-
stian Persæ qui
sunt origines
Scythæ pagen-
di sunt purissi-
mæ. p. 439.
Vide. Et place-
t Notes Puleji in
locum qui per
Prosp. Ammian-
um continetur
Parthos inter-
fisse ad septem
centos heros.

Mirmillones
cum ad vestes re-
tinebantur in ar-
matâ pugnabant ob-
longo fuso tegu-
mento ac gressu
flexibili & celeritate
locuti.

end of their domination, yet were they formerly very considerable for the discipline and Arts of War; and to be excellent therein, they seem'd to bend their greatest endeavours. For that cause, when young, they learn'd and practis'd Riding, Shooting, and casting Darts, and Hunting, which they esteem'd as more than a resemblance of a Battle. All the hardships they underwent, they bore with more patience, because firing them for the inconveniences of a Field, having learn'd this prudence and diligence in *Scythia*; as *Ammianus* tells us that originally *Scythians* they were, and thereby became most expert in fighting, but by degrees they conquer'd their Neighbouring Nations, and brought them under their own Name. As if they had still own'd their Original out of the North, whilst Discipline still continued amongst them, they learn'd to Swim, and also to endure both cold and heat. In times of peace and greatest security they never went without their Swords, not at Feasts and Solemnities, which was of old the custom of the *Greeks* also, till the *Athenians* first broke it off, and the *Romans* did not approve it. As soon as they were able to bear Arms, they were lifted in the Troops: From twenty years they serv'd till fifty, and then, as we said, obtained an honourable mission; but before that time the Kings took it ill, if any desired to be excused when they were going on an expedition, as *Darius* and *Xerxes* made it appear by sad examples.

42. Wars we know are undertaken, either to defend our selves at our own homes or doors, or to invade those we call our Enemies. For their better defence and to hinder the impression of Foreign Nations, their Kings had their Captains, *Satrapæ*, and Ministers, dispos'd in all places; they had their Scouts both by day and by night, and their Beacons, which being fired successively, from all the high places of the Kingdom, in one day signified what it concerned them to know. When any Army was to be rais'd, Orders were given out to some *Satrapæ* for this purpose. Their Soldiers they call'd in their own Language *Cardaces*, as some say from a Country, others from *Cardæ* signifying a Lor. *Herodian* writes, that in his time they us'd no mercenary Soldier, neither held their Armies in any constant Camp, but that all the multitudes of the People, and sometimes of women too, were gathered together by the King's Command, which when the War was over, was again dismissed home without any other pay, wages or emolument, than what they had got by booty or plunder. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* observes in his days, that for their Military Methods, Discipline and Exercises, or Trainings, they were to be feared even by the greatest Armies; trusting in the valour of their Horse, where in all the Nobility and the splendor of the Nation was concerned. As for the Foot, they being cover'd with their Targets like so many *Mirmillones* or Sword-players, obeyed orders rather like so many Scullions or the vilest sort of men; and always this multitude followed as condemned to perpetual slavery, neither ever being supported with pay or gifts. Besides, saith he, this Nation over and above those it hath abundantly conquered, had sent many others under the Yoke, so bold and skilful it was in Martial Contests, if it had not been constantly vexed with civil and foreign Wars. What he saith of the *Persian* Foot is attested by others who make the Infantry inconsiderable, and rather thought to serve and attend the Horse, though for this purpose they will have the women also taken along in expeditions.

43. As for their Arms they wore *Ainaces* or Daggers, hanging at their Girdles upon their Right Thighs: In their hands they carried their *Copides*, which were *Scimiters* or Swords made crooked something like Sickles, and otherwise called *Sagares*, which it's said was also the weapon of the *Amazons*: But for defence of his Body, the *Persian* Soldier wore a Breackplate of Brass or Iron (or both) made with joints like fins or scales of Fishes; and well might *Ammianus* write that their Foot cover'd themselves like so many *Mirmillones*; for the *Persians* had their *Gerra* or Targets made of Wickers so large, that they might cover their whole Bodies, like to those us'd by the *Romans* and *Galls*. A sort of missile weapon or Dart they had also called *Paltum*, made of the *Cornus* Tree as were Arrows and other things. Under their *Gerra* or Targets hung their Quivers at their Shoulders full of Arrows, *Herodian* reporting, that in his time they came not abroad without their Bows; and their Successors the *Parthians* herein did so succeed, that if possible they exceeded them in the practice; for not only their Foot but their Horsemen had their Arrows hanging by them; and not only in their pursuit but against pursuers themselves when running away, they were wont to let them fly. They made use, moreover of Slings for throwing of Stones, and those of a considerable bigness. Ordinarily they wore no Helmets, but their own *Tiare* which was their Ornament for the Head both at home and abroad; and so were for their Thighs their *Bracca* or Breeches, which they us'd in, as well as out, of Fight.

Sect. 5.

Horses they chiefly used.

The best out of Media.

They fought with Chariots.

The order of their March.

44. But their chief Refuge as well as Delight (which *Ammianus* hints) was in their Horse; and their Delight contributed to their Refuge. For while they were fober and indolent, they so used themselves to riding, that never were they to be seen on foot, but if feasted, if they went upon publick or private business, if to the market, to meet, discourse or talk, if Freeman, they went on Horseback. But, as all good Institutions are wont to degenerate, this Riding afterwards was only used for Pompe and show, when more Trappings and Tapestry were laid upon a Horse than was wont to be put upon a Bed or in a Chariot. And golden Bridles, he who had not, was out of the Fashion either at home or in the War. In a Word, whereas at first the Nobility were they that composed the Cavalry, afterwards Cooks, Victuallers, Bath-holders and such like were suffered to lift themselves in the Troops, after that Luxury and excess crept in amongst them from the *Medes*. And as from the *Medes* they received their Luxury and particularly in riding, though possibly not riding itself as some have written, to the best Horses they were wont to ride. For in *Media* was *Nisæum*, where the *Nisæan* Horses were bred, the goodliest of all others that were to be seen in the East; those of *India* being nothing comparable to them; and though great as they were, yet what is wonderful, they excelled in swiftness as well as bulke. And some bulke it was necessary they should have, both to bear the burthen of their Riders so armed as they were at all points, and to support their own Armour wherewith they themselves were also covered, framed after the manner of Scales of Fishes on their Fronts and Breasts, if for the Saddle; and their Sides, if they drew at the Chariot. The Horsemen thus accounted the *Greeks* called *Cataphracts*, but the *Per-*

45. But not only did they fight from Horses, but also from Chariots, which differed too according to the use and employment they had for them. For some were adorned with Gold and Silver; and others were armed with Sythes and such crooked and cutting Irons as fastened to the Body, Axletree and Wheels, were intended for cutting and tearing all they met in their passage, being governed by two Horsemen, who with Ropes fastened to them, erected and let them fall as they saw convenient. By their long use of this sort of armed Chariots, they shewed that they were not ineffectual in War, but by reason of their carelessness in managing them, and the unskillfulness of the Drivers, they often did them more harm than good; and the Romans, however once a Terror, made them no better than a laughing Stock, finding them easily overturned by the inequality of the ways, and especially by casting Logs and other Impediments before them. But in some of them the *Persians* were wont to carry their Impediments, viz. their Wives and Children, their Mothers and Concubines, pretending that the sight of these dear Relations would provoke them to Fight for their preservation. Some write that above all things, the King took care for Forage, and all necessaries for their Armies before they set forward, which ordinarily were carried upon the Backs of Camels.

46. The order and method of their March, was this as it is described by *Quintus Curtius*. It was their custome to set forward when the Sun was first risen. Then warning was given from the Kings Pavilion by a Trumpet, and by an Image of the Sun inclosed in Chrystal placed so on the Top, as it might be seen glittering by all. The Fire which they termed Sacred and Eternal, was borne before on silver Altars, being followed by the *Magi*, who sung some of the Songs of their Country. And the *Magi* were followed by three hundred and sixty five young Men, as equal to the Days of the Year in Number, covered with Purple Vestments. Then followed the Chariot Sacred to *Jupiter* drawn by white Horses, behind which came an Horse of extraordinary greatness, called the Horse of the Sun, and those that drove or led the Horses, had in their Hands golden Rods, and were clothed in White. Not far from them marched ten Chariots very rich in Gold and Silver workmanship. And next to the Chariots a party of Horse of twelve Nations, differing in Armes as in other Fashions. Then were to be seen the Troop of them called *Immortals* consisting of ten Thousand, excelled by no *Barbarians* in the wealth and splendor of their Accoutrements: they were adorned with Chains of Gold, wore Clothes imbroided with that rich Metal; and their sleeved Coats glittered with Gems. Behind them, at a little distance came those called the *Kings Kinmen*, being fifteen thousand Persons, who had the Name aliso of *Doryphori*, or Spear-bearers, though accounted rather like Women than Men, and in their Arms being Effeminate.

47. Next to them went a Troop of Men who were to take up the Kings Robe: They

Sect. 5.

The King how far out in it.

The manner of their Incamping.

How they Mustered.

They went before the Chariot wherein he sat aloft; the sides of which were set out with the Images of their Gods, the Yoake was adorned with glittering Gems, and from the Axletree stood up two golden Images, each of the length of a Cubit, whereof one bore the resemblance of *Belus*. There was the shape of an Eagle stretching out its Wings. The Kings Apparel was throughout notable for Luxury. He had his Purple Tunic with white Spots. Golden Haukes as if falling together with their Beaks, adorned his golden imbroided *Palla*. At his golden Girdle, wherewith he was Effeminately girt, hung his Dagger which had a Gemm for its Scabbard, and the royal Ornament of his Head, which they called *Cidaris*, was compassed with a blew Circle studded with white. Ten thousand Spearemen followed the Chariot, who had their Spears adorned with Silver, and bore Darts headed with Gold. On the right and left hand of him went about two hundred of the most Noble of his Relations, behind followed thirty thousand Foot, and after them were led four hundred of the Kings Horses. At a furlong distance *Sisgambis* the Mother of *Darius* was drawn in one Chariot, and in another his Wife. The Troops of Women that attended the Queens, rode on horseback. Then came fifteen Carriages they called *Armase* wherein were the Kings Children with those that brought them up, and a company of Eunuchs no ways despicable in those Nations; then the Kings Concubines three hundred and sixty in number, in Royal Apparel and Furniture. After them six hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels carried the Kings Money, being guarded with a party of Archers. Near to them marched the Wives of the Kings Kinmen and Friends; then rode Flocks of Laquies and mean Attendants. And the Rear was brought up by several Troops of light armed men, headed by their several Leaders.

48. The Army in its March having not always Cities Townes or Mansions wherein to lodge, great Care was taken for its Incamping. For safety and defence, by the multitudes of Hands, they easily cast up a Trench, and sometimes fortified it by Wood and Stones, but always inclosed themselves with their Carriages. In the Camp, to all sorts of Officers both Military and other, places were assigned, and the several Tents of Command had their Markes and Tokens fixed upon them, whereby they might be distinguished, and called out upon occasion. The Kings Pavilion was as his Court at home, having its several Rooms and Apartments wonderful for wealth and bravery; and so proportionably were the Tents of the *Satrape* and great Men, who had their Sumpter-horses for conveyance of all sorts of rich Furniture into the Field. And they delighted to be as Rich and Gay in their Clothes, as in the Furniture of their Tents. They took with them their golden Chaines and Bracelets. The Scabbards of their Swords were adorned with Gemms. Their Trappings and Bridles were of Gold, so that as *Alexander* told his Men they rather bore Booty for the Conquerors, than Armes to Fight; so Luxurious they were even in the most serious Actions of their Life; when degenerated.

49. Ordinarily their Armies were raised out of their own Countreys, yet sometimes they also took in Auxiliaries of the *Greeks*. Their Soldiers were divided into Tens, Sixes, Twenty fours, Hundreds, Thousands and ten Thousand; for, Commanders of all these are to be found in Writers; they had also besides their Foot-Officers, Commanders of Horse, particularly three in the Army of *Xerxes*. There were Commanders of Chariots and of the *Harmamase* wherein the Women or Baggage were carried. The Kings were wont carefully to muster their Men; and to take an account of their Numbers. The last *Darius* followed the device of *Xerxes*, practised at *Dorisus*, to make a place which should contain ten thousand; and by filling the place, measure out his Soldiers as Grain or any other sorts of things are measured. When the *Persian* Kings propoled to make War upon or invade any Country, they were wont after the manner of the *Babylonians* to send to demand Earth and Water to be sent them, as Symbols or Tokens of subjection and servitude, those two things composing the places of which they challenged the Dominion. With what disdain the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians* received this Message we have seen, and how they treated the Great Kings Ambassadors. Such as sent the Symbols owned him as their Lord and Sovereign; as the *Thanders*, *Amynas* of *Macedonia* and some others were forced to do.

50. What number of Animals the Kings were wont to carry along in their Expeditions, we have seen sufficiently in the History of their Wars. *Ammianus* writes that they themselves were not obliged to be in Battells; but that *Darius* in Person fought against *Alexander* we read, and that he was armed with his Dag-

Sect. 5.

ger, Target and Bow. In the middle of the Battle the King stood. The Signal was given by Trumpet from his Pavilion. Before they joyned, the *Perfians* were accustomed to make a confused and terrible Noise. The Word was given by the Commander in Chief, and Orders as well by other signs as word of Mouth; as when *Sapor* for upon a City he erected a red Flag, as a Token that then his Men should fall on. But the Royal Ensigne or Standard is reported to have been an Eagle sitting on a *Pelta* or a short Target made like an half Moon. Carefully were the wounded provided for by Officers, whose peculiar charge and care it was. Such as fought stoutly were bountifully rewarded, those that died for their Country honourably remembered, and on the contrary *Ammanius* tells us they had Laws bitter and severe against Defertors. Some of their Kings would be cruel to such Enemies as fell into their Hands; and propose Rewards to such as would bring them alive. Of Wiles and Stratagems in War they knew little, as thinking it a disgraceful thing to steal a Victory; Yet did they keep such careful Watch, that they could not be surprized, who to preserve themselves awake, sung Songs in the Night concerning the Justice and Felicity of their Princes. As for Scouting, the *Perfians*, in diligence and secrecy, seem to have excelled all others.

51. So desirous they appear to have been of War, that in their Paintings and Landscips, scarcely any thing but Battles and Slaughters of Men or wild Beasts were to be observed. For taking of Towns they made use of Ladders and Engines, and also of Mines, not to blow up the Walls as since the use of Gunpowder hath been practised, but to open Passages within them, that they might enter the besieged places. Of the *Balista*, *Scorpions* and other sort of Machines used by them *Ammanius* and others make mention. But, instead of our Wildfire they had several Oiles which would do the same Execution, one sort made of an *Indian* Worm, which as *Asian* writes, being shot in earthen Vessels against the Gates of a Town, would set them on Fire; and another called the *Oyl of Media* or *Naptha*, in their own Language, a Bituminous matter, which burning could not be extinguished with any thing but Dust, as neither the *Oyl of the Indian* Worm with any thing but Durt and Mud lying in high Ways. In besieging of Townes they made use also of Traps to catch the besieged; and of *Murices*, or peices of *Iron* foursquare with Pricks to hinder the Passage of their Horfe.

52. For defence and Offence at Sea, the *Perfians* had their long Ships, their swift Vessels, and Vessels of burthen, for conveyance of Horses and other Necessaries for War. On their Borders they had strong Castles on high and scarcely accessible Hills very Strongly fortified, which had their several Governours, whose sole work it was to look unto them. But in Winter they abstained from War, as impatient of Cold. Observable it is that when they Adopted, it was not by words or writing, but by arming the Persons to be adopted. Commendable it was that the Kings took it in disdain that their Subjects should be Slaves any where, and therefore such as were taken in War, they readily redeemed. In conclusion, after thirty Years of Service performed, when fifty Years old, the *Perfians* obtained an honourable Mission.

53. Peace is the end of War, and this the *Perfian* Kings might sometimes be obliged by the badness of their Success to admit of. Sometimes with Presents they would contract Amity and Friendship with the Kings their Neighbours, as *Cambyses* with him of the *Aethiopsians*. Sometimes they would make a League, and then the Ceremony was performed after this manner: A Goate, a Bull, a Wolfe and a Ram was killed, and the Blood being put into a Target, the *Greeks* dipped therein a Sword, and the *Perfians* a Spear. But as we said, had they still had Peace with their Neighbours, we had heard little of them; They would scarcely have borne a share in our History of the World. For notwithstanding this Policy of theirs extolled by *Xenophon*, so illiterate were they that we had had little or nothing of their Affaires communicated to us, had not their Actions been with the *Greeks*; from the Penms of whom we receive what account we have of them; not trusting to other pretended Histories said of late to have been taken out of their Archives.

54. But by way of *Egypt* and *Greece*, many things and words of *Perfian* Origin have been communicated to the western World. Some Fruits have thence arrived in *Europe*: As the *Peach*, by some called *Nux Mollis*, but ordinarily in Latin *Malum Persicum*, said to have been brought into *Greece* by those that followed *Alexander* in his Expedition. That the Walnut, especially the better sort, all so came out of *Persia*, *Pliny* believed, from the Greek Names of *Persicum* and *Ballicum* given to it. The *Limon* or *Citron*, also grew in that Country, though in

Proceeded to Battle.

How they Attacked Towns.

Their Ships.

How they contracted a League.

Several Perfian things came out of Persia into Europe.

Sect. 5.

Assyria and *Media* in greater abundance, as should appear by its Names of *Malum Assyrium* and *Medium*. *Athenaeus* also writes that the Cocks called by the Latines *Gallus Gallinaceus*, first came out of *Persia*, and was dispersed into other Regions; being by the *Greeks* called the *Perfian* Bird. But that learned men interpret *Athenaeus* concerning this Cock, I should rather have thought it to have been the *Turky*, that Bird which hath several Names in several Languages, each Nation calling him by that Country out of which it thinks it first received him. For though we call him a *Turky* (as any man coming out of that vast Empire a *Turk*) yet the *French*, and others a *Cock of India*. From *India* to *Persia* there was good access. *Athenaeus* also relates that out of *Media* the neighbouring Country, *Phasians* first were brought, being kept by *Ptolomy* King of *Alexandria* in his Palace. Shall we mention that *Perfian* Skins elegantly painted, were much prized in other Countries, and made use of by the *Perfians* themselves, in their dining Roomes?

55. Besides Things, several *Perfian* Words have arrived in *Europe*, whereof some have been used even by *Greeks* and *Romans*, to signify what they could not otherwise, it seems, so well express. For *Gaza*, though used for Treasure, is a *Perfian* word, and so is *Paradise*, with which even Sacred Writers thought fit to serve themselves. Many other there are ordinarily known, though rarely or scarcely used for any thing but what they properly signified in *Persia*. Such were: *Serpas*, *Parasanga*, *Tiara*, *Candys*, and many others which might be tedious here to mention. *Cyrus*, though the Name of a River as well as a Man, its said signified the *Sus* in the *Perfian* Language; *Xerxes* *Martial* or a *Warrior*; and *Artaxerxes* a great *Warriour*, or, as *Ammanius* interprets it, a *Conqueror of Battels* as *Athenaeus* a *Commander of Kings*, for by both these the *Perfians* in his time styled *Sapor* their King, when they echoed out his Name in the Army. The Generals of their Armies some say were called *Megadyes*. And to terminate our discourse as Countries are wont to be with a River, the Name of *Tigris* signifieth in the *Perfian* Dialect an Arrow, which that famous one received from the swiftness of its stream.

and Words.

Contemporaries with the Persian Empire.

CHAP. II.

The Affairs of the Græcians amongst themselves during this Empire.

SECT. I.

Of such things as happened from the beginning thereof until the Expedition of Xerxes.

Polyrates.

I N the time of *Cyrus* the Great, and afterwards, lived *Polyrates* the famous *Tyrant* of *Samos*, who from a small beginning arrived at such extraordinary power, as no petty Prince of the *Greekish* Nation was ever accounted equal to him for worldly Felicity.

The word Tyrannus or Tyrans whence derived, and whom it signifies.

The word *Tyrannus* (which we English *Tyrant*) *Suidas* thinketh to have been derived from the *Tyrreni*, a people of *Italy*, because they were cruel and given to Robbery. Others thought it was derived of the City *Tyre*, by means of its Riches and Glory. Most anciently the word was of no ill signification,

Signification, but was used in a good sense, there being no discrimination between King and it, as * *Servius* observeth. For, though *Homer* (who never mentioneth *Tyre*) either knew it not or would not use it, yet the Poets who follow him, call those Kings that lived before the *Trojan* times by the appellation of *Tyranni*. Afterwards through the dissolute and cruel demeanour of some Princes, and the antipathy of the *Greeks* towards Monarchy (after they had generally erected Oligarchical or Democratical Governments) it came to be taken in a bad sense. Herein it is especially given to those who, being once private persons, enslaved their Citizens by invading without any just Title the supreme power; as to *Polyrates*, *Pisistratus*, *Dionysius*, and *Agyathocles*. It's also applied to the Children who succeeded their Fathers in the usurpation; and it is also given sometimes to those who governed by the desire and content of the People, as *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, brokering as to this particular, a petty Prince of *Rhodus*: For it is seldom or never in ancient Authors, when it is taken in an ill sense, found applied to any but the usurping Lords of Cities (not any notable Kingdoms) and such Cities as had before been governed in the way of a Commonwealth. And what is said of those Governors called *Tyranni*, must be extended to their Government, in the Greek Language called *Tyrannis*, which we English *Tyranny*, though not in any ill sense wherein the *Athenians* used it: not when they would have *Solon* to take the *Tyrannis* or Government upon him, though the word was harsh. This is hinted to take off any thoughts of the ignominy, as if the word reflected upon Monarchy, the best of Governments when all shall be considered.

3. *Samus* is an Island in the *Mediterranean* Sea, lying over against *Ionia*, not far severed from it, containing in circuit scarce an hundred miles, so called from the height of it by the Ancients in their language. On the West it looks towards the *Island Levis*, but on the East the continent of *Asia*, being near to *Ephesus*, and the promontory of *Mysale*, from which it is distant but five Miles. The most ancient Inhabitants were *Carians* differing much from the *Greeks* both in Language and Manners. But when the Sons of *Codrus* led out Colonies from *Attica*, *Androclus* and one of them here settled one, by which the City of the same name with the Island was built; having a very large and commodious Haven. It was presently much beautified with frequency of Inhabitants, Riches, and multitudes of Buildings, and being very famous for the Temple of *Juno*, which was especially worshipped in this place, it was reckoned amongst the twelve *Ionian* Cities, being partaker of the great Council of *Panionium*, and counted not inferior to *Miletus*, *Ephesus*, or *Chios*, the most eminent amongst them. From *Herodotus* it should appear to have at first been governed by Kings, the Inhabitants as he saith, in the Reign of *Amphicrates*, making War upon *Aegina* which was hurtful to both sides: and this was the cause that in the Age following the *Aeginetans* did as much by the *Samians* exiles which had retired into *Crete*. But in what Age *Amphicrates* lived he doth not mention; yet this is apparent from his words, that the *Samians* because the Islanders remained untouched by the King of *Lydia* and *Persia*, when the other *Ionian* Cities in the Continent were forced by them into subjection.

4. But when *Cyrus* flourished in *Asia*, and *Pisistrates* at *Atheni*, *Polyrates* the Son of *Albaeus* one of their own Citizens offered violence to their liberty. When first he seized on the Sovereignty, he made his two Brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Sylphon* partners with him, but afterwards he slew the one, and ejected the younger, and so having all the Power in his own Hands, he contracted amity with *Amasis*, who at that time reigned in *Egypt*. In a short time his Affairs so prospered, that he became famous through *Ionis* and all *Greece*, for whereforever he made War he prospered, with his hundred Biremes or Gallies with two ranks of Oars on a side, and one thousand Archers, invading all his Neighbours without any difference, for that he held it for a Rule, that he gratified his Friend more by restoring what he had taken from him, than if he had taken nothing away. He subdued many Islands and many Towns in the Continent. The *Lesbians* coming to help their Friends of *Miletus* with all their Force, he overthrew, and took for many, as served him to draw a Ditch round about the Walls of *Samus*. His Affairs being thus prosperous, were not unknown to *Amasis*, but being every day more prosperous than other, at length *Amasis* suspected that his Friend and Ally, for this prosperous Fortune would have some disastrous end, and therefore he wrote to him, and desired him that to make some certain Change therein, he would pick out that which was most dear to him, and in the loss whereof he would be most troubled, and make that away, so that he should never more enjoy it. He accordingly took ship and cast into the Sea his Signet, which was an *Emerald* set in a gold Ring; but it so happened, that a Fisher

taking a very large fish, presented it to him as only worthy of it, and in the Belly of it his Servants, when they cut it up, found the Signet. *Amasis* hearing this, took such assurance that an unfortunate end must follow such prodigious success, that left he should be troubled with the miscarriage of a Friend and Ally, he renounced his friendship.

5. When *Cambyfes* was raising his Forces for his Expedition into *Aegypt*, *Polyrates* sent to him underhand, to desire him to lend for some Supplies, who doing so, he picked out such as he thought were most prone to Rebellion, and with them manned out two Triremes, desiring of him that he would not send them back. Yet they after the War withdrew themselves from *Cambyfes*, and went to *Lacedaemon* to desire aid of that State against the Tyrant, which was granted them, either for that the *Lacedaemonians* were engaged to the *Samians* (as they pretended,) because they had received Supplies from them in the *Messenian* War, or as the *Spartans* alleged, not out of any kindness, but malice to the *Samians*, because they had in the Age foregoing intercepted certain Presents sent by them to *Croesus*, and to them from *Amasis*. The *Corinthians* were also drawn in, having a particular quarrel of their own; the occasion was also given at the same time, the *Samians* having taken from the *Corinthians* certain Boyes which they were carrying from *Persian* their Tyrant to *Alyattes* King of *Sardis* to be made Eunuchs.

6. The *Lacedaemonians* coming with a great Fleet to *Samus*, besieged this City, but endeavouring the storming of it, were repulsed with some loss, and having in vain spent forty days in the Siege: so valiantly was it defended by *Polyrates*; they then returned home into *Peloponnesus*. A Story went, that *Polyrates* stamped some Lead, and covering it over with Gold, with it purchased the departure of the *Lacedaemonians*; but this was the first Expedition which the *Dorians* made against *Asia*. Afterwards at such time as *Cambyfes* full sick; that fell upon *Polyrates* which *Amasis* had forewarned him of: At this time one *Orates* a *Persian* was governour of *Sardis*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, and the Sea-coasts, in the place of *Harpagus*, who either for that he was upbraided that he got not *Samus*, so near to his Province, into the King's hand, or for that *Polyrates* slighted and gave no answer to a Messenger which he sent to him (both which are reported) fought earnestly to work his destruction. Knowing he had an Ambition to become Master of *Ionia* and the Islands, he sent to him to tell him that he heard how excellent things he cast in his Head, but that he wanted Money to accomplish them, wherefore he having now heard for certain that *Cambyfes* determined to kill him, offered to him, that if he would receive him, he should have half of the King's money which he had in his possession, whereby he might get the Sovereignty of all *Greece*. And if he doubted of his faithfulness, he desired him to send one of his most trusty Servants to whom he would give satisfaction.

7. *Polyrates* with great joy received the Message, being greedy after money, and to make the thing sure, sent *Maandrius* his Secretary over to *Orates*, who knowing him a cunning and circumspect Man, filled several Chests with Stones, and covering them at the top with Gold, thereby deceived him. *Polyrates* was yet diffused by all his Friends from going over himself, for that the Oracles were against it, and his Daughter dreamed that she saw him up aloft in the Air, where he was washed by *Fupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; but he was angry with her for her importunity, and notwithstanding all dissuasions went over to *Orates*, taking with him amongst others, *Democedes* the Son of *Calliphon* of *Crotone* in *Italy*, the most famous Physician then in his Country. He went over into *Magnesia* as far as the River *Maander*, and then *Orates* laying hold of him, nailed him to a Cross. Of those that accompanied him, the *Samians* he dismissed, telling them that they must account it for a great Favour to be used by him, but all the Strangers and Slaves he took to himself, and reduced them into the State of servitude. This end had *Polyrates*, with whom none of the *Syracusan* Tyrants, or any other of *Greece* for magnificence were to be compared. Him succeeded one *Maandrius* his Vicegerent or Procurator, of whom *Herodotus* telleth many Stories, and who by the help of *Orates* the *Persian* Satrapa, being removed by the approbation of *Darius* the Son of *Hystapes*, *Sylphon* the Brother of *Polyrates* succeeded, *Samus* paying very dearly for it, what by the War, and the ensuing severity of *Sylphon*. When *Sylphon* died, *Albaeus* his Son succeeded him, by the favour of the *Persians*; but was not long after thrust from his Tyranny, when *Artaxerxes* the *Milelian* drew all *Ionia* into rebellion against the *Persians*; which hapned about the eighteenth year of *Darius*.

8. In the second year of *Darius*, and the first of the sixty fifth Olympiad, the inhabitants

SECT. 1. inhabitants of *Platea* in *Boeotia*, who never well accorded with their Neighbours the *Thebans*, being now irritated with their continual injuries, that for the future they might free themselves from such grievances, sent, and offered themselves to the *Lacedæmonians* (who then were of greatest Authority in *Greece*) as Allies and Dependents. But they perceiving themselves to be at too great a distance from them to give any Succours when need required, advised them to have recourse to the *Athenians* as nearer to them, and of sufficient ability to relieve them. They accordingly did so, and contracted a straight League of Alliance with *Athens*, which became a great eye-fore to the *Thebans*, and all their party a long time after.

A League between the *Platæans* and *Athenians*.

Sits at *Athens*.

9. In the third Year of the sixty six *Olympiad*, and the eighth of the Reign of *Darius*, fell out great stir at *Athens*, which never ceased till they produced a change in the Government. *Pisistratus* the famous Tyrant at his death left three Sons, *Hippias*, *Hipparchus*, and *Thessalus*, and the principality (as it should seem from * *Heraclides*) to them all; though *Hippias*, as the eldest, had supreme Jurisdiction. He had hitherto for the space of thirty years enjoyed his Fathers Kingdom, being loving and affectionate towards his brethren, and moderate towards his Subjects: *Hipparchus* was accounted a wife man, and lover of learning, being something given to be amorous, and *Thessalus* bold, and head-strong. It happened that *Hipparchus* fell in love with one *Harmodius*, a young man of the City, and sorely solicited him to unlawful dalliance, who therewith acquainted one *Aristogiton*, a man of a middle rank amongst the Citizens, and who most passionately loved him. He fearing he should be deprived of this his dear one, consulted with himself how he might destroy, both *Hipparchus* and the Tyranny. *Hipparchus* still going on to solicit *Harmodius*, but in vain, at length resolved to be revenged on him, and executed it on his Sister, which being on a certain solemnity to carry up the Basket that was to be dedicated to *Minerva*, he put her by as unworthy of the Office; though some of late have thought that he ravished her.

Emilius de rebus illustribus Græciæ.

* De Politia *Athen.* *Adrian. Var. Hist. lib. 8. cap. 2. Thucydides lib. 5.*

10. *Harmodius* taking this in very evil part, and *Aristogiton* much worse, prepared all things necessary for their Conspiracy; but expected the great Feast called *Panathænas*, on which day only the Citizens might be in Armour without suspicion, for discharging the Solemnity. They provided not many men before hand, for the more close carrying of the business, and because they hoped all the rest would without any hesitation be ready to come in to them. When the day came, they and their party being ready with their Poniards, espied a man talking with *Hippias*; Whereupon they thought they were discovered, and therefore resolved to do that, wherein especially they were concerned, if they could, and so rushing in violently upon *Hipparchus*, they slew him in the place. *Aristogiton* defended himself for some time from the Guard; but the multitude flocking in, he was taken, after he had received many Wounds, and his friend *Harmodius* slain outright. *Hippias* having notice of what had passed, came cunningly upon the Citizens that were armed for the Solemnity, and by his Guard picking out such as had Daggers about them, or whom he suspected, thereby prevented at this time all further trouble.

Hipparchus slain by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*.

The behaviour of the *Pisistratide*, in the Government of *Athens*.

11. Hitherto he and his brethren had not been distrustful of their own safety, and therefore had used no great Guards about them; not rendering their Power very burthenful to the people, but acting according to the Rules of Virtue and Prudence. They exacted only the twentieth part of the publick Revenue, exceedingly beautified the City, waged War, and left the Citizens to their former Laws, only some one of them was always Magistrate, and other men held of them yearly Offices, *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippias*, and Nephew to the founder of this Kingdom, as it appeareth from *Thucydides* having sometimes had the Power in his Hands. But *Hippias* after this, fearing himself, exercised his Power very severely against the *Athenians*, putting many of them to death, and to establish himself by foreign alliance he gave his Daughter in marriage to *Hippocles*, the Son of *Antandides* the Tyrant of *Lampacus*, knowing them to be in great grace with *Darius* King of *Persia*. To find out the complices of these two young men, he tortured, amongst others, a woman named *Leena* the Paramour of *Aristogiton*, but she was so constant as to endure all, and biting off her Tongue, spit in the Face of the Tormentors, lest therewith she should discover any one; in memory of which the *Athenians* afterwards Consecrated in the Cattle a Lioness without a Tongue, as also Erected Statues to the memory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, as the liberators of their Country. These Statues were taken away by *Xerxes* into *Asia*, and long after sent back by *Alexander*, or *Antiochus*, or *Selenus*, as is

severally

severally delivered by Historians. They also Decreed that their Names should never be given to any Slaves.

SECT. 1.

12. Though these two did not actually procure the freedom of *Athens*, but perished in the attempt, yet it was attributed to them, because that in the fourth year after, some imitating their Example expelled *Hippias*, and effectually procured it. At this time the *Alcmaeonide* (or those of the Family of *Alcmaeon*, who was great Grand-son to *Nestor*, and being cast out of *Messenia* by the *Heraclide*, came and lived at *Athens*) being driven into exile by the *Pisistratide* (or *Pisistratus* his Sons) having sometimes endeavoured in vain the recovery of their Countreys liberty, still lay in wait for a more convenient opportunity to accomplish it. Being full of Money, they hired the *Amphyctones* to let them build a new Temple at *Delfos*, which was very magnificent, and corrupted the *Pythia* (or the woman that received and delivered the Oracles, standing in a Tripod, or three footed Stool) as often as any of *Sparta* came thither, fill to propose to them to let *Athens* at liberty. This being constantly done, the *Lacedæmonians* accounted it a piece of their Religion to do it, and sent *Anchimolius*, a man of prime Rank amongst them, with an Army to expell the *Pisistratide*, though their Friends, and such as had deserved no otherwile than well of them. They being aware of this, had contracted friendship and alliance with the *Thessalians*, and now procured from them a supply of one thousand Horse, which by a common Decree they sent under the Command of *Cixæus* their King, which falling in upon the Camp of the *Spartans*, slew amongst many others *Anchimolius* the General, and beat the other to their Ships, in which they returned home.

Hærodotus lib. 5. cap. 62. &c.

13. Afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* sent another Army by Land, under the Conduct of *Cleomenes* the Son of *Auxandrides*, who invading the *Athenian* Territories was encountered by the *Thessalian* Horse, which he put to flight, and having killed above forty of them, the rest shifted away, and betook themselves as they could into *Thessaly*. *Cleomenes* then coming up to the City besieged the Tyrants, being shut up within the *Pelagic* wall, but being unprovided for a Siege, and they furnished sufficiently with Provisions, after a few days he was about to depart homeward, had not one thing fallen out. As the Children of the *Pisistratide* were privately to be conveyed out of the Countrey, they were intercepted, which overturned the Affairs of their Parents, and forced them to Covenant with the *Athenians*, for their Ransom, within five days to depart out of *Attica*, which accordingly was done, *Hippias* going straight to *Sigæus*, and thence to *Lampacus*, from which place he went to *Darius*, and in the twentieth year after returned with his Army; and died (as some say) in the Battle at *Marathon*. *Sigæus* was a Town situate upon the *Hellepont*, which *Pisistratus* took by force out of the Hands of the *Mityleneans*, and made *Hegestratius* his base son, by a woman of *Argos*, Tyrant there. *Hippias* was offered from *Amynas* the King of *Macedonia*, either *Amethemus*, or *Iokos*, a City in *Macedonia*; but he refused both, and betook himself to *Darius*, whose Army he afterwards conducted into *Attica*.

Hærodotus at præst. cap. 64. &c.

Thucydides at præst.

14. The State of *Athens* great before, grew greater after this great mutation, in which two men contended for the chief Authority: *Clisthenes* one of the *Alcmaeonide* (the Nephew by his Mother of *Clisthenes*, the Tyrant of *Sicyon*) and *Igoras* the Son of *Tylander*. *Clisthenes* being too weak for the other's faction, that he might engratiate himself with the people, whereas they were before divided but into four Tribes, encreased them unto ten, and whereas formerly they were named from the four Sons of *Ion*, viz. *Tolon*, *Agicor*, *Argadeus*, and *Hoplites*, now he changed these for other Heroes which were, 1. *Hippothoon* the Son of *Neptune*, 2. *Antiochus* of *Heraclæ*, 3. *Ajax* of *Telamon*, 4. *Leon* the *Athenian*, *Pausan* is *At-* who according to the Oracle devoted his Daughters for the publick safety, 5. *Erach-* theus, who slew *Immaratus* the Son of *Eumolpus*, 6. *Agæus*, 7. *Oeneus* the base Son of *Pandion*, 8. *Aimæus* the Son of *Thespius*, 9. *Cecrops*, and 10. *Pandion*.

Hærodotus cap. 66.

15. *Igoras* envying *Clisthenes* that respect, which hereby he obtained, procured *Cleomenes* the King of *Sparta* (with whom he had contracted Friendship during the War with *Hippias*) to come once more against *Athens*. He sent a Messenger first, and presently procured him to be banished, and yet came thither with an Army, and besides many of the Family of *Alcmaeon* formerly cast out with *Clisthenes*, now also expelled 700 Families proper for War, under pretence of their being contaminated with them in the business of the death of *Cylon*. Then endeavoured he to dissolve the Senate, and commit their Power to those of *Igoras* his faction; but both Senate and People resisting, *Igoras* and he with their men seized on the Cattle wherein they were besieged two days: On the third the *Lacedæmonians*

The *Pisistratide* banished.

Clisthenes changed the name of the Tribes.

Civil War between *Igoras* and *Clisthenes*.

SECT. 1.

Clythessestheo
recth Solon's
Laws.

The Ostracism.

demonians with *Isgoras* had leave to depart, but the rest were cast into Prison, and put to Death. Then was *Clythesse* with the seven hundred Families recalled, who reformed the Democratical Government to the City, as it was founded by the Laws of *Solon*.

16. To *Clythesse* is also ascribed the introducing of the *Ostracism* into the *Athenian* State, being generally granted to have been brought in a little after the banishment of the *Pisistratide*. For, considering the Calamities which had hapned in their time, the *Athenians* for the time to come would have all of equal Power and Authority. By the *Ostracism* therefore they forced absence from the City for ten Years upon the most powerful amongst them for Glory, Nobility, or Eloquence, lest they should grow too great; without any Ignominy, or disgrace; they being neither deprived of Goods, Lands, or any thing, save their presence at home for that time. The form of it was this. Each of the Citizens wrote the Name of that man in an Oyster Shell (whence it had the name of *Ostracism*) who seemed to him to be the most powerful for the overturning of the Democracy, and then brought the Shell in as a suffrage into the place designed, and so he that was found to have most written with his Name, was for ten years ordered to leave the City. But two conditions were required that this Judgement should stand in force: That no fewer than six thousand should be at the meeting, and the giving of Suffrages; and that those that gave them should be no younger than sixty years old. The first that was banished by this Law, was (as *Ælian* tells us) *Clythesse* the Author of it, though (according to another) *Hippiarchus*, and *Charmus* kinsman to *Pisistratus*: In after times *Aristides*, because of that great Title first given to him, and *Themistocles* for his Military Glory.

Cleomenes to no
purpose invades
the Athe-
nians.The Island
Ægina.

17. But *Cleomenes* the *Lacedæmonian* King perceiving himself damned both by Word and Deed from the *Athenians*, raised forces throughout *Peloponnesus*, intending (though dissembling the matter) to be revenged upon them, and set up *Isgoras* as Tyrant over them. He invaded one part, and procured the *Boeotians* on one side, and the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* on the other, to fall in upon other places. The *Athenians* thus distressed on all sides, yet first went against the *Peloponnesians* lying in *Eleusine*, and when the Armies were about to join, the *Corinthians*, first betaking themselves of the injustice of their cause, withdrew themselves; and so did *Demaratus* the Son of *Arifon* King of *Sparta*, and the Colleague of *Cleomenes*, having never dissented from him formerly. Then the rest of the associates seeing that the Kings agreed not betwixt themselves, and the *Corinthians* were gone, drew off also in like manner: the *Athenians* then to be revenged, fell upon the *Boeotians*, of whom killing many, they took prisoners seven hundred, and then passing over into *Eubœa* the same day, chastised the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in like manner. Thus, four times the *Dores* out of *Peloponnesus* came into *Attica*; twice in a hostile manner, and twice to the help of the *Athenians*. First when they brought a Colony into *Megara*, which was in the time of *Codrus*, the second and third times to expel the *Pisistratide*, and now the fourth, when *Cleomenes* with the *Peloponnesians* invaded *Eleusine*.

18. The *Thebans* and the rest of the *Boeotians*, seeing themselves too weak for the *Athenians*, desired help of the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, an Island situated in that part of the Sea, which severed *Attica* from *Argolis*, being five miles distant from the former, some eight in Circuit, and the Country of *Æacus*, (whence the *Æacide*) having a City of its own Name. The *Æginetians* bearing an old grudge to those of *Athens*, and puffed up with a conceit of their Wealth, easily embraced their Society, and when the *Athenians* were buse with the other, passed over in their long Ships into *Attica*, and wasted the Coasts thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* at this time understanding how they had been deluded by the *Alcemonide* their corrupting the women that gave out the Oracles, and thereby their loss both of their old Friends, and all thanks also as to the *Athenians*; hearing further by the Oracles which *Cleomenes* had brought out of the Citadel of *Athens*, that that State should much distress them, and especially seeing how weak it was under Tyrants, but now how it increased in strength after the recovery of its liberty, called back *Hippias*, resolving to restore him. He was ready at their call, but then it happened that *Soficles* the *Corinthian* Ambassador and others of their Confederates utterly disallowed of this practice, and therefore seeing there was no hope of recovering his former Condition, he returned into *Asia*, and there laboured with all his might to possess *Artaphernes* the Satrap of *Lydia* against the *Athenians*, that they might be conquered by *Darius* his Brother. They lent to *Artaphernes*, to desire him not to give credence to their Exiles; but as when two or three

Ælian. Var.
Hist. lib. 13.
cap. 24.
Diodorus Sic.
Plutarch in vita
Arifidis. & Pe-
riclis.Hærodotus in
"viii. &c."Hærodotus lib. 5.
cap. 4. &c.

SECT. 1.

A. M. 3501.
V. C. 250.
Olymp. 69. an. 11.
Darius. 18.Hærodotus
lib. 5. & 8. &c.

years before, when they sent to enter into society with the *Perfians*, he told them they must give Earth and Water, as symbols of subjection (which the Ambassadors doing, were much blamed at their return) so now he told them, if they would be safe, they must receive *Hippias*. They refused the Condition, and chose rather to be professed Enemies to the *Persian*, and thence presently after joined with *Aristagoras*, who withdrew the *Ionians* from their obedience, which provoked *Darius* afterwards to invade them, procured the Expedition of *Xerxes*, and the quarrel of that Empire with *Greece*. But these things concerning *Athens* and *Hippias*, hapned in the first year of the sixty ninth *Olympiad*, the eighteenth of the Reign of *Darius*, A. M. 3501.

19. After the *Ionian* War was over, and the *Gracians* in *Asia* were forced once more to undergo the yoke, *Darius* in the twenty seventh year of his reign, and the third after his victory, sent into *Greece* to demand Earth and Water as tokens of subjection. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* threw the Messengers into a well, and bad them thence fetch Earth and Water to carry to their Master, but the Inhabitants of *Ægina* and other Islanders, for fear of the *Perfians*, promised obedience. The *Athenians* presently took offence thereat, as judging that the *Æginetians* did it out of a grudge to them, that they might fight under the conduct of the *Perfians* against *Athens*, and therefore they sent to *Sparta* to complain of them as Traitors to *Greece*. *Cleomenes* was sent from that State, and came to *Ægina*, with an intention to apprehend the principal authors of the revolt; but one *Crius* there openly opposed him, threatening him, in case he laid violent hands on any, for that he knew he did it without any publick decree of the *Lacedæmonians*, who else would have sent the other King with him. This he said at the instance of *Demaratus* the other King of *Sparta*, who disagreeing with *Cleomenes* ever since the invasion of *Attica*, now also grievously accused him in his absence. Hereupon *Cleomenes* returned home, cast out *Demaratus*, upon pretence of his illegitimation, from his Office, and put *Leutyichides* his kinsman in his place.

The Æginetians
by giving
Earth and
Water to Da-
rius, incense
the Gracians
against them.Sins at Sparta
betwixt Cle-
menes and De-
maratus the
Kings.The birth of
Demaratus.

20. The Father of *Demaratus* was *Arifon*, of the posterity of *Procles*, a man as worthy as any of his Ancestors; who having no children by two wives (for which cause he divorced them) to satisfy the desires of the people (which greatly wished for some issue male from him) married a third, which already was the wife of his friend *Agerus*, covenanting with him for her; (the being the most beautiful woman next after *Helena*) which by the Laws of *Lycurgus* he might do. Being married, it hapned just after seven months, when he was according to the custom sitting amongst the *Ephori*, his household-servant came and signified to him that he had a Son born, with the fuddainness of which thing being disturbed, he rashly swore that it was not his, coming so much within the time. The *Ephori* then neglected it, and he afterwards repenting of his rashness, brought up the Child as his own, and because he was so desired by the publick wishes of the People, gave him the name of *Demaratus*. After his death *Demaratus* succeeded, a man of great worth, and who obtained a crown in the *Olympick* Games, which never hapned before to the Kings of *Sparta*. But that speech of his Father was now objected against him, by his Colleague and Emulator *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, who accused him also for their retreating formerly out of *Attica*, which occasioned all the difference betwixt them; and all this was aggravated by *Leutyichides*, who fought for his place, and had a private quarrel with him about a woman, of which he had hindered him by taking her to himself to wife.

Demaratus de-
posed, and
Leutyichides put
in his place.

21. Great contention hence arising, the *Spartans* resolved to send to *Delphos*, and enquire of the Oracle whether *Demaratus* was the Son of *Arifon*; which being done, *Cleomenes* procured a friend he had at *Delphos*, to corrupt *Pythia*, so that being drawn by bribery he gave the answer against *Demaratus*. Hereby *Cleomenes* procured him to be removed from the Kingdom, and *Leutyichides* his kinsman to succeed him; yet though thus handled, he ceased not to love his Country, and continuing at home, disdained not to bear inferior Offices, till further affronted by *Leutyichides*, who to insult over and deride him, at such a time as he was overseeing the exercises of the Boys, sent and demanded of him how he liked of that Office after the Kingdom. He answered, that he had tried both, but the other not, and that that question should be the original either of great mischief or happiness to the *Lacedæmonians*, and then getting him home with his head covered he sacrificed to *Jupiter*, and sending for his Mother conjured her to tell him the truth concerning his Father. Being assured from

Seçt. 1. from her of his Legitimation, he went out of the City, under pretence of going to *Delpbos*; but took the way to *Elis*, and thence to the Island *Zacynthus*, and so to *Darius* King of *Perſia*, the *Zacynthians* having reſuſed to give him up to his Country-men who purſued him. He was received with great honour by the *Perſians*, who beſtowed Lands upon him to maintain him in a Princely equipage; and there his poſterity is reported to have endured a long ſeaſon.

Cleomenes his
jil end.

22. Not long after *Cleomenes* received his juſt reward, his own hands being his executioners; for, his treachery againſt *Demaratus* being come to light, and fearing to be called to an account for it, he firſt fled into *Theſſalie*, and thence returning into *Arcadia* ſtirred up the Inhabitants againſt the *Spartans*, and attempted to ſwear them to be true to him whitherſoever he ſhould lead them. The *Lacedæmonians* hearing of this, and fearing what he might do to them, recalled and reſtored him to his former dignity; but when he was come home, having not had before this time a very ſetled head, he now fell into a Phrenſie, as he met any one in the City, puſhing their faces with his Scepter. His friends bound him with wooden fetters, in which condition, partly by intreaties, and partly by threats, he got a Sword of his Keeper, wherewith beginning at the calf of his leg, he cut up his fleſh upwards to the thighs, and, when he ripped up his belly, died, leaving no iſſue behind him, but a pattern of Juſtice to all *Greece*, which being amuled at his end, moſt attributed it to the corruption of *Pythia*, and that in juſtice done to *Demaratus* the *Athenians* attributed it to his invaſion of *Eleuſine*, and his deſtroying the Temple of their gods; but the *Argives* concluded this Judgment to have fallen upon him, becauſe he had baſely killed ſuch of their Country-men as eſcaped from a battle fought with him, after he had got them out of the Temple of *Argos*, and had burnt down the grove which he had taken. This paſſage betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, is to be related though it be in the ſame order *Herodotus* hath done it, it having happened long before the death of *Cleomenes*, and as *Pauſanias* ſaith, in the beginning of his reign.

In Lægiſti.

23. For Conſulting the Oracle at *Delpbos*, it was answered, that he ſhould take *Argos*, and hereupon he raiſed an Army and invaded the Territories of that State. The *Argives* in their own defence made haſt to meet him, but he ſetting upon them as they were at dinner, put many of them to the Sword, and beſieged the reſt in the grove at *Argos*, whither they fled. Then learning their names from ſuch fugitives as were with him, he called them man by man out of the Wood to redeem themſelves (which at the *Lacedæmonians* rate was two *Mine* a man) and ſo fifty of them coming out of the grove (in which place they could not ſee beforehand what was done to their Companions) he put to the Sword. At length one of them climbing up a tree diſcovered the matter, after which no man would come out; but then he ſet fire to the grove and burnt it and them together. After this, aſking to whom of their gods the grove belonged it was answered to *Argus*, and ſo he found and acknowledged himſelf deceived by the Oracle. Returning to *Sparta*, he was accuſed as having been corrupted, for that he might have taken *Argos* if he would; but the major part were fatiſhed with his exculſe and acquitted him. As for *Argos* it was rendered by this overthrow ſo deſolate of men, that the Slaves governed all things, till ſuch time as the ſons of the ſlain grew up and recovered their Patrimony, after which the Slaves conquered *Tyrinthe*, and held it, till perſwaded by *Cleander* a certain Wizard, they returned, and made War upon their Maſters, which continued long, till ſuch time as the *Argives* with difficulty remained Conquerours.

Lentychides
punished for
the injury of-
fered to Darius
-1222.

24. *Cleomenes* being dead, the *Aginetans* ſent and complained of *Lentychides* for the injury he had done to them, in cauſing together with *Cleomenes* ten of their principal men to be kept as Hoſtages, at *Athens*. He was given up to them, but fearing to carry a King of *Sparta* away priſoner, though for the preſent the State had given him up, they took him only to *Athens* to procure them the liberty of their Hoſtages. But the *Athenians* put them off, as reſuſing to deliver them without the authority of two Kings, ſeeing both of them committed them to their cuſtody, and the journey being to no purpoſe *Lentychides* was diſmiſſed and ſo returned; but yet he alſo paid for the injury offered to *Demaratus*. * For leading an Army into *Theſſalie*, of which as of the War he had full and ample power, he was corrupted with money, and betrayed the intereſt of his Country, after which being diſcovered, as he held the money in both his hands ſitting in his tent, he was apprehended and carried to *Sparta*, where being called to account, he fled to *Tegæa*, and there died in exile, his houſe being razed as a traitor to his Country.

* *Herodotus*
Lib. 6. c. 87.

25. But

25. But the *Aginetans*, of old, Enemies to thoſe of *Athens*, were now much more incenſed againſt them for detaining their Hoſtages, and ſet themſelves to ſtudy a revenge. At that time there was at *Sunium* (the moſt promontory of *Attica*) a Gallie which (according to the cuſtom obſerved every year ſince the time of *Theſeus*) was then going to *Delpbos*, aboard of which were the principal men of *Athens*: on this they ſeized, and taking the men priſoners, bound them all. The *Athenians* hereat enraged, laboured with all might on the other hand to revenge this, and agreed with one *Nicomachus* to have the City betrayed to them; yet for that they could not get their Fleet together ſoon enough, they came a day too late, and miſſed of that enterpriſe. But through the council of *Themiftocles*, having rigged a Fleet of ſeventy Gallies (twenty of which the *Corinthians* ſold them at an inconfiderable rate, becauſe by the Law they could not give them) they ſet upon the *Aginetans*, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight. They betook themſelves for aid to the *Argives* their old friends, but having offended them not long before, they received a publick denial, yet underhand a ſupply of one thouſand Volunteers, moſt of whom fell in *Aginia* by the hands of the *Athenians*, againſt whom yet the *Aginetans* afterwards, reinforcing their power at Sea, in another battle became Victors. But what the iſſue of this War farther was, is not declared by *Herodotus*, who yet elſewhere affirmeth, that it gave occaſion to the ſafety of all *Greece*, by putting the *Athenians* upon the care of Sea-matters, whereby when *Xerxes* came, they became the bulwark thereof. Probable it is, that this War which was begun before the battle of *Marathon*, was not compoſed till the time that *Xerxes* was about to invade *Greece*, when we read that all the *Græcians* (and theſe two States amongſt the reſt) reſolved to lay aſide all private quarrels amongſt themſelves, the *Aginetans* being obſerved by * another to have had the Dominion of the Sea twenty years, until the paſſage of *Xerxes*, which thenceforth they were forced to yield to the *Athenians*.

War betwixt
the Athenians
and Aginetans.

The battle of
Marathon.

Miltiades

26. Whileſt the *Athenians* were buſie in the War againſt *Aginia*, *Darius* ſent his Forces into *Greece* againſt them, and the *Eretrians* (inhabitants of the Iſland *Euboea*) which though they took the City of the latter, and made them Captives, yet were they overthrown by the former in the battle at *Marathon*. After the fight two thouſand *Spartans* came to *Athens* (being hindered hitherto by their ſuperſtition, which forbade them from a Law of *Lycurgus* not to ſtir out till the full Moon) whence they proceeded to *Marathon* to ſee the number of the ſlain, and then commending the valour of the *Athenians* returned home. Of theſe were ſlain in this fight *Callimachus* one of the *Polemarchs*, *Cynegirus* commended by many Writers, who when the *Perſians* fled, and betook themſelves to their ſhips, held one of them with his hands till they were cut off, and then with his teeth, till at length he was ſlain; and *Hippias* the late Tyrant (who now hoping to recover, after twenty years baniſhment, his old power, became the conductor of the *Perſian* Forces) though neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make mention of his death, yet is reported by later Authors here to have been ſlain. *Themiftocles* now a young man behaved himſelf gallantly in the battle, but the ſuccels is aſcribed to the valour, and conduct of *Miltiades*, to whom, when *Ariſtides* one of the Captains had aſſigned his day's Government, the reſt when it came on their turns did the ſame, after that by the ſame help he had carried it into the Council for a battle. Yet did he not fight till his own day came, and then ingaging, overthrew the Enemy in that memorable battle.

J. J. J. J. J.

Plutarch in
Atheniens.

Herod. lib. 6.

His Pedegree
and Actions.

27. His father was *Cimon*, who in the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus* departed from *Athens*, and thrice obtained the Garland in the *Olympick* Games; yet being reconciled to *Piſiſtratus* afterwards returned, but after his death was ſlain by his faction. His eldeſt ſon, was called after his Grand-father *Stefagoras*, was brought up with their half-Uncle *Miltiades* in the *Cherſoneſus*, over which he was Prince. His other ſon was this *Miltiades*, ſo called after this his Uncle, which dying without Children, *Stefagoras* ſucceeded him, but not long after was killed by one that counterfeited himſelf a fugitive, and died alſo without iſſue. Then did the *Piſiſtratus* ſend *Miltiades* to ſucceed his brother in the Principality of the *Cherſoneſus*, and there he ruled when *Darius* undertook the expedition into *Syria* and he it was that gave the *Ionians* council to break the bridge, and leave him there wandering with his Army. Being ſetled, he married *Hegſipſyla* the daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*; but the *Syrians* provoked by *Darius*, and making an excuſion as far as the *Cherſoneſus*, he

Seçt. 1.
them c. 87.

* *Plutarch* in
Corinth.

SECT. I.

he daring not to withstand them fled, and after their retreat was restored by the *Phocians*. After some years *Darius* being angry with him, sent a Fleet of *Phoenicians* to subdue the *Chersonesus*; whereupon he fled with five Gallies from *Cardia*, and came to *Abens*; but as he fled the *Phenicians* intercepted one of them, and therein his son *Metiochus*, who being presented to *Darius*, received from him house, lands, and a *Persian* Wife. Being returned home, he was accused for possessing the Tyranny of the *Chersonesus*, but was acquitted, and having perfwaded the *Athenians* to cast *Darius* his Ambassador into the pit, was afterwards declared by the people one of their Captains, and thence had occasion to obtain this famous Victory at *Marathon*.

His fruitless expedition to Persia.

28. *Miltiades* flourishing in great glory, and grace with the people, obtained of them seventy Gallies well manned, not making known his intention, but professing that he would much thereby benefit the State. He sayled to the Island *Paros* (one of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean-Sea*, and famous for the best Marble) the inhabitants of which having afflicted the *Persians* at *Marathon*, he besieged, demanding one hundred Talents of them. They would not hear of parting with money, but made provision for resistance, whereupon he harrassed their Territories, and more closely besieged them, and attempted the City for twenty days, but leaping off from a Wall, he hurt his Thigh, and was forced to return home. There, when he was arrived, he was accused by *Xanthippus* (the son of *Arifphon*, and Father to *Pericles*, his Emulator) of Treason, as having voluntarily miscarried in the Enterprize about *Paros*. He could not be present himself to answer, his Thigh now corrupting, which held him in his bed, but *Stragorus*, or *Tisagoras*, his brother (according to *Cor. Nepos*) or rather, o ther of his friends were there for him, bidding the people remember the battel at *Marathon*, and the taking of *Lemnus*, which he, having expelled the *Pelafians*, had subdued under the *Athenian* power. The people spared his life, but fined him fifty Talents, which sum this expedition cost them. One tells us it was not out of any regard to his Crime so much, as having lately been under the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*, they feared now the power of their own Citizens, and him especially, who having been much practised in Magistracy and Power, and enclined naturally to a love of it, could farcely as they thought bear the condition of a private life; so that though being called a Tyrant, he obtained that power not by his own seeking, but was ever found to be just, moderate, and humble; yet having a great name for Military matters, and thereby great interest, they chose rather to condemn him though innocent, than continually to be in fear; though they might have thought on the *Ostracism*.

He dieth in prison.

29. After this, *Miltiades* died in prison of the corruption of his Thigh, as most have delivered, his fine being yet upon the fore; upon which account the *Athenians* would not suffer his body to be buried, till such time as his Son *Cimon* offered himself to bonds in the room thereof. As his father before him, so he was unable to pay the fine, and by the Laws of *Athens* could not be released until he had done it. He had then to Wife his sister by the Father's side (as we are to take it) named *Elpinice*, it being lawful for the *Athenians* to marry such. One *Callias* there was in the City, a rich man, though of a vulgar cast, who had gained much by the Mines; he being in love with her, offered *Cimon*, if he would part with her to him, to discharge the fine. *Cimon* slighted the offer, but the vowed that she would not suffer any of *Miltiades* his Children to die in prison, and that to prevent such a thing, she would marry *Callias*, if he would perform his offer. *Cimon* was perfwaded, married her to him, and the fine being discharged, was set at liberty, which he presently improved for his own advancement. These things fell out not long after the battel at *Marathon*.

His son Cimon.

Xerxes invades Greece.

30. Three years the *Grecians* had rest, as from without, so within themselves, till the coming of *Xerxes*; only the War betwixt the *Athenians* and *Ægians* still depended, until common danger drew them to a compofure. As the *Athenians* had given most occasion to the invasion of *Greece*, so they bore the greatest burden thereof, and by the means of *Themistocles*, one of their Citizens, procured the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, in that by his Stratagems the *Peloponnesians* were brought to fight, and not suffered to depart to their several homes, which would have brought certain destruction to them all. Assistant to *Themistocles* was another of his Country-men, named *Arifides*, who though banished by the *Ostracism* through his procurement, for that, as they disagreed in temper, so in their way of policy, and Government (*Themistocles* being quick, bold, crafty,

Themistocles and Arifides.

SECT. I.

and easily changeable, according to the juncture of affairs; but *Arifides* constant and grave, only intent upon Justice, and who neither in jest nor earnest would give way to lying, scurrility, or deceit) yet now with others was recalled by his means for the safety of the Country, and voluntarily laid aside all private quarrels which came into competition with the publick safety. The surname of *Fufi* which first got this man love, afterward procured him envy, *Themistocles* whispering this into the ears of the multitude, that whilst he took upon him to censure all things, he had prepared for himself a Throne, in the ruine of the Courts of Judicature, being defended with a sufficient Guard. The multitude puffed up with their success at *Marathon*, and designing great things in their heads, could ill bear any that excelled them in fame and glory, and therefore flocking into the City they banished him by the *Ostracism*, cloaking their envy at his glory with a specious pretence of fear of Tyranny.

31. When they were come together to give their suffrages, a Countryman ignorant of Letters, is reported to have given a shell to *Arifides* (not knowing him, but to be of the common sort) and desired him to write for him therein the name of *Arifides*, at which he wondering, and asking him if ever he had received any injury at his hands, he said no, but that he was troubled to hear him all over go by the name of *Fufi*. *Arifides* hearing this, answered nothing, but wrote his own name, and gave it to the man, and when he departed out of the City, with hands lifted up to heaven prayed (contrary to what *Achilles* did when he found himself ill used by *Agamemnon*) that the estate of *Athens* might never happen to be such as to give them occasion to think of *Arifides*. But in the third year after, when *Xerxes* now marched through *Thessaly* and *Boeotia* towards *Attica*, the *Athenians* repealing their Decrees, recalled all that were banished, especially for fear of *Arifides*, left joining with the Enemy, he might by his Authority draw many of their Citizens to revolt. They were mistaken concerning the mans disposition, for before the Decree for his return was made, he had not been wanting to provoke the *Grecians* as much as he could to defend their liberty; then joyned with *Themistocles*, though one most averse to him, and for the publick good advanced him to the highest degree of Dignity. He joyned in endeavours with him for procuring the *Grecians* to fight, and understanding that *Pylarchus* a little Island before *Salamina* was possessed of the Enemy, he passed over thither with a party of such as voluntarily followed him, and put them all to the sword, except some of the chiefest, to whom he gave quarter. He disposed Soldiers to throughout the Island, that on which quarter soever any of either party should light, he might seize upon them, and so preserve his friends, and provide that none of the enemy should escape: upon which account a Trophy was erected in *Pylarchia*. And when *Themistocles* to try him after the victory, said, that one brave act was done, viz. the overthrow of *Xerxes*, but that another remained, which was, by breaking the bridge to take *Asia* in *Europe*, he earnestly desired him to reject all such advice, and rather to consider how soon they might expel the *Mede* out of *Greece*, left being shut in with such great Forces, and all opportunity of flight being taken away, he might by necessity be egged on to revenge.

32. After the overthrow and flight of *Xerxes*, *Themistocles* having the greatest authority in the Fleet, went therewith against such Islanders as had taken part with the *Persians*, demanding money of them. He urged them with two powerful divinities *Perfwasion* and *Necessity*, to which the inhabitants of *Andros* (one of the *Cyclades*) trusting in the strength of their Fortifications, opposed two others as strong as the former, viz. *Poverty* and *Impossibility*, whereupon they were close besieged, and it being to no purpose, the Fleet returned to *Salamine*, *Themistocles* without the privacy of the rest, going to other Islands, from which by his threats he exacted much money. After they had at *Salamine* divided the spoils, and consecrated part thereof to their gods, they went to the *Isthmus*, there to reward him who should be thought to have best in the War deserved of *Greece*. When the Captains severally came to deliver their minds in writing at the Altar of *Neptune*, each one ascribed to himself the first place in merit, but to *Themistocles* assigned the second, which amounted to as much, as if by a silent confession they had acknowledged his merit to be principal. And though by the envy of the Captains his glory was depressed, yet was he accounted the most prudent man of all *Greece*, and being invited down to *Laedamon*, by the judgment of that severe State, as the praise of valour was given to their own *Eurybiades*, so that of prudence and dexterity unto him. They gave him a crown of Olives, and the best Chariot they had, as a reward,

The acts of Themistocles immediately after the flight of Xerxes.

His glory.

Persian Lib. 2.

Hered. lib. 6. cap. 132. &c.

Corn. Nepos in vita Miltiadi.

Valer. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. ext. exemplar. Corn. Nepos in vita Cimonis. Plutarchus in Cimon.

Vide Jann Raleghum Var. Litt. lib. 1. cap. 9. & Boetii notis ad Corn. Nepotum.

Vide Plutarchum in vita Arifidis.

then 1112.

Hid. 6.

Hrodorus lib. 8. cap. 111.

then cap. 123. &c. & Plutarch. in Themistocle.

Sect. 1.

and what before was not done to any mortal man by them, at his departure, to do him honour, they sent three hundred Horse to conduct him to the borders of their Dominions. After this, the Græcians overthrew *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had left behind him, at the battle of *Plataea*, and the same day the Persian Fleet at *Mycale* a Promontory of *Ionia*, which they hereby restored to liberty, *Xanthippus* being Archon at *Athens*; in the second year of the seventy fifth Olympiad, and the seventh of the Reign of *Xerxes*. During which passages abroad, little hapned at home but in relation to them; the sum of which elsewhere hath been related.

Learned Men.

33. As for learned men which flourished during this period; some of the seven Wise men of Greece lived in the time of *Cyrus*, and about the beginning of the Persian Empire. These seven were, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*, who was born about the thirty second Olympiad; *Bias* of *Priene*, *Chilon* of *Lacedæmon*, and *Cleobulus* of *Lindus*, all who flourished about the forty seventh Olympiad, with *Thales* of *Miletus*, who being born about the first year of the thirty fifth Olympiad, foretold an Eclipse of the Sun, which hapned about the third year of the fourth eighth, in the reign of *Ayattes*, and *Astyages*, and about the beginning of the fifty eighth, having helped *Croesus* over the River *Halys*, by draining it with a ditch, then died. The sixth was *Solon* of *Athens*, who died the same year with *Thales*, and the seventh *Periander* of *Corinth*.

34. Besides these there was *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, who being born in the fortieth Olympiad, came into *Sicily*, when *Hieron* and *Epicharmus* flourished about the seventieth Olympiad. *Epicharmus* lived ninety seven years as *Lucian* writeth, and invented the Comedy eight years before the beginning of the Persian Empire. *Phocylides* flourished at the same time, to whom a Poem yet extant concerning *Laws* is ascribed, though *Scaliger* thinks it made by some *Hellenistick Jew*. Besides these, *Anacreon* the *Teian* Poet, who as *Pliny* writeth, was choaked with the stone of a raifin. *Simonides* a Poet of the Island *Ceos*, where he was born in the City *Julis*. Having lived some time at *Athens* with *Hipparchus* the Son of *Pisistratus*, he went into *Sicily* unto *Hiero*, by whom being asked what God was, he demanded a days time to consider of it, and after that another; still professing that the more he studied the point, the more he was to seek in it. Some say he found out the Art of Memory, and that being very covetous, he first expold the Muses to sale. In the second year of the fifty eighth Olympiad, and eight before the Persian Empire, died *Anaximander* the natural Philosopher of *Miletus*. *Anaximenes* his Scholar flourished about that time. *Theagenes* of *Rhegium* the most antient Chronographer. *Democedes* of *Crotone* a Physician, being taken Captive with *Polycrates* by *Oetes* the Persian, was carried as a Slave to *Darius*, with whom he lived in great esteem, after he had cured his foot and the breaf of his wife *Aroffa*.

35. There flourished also in *Darius* his time, *Cadmus* of *Miletus* an Historiographer, there having been another of this name and place, according to *Suidas*, who in four Books wrote the History of *Miletus* and all *Ionia*: and *Strabo* nameth *Cadmus*, *Pherecydes* and *Hecateus* as those who first of all Greeks wrote Prose. *Hecateus* flourished at this time, and gave light to *Herodotus*. *Phrynichus* the *Athenian*, a tragical Poet, who first caused a woman to be personated, and invented the verse with four feet. *Heraclitus* the *Ephesian*, a contemner of Heathenish Idols, who out of fear wrote his Book of Nature in such an obscure manner, that that thence he got the name of *Scotivus* or *Dark*. *Zeno* of *Eleea*, or *Pelia*, in *Italy*, Scholar to *Parmenides*, who conspiring against *Nearchus* the Tyrant, endured torments to death, rather than he would discover his complices. *Pythagoras* the son of *Mnesarchus* the *Samian*, but born at *Sidos* in *Phœnicia*, about the fifty third Olympiad. Being twelve years old he learnt of *Thales* and *Phocylides*, from the latter taking the transmigration of Souls. Travelling into *Aegypt* and to *Babylon*, he drunk in the learning of both places. About the sixty eighth Olympiad he went into *Italy*, where he lived first at *Crotone*, and then at *Metapontus*. Here he taught and constituted the *Italian* School or Sect, as *Thales* had done the *Ionick*. Where as others suffered themselves to be called *Sophoi*, he would be called out of modesty *Philosophus*. In the sixty seventh Olympiad he found out the nature and course of the Planet *Venus*. In the fourth year of the seventieth he died at *Metapontus*, where he was so admired, that his house was made a Temple, and that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*. Amongst his Scholars was *Milo* the famous Wrestler; and women through him became famous for learning, their Epistles being yet extant.

SECT.

Sect. 2.

S E C T. II.

Of such things as fell out amongst the Græcians, from their Victories at Plataea and Mycale, until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

Containing the space of forty eight Years.

I. The Persians being overthrown in Greece both at Sea and Land, and so driven utterly out of Europe; and those that fled into Asia in Ships being also defeated at *Mycale*, *Leutychides* the Spartan who there commanded in chief, returned home with his Associates of *Peloponnesus*. The Athenians with the Ionians, and those that inhabited upon the *Hellaspont*, besieged *Sestus*, which the Persians had seized on, all Winter, and reduced it; after which they also all departed home.

2. The Athenians having brought home their Wives and Children, after the overthrow of *Mardonius*, had the popular Government restored by *Arifides*, and set themselves to rebuild the Walls of their City in a greater compass, and stronger than had been formerly, being thereto especially induced through the perswasal of *Themistocles*. The Lacedæmonians above all others were heret exceedingly troubled, as confiding that having obtained so great Glory by the two Victories at *Marathon* and *Salamina*, the Athenians would yet contend with them for the Principality, and upon that account they wished them as weak as might be. They disswaded them therefore from going on with their work; alleging that it was dangerous for Greece to have any fortified place without the *Peloponnesus*, which the Barbarians might seize on, and possess. They said they would send answer by Ambassadors of their own, and *Themistocles* took the business upon him. He first went alone, and ordered that the rest should follow, but not till the Wall was brought to a reasonable height; that in the mean time both Bond and Free should ply the work; and sparing no place, whether Holy or Prophane, Private or Publick, take all such stuff for building as they might soonest light on. When he came to *Sparta*, he demanded no audience, but fought to protract the time, pretending he expected his Collegues. The Lacedæmonians complaining that nevertheless the Work went on, and that he went about to deceive them, the other Ambassadors arrived, of whom after he knew that the Fortifications were almost finished, he laboured to perswade the *Ephori* (who now had the chief Power in that State) that the things were false, which they were made to believe, desired them to send Persons considerable whom they might trust to make inspection, and keep him as an Hostage till their return.

3. They sent accordingly three of their principal men to *Athens*, and with them *Themistocles* his Collegues, to whom he gave in charge that the Lacedæmonians should not be dismissed till his return. After their departure, he demanded audience of the Magistrates and Senate, and then freely and openly professed, that the Athenians by his Advice, and agreeable to the common Law of Nations, had fenced their publick and private Goods with a Wall, that they might more easily defend them; and neither could that be to the damage of Greece, of which Athens was the Bulwark against the Barbarians, for here the King's Navy had twice suffered Shipwrack. He told them, they did ill to regard more their private ambition, than what was profitable for all Greece; and, to conclude, if they expected the return of their Ambassadors, they must dismiss him, or else never expect to see them again; which accordingly they were forced to do with much private regret, though ashamed to own the Cause. He advised his Country-men further to finish the work of the *Piræus* or Port of *Athens*, which they had begun a long time before, whilst he was Archon; for he perswaded them first to apply them-

Consult Diogenem Laertium.

*lib. 7. cap. 7.

The Athenians rebuild their Walls, which the Lacedæmonians grudge.

But are dissuaded by Themistocles.

Diogenem Laertium lib. 2. c. 3.

Thucyd. l. 2.

idem ibid. Plataea & Mycale, Nipus in Themistocle.

Sec. 2. selves to Sea-matters, as the way to obtain Dominion, and commended to them that Place as most convenient for their design, having three natural Havens. The Wall he caused to be made so thick as two Carriages loaded with Stones might pass by each other; but brought the height of it but to half of that which he had designed. And with so great a desire was he carried out for the enlargement of the Dominion of that State, that observing the *Lacedæmonian* Navy to be drawn up at *Gythium*, and so, easy to be set on fire, he much desired to have it done, and told the People he had a thing of great moment in his Head, but such as was not to be divulged. The People appointed *Aristides* to confer with him, and if he approved it, resolved he might prosecute it; but he making a report that *Themistocles* advised a thing, than which nothing was more profitable, and more unjust, he was commanded to desist.

4. A little after these things, *Paulanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, famous for the Victory at *Platea*, was sent with a Fleet of twenty *Peloponnesian* Gallies, and thirty of *Asia*, against *Cyprus*, where he took many Towns, and *Byzantium* afterwards, held by the *Persians*. He was very imperious towards the Associates, in so much as he carried himself more like a Tyrant than a General, and being forely complained of to his Superiours, he was by them recalled to give an account of it. He gaped after the Kingdom of *Greece*, and to that end, entered into conspiracy with *Xerxes*, whose Daughter he asked to Wife, and being accused of much favour shewed towards the *Persians*, yet for that nothing could be proved, he was dismissed, having the Government of the Fleet only taken from him. Yet returned he to the *Hellspont*, under pretence of the War to continue his intelligence with *Xerxes*; but being expelled from *Byzantium* by the *Athenian* Soldiers, he returned not to *Sparta*, but staid at *Troas*, and for that was again complained of, as holding clandestine Conferences with the *Persians*, and not having any just and warrantable Cause there to remain. Hereupon he was called home by the *Ephori* the second time, and cast into Prison, but appearing again to his Tryal, he was the second time dismissed.

5. The *Lacedæmonians* sent *Doris* with others to succeed *Paulanias* in the Fleet; but the Associates would take no notice of him; for *Aristides* the *Fust*, Captain of the *Athenians*, so moderately behaved himself, and wrought cross to the Actions of *Paulanias*, that all the Cities of *Asia* hating the others pride, joyed themselves to him, so that he became the means of transferring the chief Command at Sea, which (together with that at Land also) had hitherto been enjoyed by the *Lacedæmonians*, unto his own Country-men; the *Spartans*, at this time not being unwilling, or opposing it in the least, so ashamed were they of the carriage of their own Citizens. The *Athenians* being thus advanced by the Associates for their moderation, under pretence of revenging the States upon *Xerxes*, obtained also liberty to lay a Tax upon them all, how much Money one, and how many Ships another should find. Officers they appointed to receive the Tributes, the sum of all which amounted to four hundred and sixty Talents: *Delos* was appointed for the Treasury, and the place to meet in, to deliberate of the Affairs of all the free States. This affair (as *Plutarch* writeth) was made by *Aristides* at the desire of the *Græcians*, who relied upon his integrity; and his moderation so much appeared herein, that afterwards the *Athenians* inflamed the States, and drawing the Tributes to their private use, first doubled, and then tripled the sum. For now, whereas the whole Tax imposed by him amounted but to four hundred and sixty Talents, *Pericles* added almost a third part (as *Plutarch* reckoneth) and increased it to six hundred, and after his death it was brought to one thousand and three hundred Talents.

6. The *Athenians* having fetled the Tribute, under the conduct of *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, took from the *Persians* *Eione*, a Town of *Thrace*, situate upon the River *Strymon*, which they deprived of its Liberty. Then expelled they the *Dolopians* out of *Scyrus* (an Island in the *Egean* Sea) and therein planted a Colony of their own; then waged they War with the *Carystians* in *Eubœa*, for denying them Obedience (which was compoised) and besieged the *Naxians* that had revolted from them, whom they forced to submit. This being the first of all *Greek* Cities, which, contrary to the League, was subjected to Bondage, after it, others were as occasion served, which was taken hold of by the *Athenians*, either for that they sent not the full Tribute, or Ships, or would not serve in the War when Affairs required it. The *Athenians* also feverely exacted what had been appointed, and compelled such as refused, having forgotten their former mildness, now in Power, and carrying it very imperiously towards their Associates whom they could

could order as they pleased. And this was also effected by the *Greeks* themselves: for, to shun the labour of it, most of them chose rather to lend money than ships; whereby the *Athenians*, who had Vessels enough, and always in readiness, increased their strength, and upon occasion found them unfit for resistance.

7. In the mean time *Paulanias*, who had been called home to *Sparta*, gave not over his conspiracy against his Country, though he changed his associates. For he now sought to draw the *Helotes*, or publick Slaves, into rebellion with the allurements of liberty, and hereof being detected by one *Argilus* (whom he had unchastly loved, and now being sent with Letters to *Ariarxes*, suspected he carried a Warrant for his own death, and so opening them, discovered both his plot against himself and the State) he took sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva*, and there the door being made up (to which end his own Mother is said to have brought the first stone) was starved to death. After his death the *Spartans* sent to *Athens* to accuse *Themistocles* of the same Crime, who being before this banished by the *Ostracism*, lived at *Argos* in great esteem, and was much envied by the *Lacedæmonians* for having done many things in his Countries behalf, which they looked upon as tending to their prejudice. This said that certain Letters were found in *Paulanias* his Coffers, intimating a correspondence betwixt them for promoting the affairs of the *Persian* King, which though he assented not unto, yet discovered not the thing, hoping *Paulanias* would either be deterred from his design, or the thing would come out some other way. But the *Spartans* laying it heavily to his charge, and his own Citizens envying his glory, though he sought to purge himself by Letters, yet was he condemned, and the people persuaded to send some to lay hold of him; and bring him up. He perceiving this, fled to *Coreya*, and thence to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, with whom, not being able to continue in safety, he went to *Ariarxes* *Longimanus*, by whom he was honourably received, and bountifully entertained (having three Cities given him, one for bread, another for wine, and a third for victuals, to which others add two more for Clothes and Linnen) and died at length at *Magna* a natural death, though some wrote, that seeing he was not able to perform his promise to the King of Conquering *Greece*, which by this time had many expert Captains (amongst whom of most especial note was *Cimon*) he poisoned himself.

8. (a) Four years after the banishment of *Themistocles* died *Aristides*, whose moderation and abstinence herein appeared, that having born high Offices, yet he died so poor, that he scarcely left wherewith to be buried; yet so grateful was the State towards his memory, that his Children were provided for at the publick charge. Eight years after the battel of *Platea*, *Cimon* being sent out by the *Athenians*, obtained in one day two notable victories at Sea and Land, over the *Persians* at *Eury-medon*, a River in *Pamphylia*, which brought him and the State no little credit. After this they fell out with the *Thasians*, who by their Colonies had taken possession of the rich Mines of Silver and Gold, which were in that part of *Thrace*, lying upon *Macedonia*, betwixt the two Rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*. For these Mines the *Athenians* envied them, and raised such a contention, that they withdrew themselves from the association; whereupon they presently commenced War against them, and overthrew them in a Sea-fight, and afterwards besieged them by Land. The *Thasians* besieged, sent to the *Spartans*, desiring them to invade *Asia*, thereby to divert the *Athenians* from them; and, having promised, they were ready to perform it; but that they were hindered by an Earth-quake, which sore afflicted them, and whereupon the publick slaves (called *Helotes*) of the posterity of the *Messenians* took their opportunity, and rebelling, seized upon *Ithome* in the Territories of *Messenia*, being acted by that impression, which *Paulanias*, not long before had made upon them.

9. The *Spartans*, much distressed by this rebellion, having lost two thousand men by the Earth-quake, besides a great loss in their buildings, after three years the *Thasians* were no longer able to hold out, and yielded to such hard conditions as the *Athenians* laid upon them. The *Lacedæmonians* proceeding but slowly in their War, sent to the *Athenians* for aid, which was sent them; but through sinister insinuations they returned it back again, and this was taken as an affront by the *Athenians*, who were very much moved at it. This was the beginning of that mutual malice and enmity which thenceforth passed betwixt these two States, and proved the rise of a bundance of mischief. For the *Athenians*, presently after the return of their men, forsook the League, which they had entered into with the *Spartans* against the common Enemy, and made an Alliance with the

Sec. 2.

Idem.
Plutarch. in
Themistocle.
Aristides. Com.
Nepos in Paulanias.
Diodorus at
Sparta.
Plutarch. &
Corn. Nepos.
Thucyd. Vol.
I. lib. 1.
cap. 3. extrin.
exempl. 3.

The ends of
Paulanias and
Themistocles.

Thucyd. &
Diodorus at
Platea.
Plutarch &
Corn. Nepos in
Aristides.

And of Aristides.

The Thasians
envied by the
Athenians for
the Mines.

The Lacedæmonians
distressed.

(a) Corn. Nepos
& Plutarch in
Aristides.
Thucyd. lib. 1.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 77.
ann. 4.
Thucyd.

The beginning
of malice
betwixt the
Athenians and
Lacedæmonians.

Seçt. 2. *Argives* their Adversaries, in which they also comprehended the *Theffalians*. And they that were besieged in *Ithone*, at length in the tenth year, being forced to yield, and banished *Peloponnesus* by the *Spartans*, the *Athenians* kindly received them with their Wives and Children, and gave them *Naupactus* to inhabit, which they had lately taken from the *Locrians*, called * *Ocole*. A little after this, another great accession was made to the strength of the *Athenians*, and that with the detriment of the *Spartans*; for the inhabitants of *Megara*, Neighbours to the former, being fallen upon with War by the *Corinthians*, betook themselves to them for aid, though heretofore they had been the Allies

The beginning of the hatred between *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

The *Mycenaeans* and *Argives* fall out.

Mycenae destroyed.

The difference between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, about *Megara* renewed.

A War betwixt the *Placians* and *Dorians*.

* *Vile Strab.*
lib. 9. pag. 417.

Diodorus at
Olymp. 78.
sec. 1.

Diodorus at
Olymp. 80.
sec. 2. & 3.

them, having with them one thousand *Argives*, and a great number of other Allies, so that the whole amounted to fourteen thousand. Who when the *Theffalians* horse joyned with them gave battle to the *Lacedaemonians* near *Tanagra*, a great and famous City of *Boeotia*, not far from *Thebes*. The *Theffalians* horse revolting to the *Lacedaemonians*, they obtained the victory, and then presently marching into *Megaris*, wasted it and so returned home through the *Isthmus*. Yet the *Athenians* resolving not to give way to Fortune, seventy two days after this defeat marched again into *Boeotia* to revenge themselves, which by the overthrow of the inhabitants they reduced, together with *Phocis*; rased the Walls about *Tanagra*, and compelled the *Opuntians* of *Locris* to give them one hundred Hostages of their richest men. At this time they perfected their long Walls; *Argina* was yielded to them, the Walls of which they pulled down, took away their shipping, and imposed Tribute upon them for the future. And *Tolmides* their Captain coasting *Peloponnesus* with a Fleet, burnt the *Lacedaemonian* Arsenal at *Gythium*, took *Chalcis*, a Town of the *Corinthians*, and landing his men, overthrew the *Sicyonians* in fight.

13. But in *Egypt* the *Athenians* had bad success, *Inarus* being taken and Crucified, and few of their men after six years returning home: fifty Gallies also being sent to their relief were most of them taken and sunk by the *Phenicians*. Other Expeditions they made also with like success, save that they overthrew the *Sicyonians* again in battle; which made them after three years willing to make truce with the *Peloponnesians* for five years, by the advice of *Cimon*, whom being banished by the *Ostracism* they had recalled; during which time they were in (b) *Cyprus* under conduct of *Cimon*, and in *Egypt* in the service of *Amartyes* the King, with good success. (c) After this followed the Holy War, as they called it, the *Spartans* taking the Temple at *Delphos* from the *Phocians*, and giving it up to the *Delphians*, from whom the *Athenians* again took it and restored it to the *Phocians*. Afterwards the (d) *Boeotians* revolted from the *Athenians*; who thereupon in great indignation under conduct of *Tolmides* invaded them, took *Cheronea* and other Towns, in which putting a Garrison, and returning homewards they light upon the Enemy, who killed and took them all, and amongst others *Tolmides* was slain, who had made this bold attempt, contrary to the advice of *Pericles* the Son of *Xanthippus*, who now had begun to grow eminent. Hereat the *Athenians* exceedingly dashed, to redeem their prisoners parted with all *Boeotia*, and not long after all *Euboea* revolted from them, their credit being now on the decaying hand. To the recovery of this Island *Pericles* was sent, who scarcely being landed, news came that *Megara* had also revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*.

14. This constrained him to return, and the *Peloponnesians* accordingly invaded *Attica* under the command of *Plisbonax* the Son of *Paulanias* the *Lacedaemonian* King. They wasted all as far as *Eleusine*; but *Pericles* there opposing them, corrupted *Cleandridas* Counsellour to *Plisbonax* with gold, whereby they were deterred, and returned home, where *Cleandridas* was rewarded with death, and *Plisbonax* with banishment. *Pericles* having so easily dispatched his affairs here, returned into *Euboea*, which he wholly reduced, pulled down the Walls of *Chalcis*, and banished only the Inhabitants of *Hestia*, which he peopled with a Colony of his own Citizens. This various fortune inclined both sides to an accommodation, and procured a League to be made for thirty years betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedaemonians*, with their allies on both sides, whereby *Nisaea*, *Abdia*, *Pagae*, and *Trazene*, were set free by the *Athenians*, and it was made lawful for any City that had not been associate with either party, to join it self to which it best liked; which Article afterwards was urged by them of *Corcyra* to *Athens*, whereby they demonstrated that they ought not to deny them the liberty of association.

15. Six years after, a War arose betwixt the Inhabitants of *Miletus* and those of *Samus*, about *Priene* a Town in *Ionia*, under the Mountain *Mycale*. The *Milesian* affairs going down the wind they sent to *Athens*, where they grievously accused the other, with whom joyned also many of the *Samians* themselves, who not being employed in the Government desired to have it changed. The *Athenians* being persuaded by them, manned out forty ships against *Samus*, by which power *Pericles* restored the Popular Government, exacted eighty Talents, and taking for Hostages fifty Boys, and as many Men, which they kept in custody at *Lemnos*, put a Garrison of their own into *Samus* it self. But some of the Citizens who had withdrawn themselves into the continent, entred into

The *Athenians* forced by bad success to make a Truce with the *Peloponnesians*.

They parted with *Boeotia*, & *Euboea* revolted.

Pericles reduced *Euboea*, and various fortune inclined both sides to an accommodation.

Stirs in *Samus*. *Pericles* victorious there.

Diodorus at
Olymp. 81.
sec. 1.

Thucyd. lib. 1.

(b) *Diodorus* at
Olymp. 82.
sec. 1.
(c) *Thucyd.* lib. 1.
(d) *Idem*.
Diodorus at
Olymp. 83.
sec. 2.

Thucyd. lib. 1.
Diodorus at
Olymp. 83.
sec. 3, & 4.

Thucyd.
Diodorus at
Olymp. 84.
sec. 4.

SECT. 2. a conspiracy with the greatest in the Town, and associating to them *Pissuthnes* the Governour of *Sardis* for the *Persians*, with seven hundred Auxiliaries passed over by night into the Island, and setting upon the People on a sudden (of which they overthrew the major part, and having their Hostages delivered to them by stealth out of *Lemnus*, delivered up the *Athenian* Garrison with the Officers into the hands of *Pissuthnes*) and brake out into open rebellion, and drawing in the *Byzantians* to their party, made War upon *Miletus*.

16. The *Athenians*, having notice of this presently dispatched away sixty Gallies against *Samus*, with forty four of which *Pericles* and his nine Colleagues failing for *Miletus*, engaged with the *Samian* Fleet consisting of seventy Vessels (whereof twenty were laden with Soldiers) at the Island *Tragias*, and obtained the victory, and afterwards with the other part of the Fleet, and a new supply of forty ships, failing to *Samus*, overthrew the Inhabitants, and closely besieged them both by Sea and Land. *Pericles*, whilst things were thus ordering, heard that the *Phenicians* were coming to the relief of the besieged, to meet whom he took away with him sixty Gallies, and bent his course towards *Caria*, after whose departure the *Samians* perceiving the Guards thinner than usual, broke out of the Haven, put to flight the ships that lay nearest, overthrew the next, and so recovering the mastery of the adjoining Sea, for fourteen days exported and imported what they pleased. But *Pericles* being returned with sixty other ships from *Asia* (commanded by excellent Captains) besides thirty others from *Chius* and *Lesbos*, they were besieged closer than ever, and being spent with the War, in the ninth month of the siege yielded up the City. The conditions were hard enough, viz. To demolish their Walls, give Hostages, deliver up their ships, and pay the charge of the War. *Byzantium* affrighted at this success, returned also to its former obedience.

17. Shortly after this, fell out those motions which occasioned the *Corinthian*, and so by consequence laid the foundation of the *Peloponnesian* War, about the second of the eighty fifth Olympiad, and the twenty fifth of the reign of *Ariaxerxes Longimanus*.

18. The Inhabitants of the Island *Coreya*, who were a Colony of the *Corinthians*, some eighty five years after their plantation in that Island (formerly called *Phæachus*, situate one the *Illyrian* shore, and being very populous) sent out a Colony which built a City called *Epidamnus*, and afterwards *Dyrrachium*, but not without the leave of *Corinth* the Metropolis, which at their request had assigned a Citizen of their own (*Phalios* of the posterity of *Hercules*) according to the Law and Custom, to be Prince of the Colony; and out of the number of their own Citizens and other *Dores* made up the number. This new Colony seated in a very convenient place, in a short time flourished exceedingly, and abounding with plenty of all things, as usually it happeneth, fell out of luxury unto civil dissensions about the Government, and hereat occasion being taken by their next neighbours the *Taulantians* (who made War upon them) suffered no little damage. At length the People incensed against the great ones expelled them the City, who thereupon betaking themselves to the *Taulantians*, procured them to distress *Epidamnus* both by land and sea, by which the people being straitened sent to the *Coreyans* their Founders, and Patrons, humbly to beseech them that by their authority they would make an accommodation betwixt them and their exiles, and bring the *Taulantians* to cease their Hostility. The *Coreyans*, whether disapproving the cause, or minding something else, rejected their petition, who then by direction from the Oracle at *Delphos*, betook themselves to the *Corinthians*, Founders of them both, and gave up their Colony into their hands. They were glad of this occasion, and presently promised them all assistance, being angry with the *Coreyans*, who upon their good fortune were grown insolent, and paid not the respect to them which was due from a Colony to the Metropolis; for they were so rich and strong, that giving way to no City of *Greece* in the former respect, they had also one hundred and twenty Gallies readily furnished, which drew envy upon them from the *Corinthians*, inasmuch that now by the help of their Friends they resolved to chastise them, and sent a Party of Soldiers to defend *Epidamnus*, together with new planters to be imbedded into the Colony.

19. The *Coreyans* took this heavily that they should intermeddle with the affairs of their Colony, and being solicited by such exiles as had fled to them, sent a Fleet to *Epidamnus*, commanding it to receive the exiles without delay, and cast out the new Planters with the *Corinthian* Garrison. But the *Epidamnians* refusing

The City yielded to him.

Sins at *Epidamnus*, a Colony of the *Coreyans*.

to do it, and the *Corinthians* making great provisions for the War, they sent their Ambassadors to *Corinth* with some *Spartans* and *Sicyonians* to bear witness of the matter, and offered to put it to a reference before equal Judges: But the *Corinthians* neglecting their Message, as resolved for War, they also made preparation for it. They still continuing the Siege before *Epidamnus*, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet of seventy five Gallies, armed with two thousand fighting men together, but leaving forty for the carrying on of the Siege, with eighty more they engaged with them in a Sea-Fight near the Promontory of *Actium*, and got the Victory. The same day *Epidamnus* was yielded to that party they had left at the Siege, and so hereby getting the Dominion of the Sea far and wide, and growing proud upon their good Fortune, they invaded the Territories of the Allies of their Enemies, to succour whom the *Corinthians* manned out another Fleet, and landed an Army at *Actium*. They pitched also there their Tents against them, but Winter drawing on, they both departed without any Act of Hostility; the *Corinthians* all that Year, and the Year following, out of hatred to the other, using all their endeavours for rigging a new Fleet, and procuring plenty of Rowers out of *Peloponnesus* and other parts of *Greece*.

The *Coreyans* victorious.

They enter into society with *Athens*.

The design of the *Athensians* herein.

20. The *Coreyans* before this time not joyned in alliance with any other State, now began to look about them how they might strengthen themselves. They sent to *Athens*, desiring to enter into society with that State, and to have assistance from it; and the *Corinthians* having notice hereof, sent their Ambassadors to oppose them. The *Coreyans* were first heard, making a large discourse, and then the *Corinthians* larger than they. The matter was brought twice before the People, which at length resolved that a defensive League should be made with them of *Coreya*, that the one should assist the other in case they were assailed by an Enemy: but to make any Invasion Assistance was denied, lest they should break the Leagues formerly made with other States. The *Athenians* resolved on this course, for that they saw plainly they must have War with the *Peloponnesians*, and therefore desired to have the *Coreyans* who were very powerful at Sea, on their side; and they thought it would be for their interest to have the *Corinthians* and their Associates to spend their Stock upon those of *Coreya*, which Island they also looked upon as very commodious for passage either into *Sicilie* or *Italy*. Ten Triremes therefore were decreed to assist the *Coreyans*, in case they were in any danger, and three Captains sent, one of which was *Lacedæmonius* the Son of *Cimon*, whom *Pericles* envying for his Fathers sake, procured that no more Assistance should be sent, that so the business might miscarry under him; but afterwards out of plain Shame he sent another Squadron of Ships which came too late. These Generals had in charge by all means to decline the Fight with the *Corinthians*, except they set upon the *Coreyans*, whom then they were to protect to the utmost.

Plato in *Phædo*.

21. This Squadron of ten Ships joyning with the *Coreyans*, made up their Fleet one hundred and twenty Sail, with which they gave Battel to the *Corinthians* (who had ninety of their own, and sixty from their Allies) betwixt the Island *Coreya* and the continent of *Epirus*. This Fight (described most accurately by *Thucydides*) was the most valiantly fought, and with the greatest number of Ships, of any that those times had happened betwixt the *Græcians* themselves. The *Athenians* being mindful of the Charge received from their Superiors, at the first rather thought to deter, than to fight with the Enemy, succouring the *Coreyans* in some places; but they being fully worsted and put to flight in that Wing wherein they stood, they then with all their might fell upon the *Corinthians*, and spoiled their Victory in that part, and rendered it Ambiguous as to both sides. On the same day both parties rallied for a fresh Engagement, and they were founding to the Charge, when unexpectedly the *Corinthians* espied twenty *Athenian* Ships, which *Pericles* had now sent to assist with the other ten, at which sight being utterly discouraged (as fearing more might follow them) they fell off again, to the admiration of the *Coreyans*, who knew nothing of the coming of these Ships. Great Slaughter was made on both sides; the *Corinthians* lost thirty Ships, and *Coreyans* seventy; besides one thousand of their men taken Prisoners, whom as the *Coreyans* carried homewards, they took *Anactorium* (a Town situate upon the Bay of *Ambracia*) in their way, and therein left some Planters of their own. This Battel was fought in the twenty ninth year of *Ariaxerxes Longimanus*, the tenth of the eighty sixth Olympiad, and five years almost before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, *Lyfimachus* being Archon at *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* overthrown in a Sea-fight.

SECT. 2.

Thucyd.
Disidorus ad Olymp. 85. acc.
2. 5. 4.

Thucyd.
Disidorus ad Olymp. 85. acc.

Sect. 2.

This with other things exasperate them and the Peloponnesians against the Athenians.

22. Eight hundred of the Prisoners which had been formerly Slaves they sold, and the rest (many of them being of the chiefest Rank of the *Corinthians*) they kindly entertained. Thus was *Coreyra* as it were made victorious, and the *Athenian* Ships dismissed, which proved the first cause of the *Corinthians* making War upon the *Athenians*. Others followed, which not only enraged them, but the other *Peloponnesians* against the *Athenians*. *Potidea*, a Town situate in the *Sthmus* of *Pallene* (formerly called *Plegra*, and afterwards *Cassandra* from *Cassander* King of *Macedonia*) was a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but associated with the *Athenians*. The Inhabitants thereof were now commanded by the later to demolish that part of their Wall, which was next *Pallene*, to give Hostages, and to cast out the Magistrate which every Year the *Corinthians* used to send them, and receive no more from them afterwards. This the *Athenians* did, for that they perceived the *Corinthians* to be much exasperated against them, and feared that joining with *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, with whom they were at odds, and upon whose Kingdom *Potidea* bordered, they would solicit the place to revolt, and by its example would entice the rest of the Towns thereabout from their alliance. But *Perdiccas* being first aware hereof (against whom the *Athenians* had Armed his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas*) in great wrath sent to *Lacedæmon* to stir them up with the other *Peloponnesian* States to make War upon them, and invited the *Potideaans* to revolt, with other Towns in *Thrace*.

23. The *Athenians* being not ignorant of all this, to prevent the revolt of the Towns, first order to the Captains of the thirty Gallies lately sent into those parts, first to see the execution of their Commands laid upon *Potidea*, and take all possible care that the other places should not give ear to any sinister advice. They of *Potidea* sent to *Athens*, desiring earnestly that nothing of extremity might be put upon them; but yet they dispatched also Ambassadors (together with some from the *Corinthians* their Founders) to *Sparta*, to desire aid thence, that they might provide for the worst. Having no good Answer from *Athens*, but affrighted with the coming of the Fleet; and on the other hand being promised by the *Lacedæmonians*, that in case the *Athenians* fell upon them, they would straight invade *Attica*, they took the advice of *Perdiccas*, and revolted with the *Chalcidians* and *Bottians*. The *Athenian* Fleet having notice hereof departed from *Thrace*, where they had arrived, and sailing to *Macedonia*, joyned their Power with *Philip* and *Derdas* against *Perdiccas*. The *Corinthians* to help their Friends at *Potidea*, sent one thousand and six hundred men, partly of their own, and partly hired out of *Peloponnesus*, of heavy Armour; and four hundred besides light armed, who forty days after the revolt of the Town came into *Thrace*, under conduct of *Arifteus*, the Son of *Alimantus*.

24. The *Athenians* hearing of this aid, to give greater strength to their Affairs in *Thrace*, sent to their former Forces two thousand armed men, with a Fleet of fourty Gallies, under the command of *Callias*, the Son of *Calliades*, with whom were joyned in Commission four others. Being arrived in *Macedonia*, they found their Friends who had joyned with *Philip* to have taken *Therma*, and now intent upon the Siege of *Pydna*, and joyned themselves to them; but seeing how their Affairs would be endangered by the Conjunction of *Perdiccas* with the *Corinthian* Forces and *Potidea*, they made up a Peace with the King, and attempting *Berrhae* in their way, made haft towards *Potidea*, and pitched their Tents at *Gigonum*, whither another *Athenian* Fleet of seventy Gallies also came. *Perdiccas* the *Macedonian* King again revolted to the *Potideaans*, and joyned himself with the *Corinthian* Army, betwixt which, and that of the *Athenians* ensued a Fight, wherein the *Athenians* were worsted in that Wing wherewith they fought with the *Corinthians*; but got the better against *Perdiccas*, which *Arifteus* the *Corinthian* General seeing, after he returned from the pursuit, broke through, and fled into *Potidea*. Of the *Athenians* were slain one hundred and fifty, amongst whom *Callias* the General, but of the contrary part few less than three hundred. The *Athenians* after this Victory drew a Line against the Town, and a supply of one thousand and six hundred fresh men being sent from *Athens* under the Command of *Phormio*, closely besieged it both by Sea and Land. There were the mutual causes of the Heart-burnings of the *Corinthians* and *Peloponnesians* against the *Athenians*, and of the *Athenians* against them, about *Coreyra*, and *Potidea*, both of their Colonies of the *Corinthians*, of which the *Athenians* defended the former against its founders, whilst they endeavoured to chastise it, and they again incited the later, with other Towns which were Tributaries to *Athens*, to renounce their allegiance to that State.

25. Po-

Sect. 2.

The States of Peloponnesus accuse the Athenians at Lacedæmon.

25. *Potidea* being thus blocked up, the *Corinthians* were highly concerned, both for the Town it self, and such of their own Citizens as were therein; and resolving that it was no time now to be idle, sent to their associates of *Peloponnesus* to meet them at *Lacedæmon*, where they grievously inveighed against the *Athenians*. Liberty being given to every man to speak, several others also sharply accused them, but especially the Deputies of *Megara*, for many injuries, and chiefly for that, contrary to the agreement made with them, they had interdicted them the Ports and Market of *Athens*. The *Corinthians* cunningly suffered the rest to speak first, that by them the *Lacedæmonians* might be incited against the *Athenians*, but then, after all, more fully and earnestly laid open their Faults, aggravated the injuries received from them, pressed the great danger which threatened *Peloponnesus* from their Power, checked the *Lacedæmonians* for their too much remissness in vindicating the cause of their distressed Friends and Allies, and plainly declared, that if now they would not do it, they must strengthen themselves with other Confederates.

26. It hapned at this time that there were at *Lacedæmon* some Ambassadors sent from *Athens* upon other business, who understanding how things went, desired also to be heard, and this being obtained, fought to allay the Stomach of the *Peloponnesians* by calm and prudent Reasons. They desired not to be understood, as though they came to plead the cause of their State which they neither could acknowledge as guilty, nor own them as their Judges: but desired, and advised them not rashly to resolve upon any violent Course, nor give credit to all that was objected, until such time as they could thoroughly understand the case; for that things being once confounded could not easily again be composed. They mentioned the Commodities of Peace, and the Evils that come by War; charged these Calumnies upon the Envy of their Accusers, who could not behold the Power of *Athens* without prejudice, though it was obtained no otherwise than as the Reward of Virtue, as the Associates themselves could not but witness, who knew well enough how the *Athenians* merited at *Marathon* of all *Greece*, as afterwards at *Salamine*; and they averred, that they had used their Power so moderately, as none had any reason to complain. That they had increased their Strength they denied not, which to endeavour was agreeable to the Law of Nature, as also that the weaker should obey the more potent; so that it was without injury, though not without Force, which was absolutely necessary for the maintenance of any Command, and was practised not only by themselves, but the *Lacedæmonians* also, and would ever so be in the like Cases. Again, they laid before them the uncertainty of the event of War, and concluded with a religious protestation, concerning their innocence, and desire of Peace.

27. The *Lacedæmonians* having heard both Parties, debated the business amongst themselves. They were generally inclined to make War presently upon the *Athenians* as the Authors of many Injuries, which *Archidamus*, one of their Kings, and a very prudent, and moderate man observing, by a grave Speech deterred them, not from undertaking a War for the safety of their Allies, but rushing into it; for that the strength of *Athens*, and of their own State (as he said) being compared, there was need of a sufficient time to make Provision for it, in which not only the assistance of the *Græcians*, but of the *Barbarians* also was requisite. He shewed that the *Athenians* could not be subdued by the wasting of *Attica*, having also Provisions in a readiness, and that it was no policy for them being unprovided to deal with such an Enemy: but that rather the thing was to be deferred till things could be in a readiness, in which time the *Athenians* might perhaps be in a better mind, and give satisfaction without constraint; and this could not turn to the disgrace of the *Lacedæmonians*, in that they followed the Example of their Ancestors: Lastly, that by how much they took Arms with more advice, they should by so much conclude with more happiness and celerity. But *Sthenelaidas* one of the *Ephors*, and who spake last, dissenting from the Judgment of *Archidamus*, very sharply perswaded the People to take up Arms against the *Athenians*, as violators of the former Leagues, and War was decreed accordingly, not so much at the instance of their Confederates, as out of fear of the growing Power of *Athens*. This was done in the fourteenth Year after the ending of the *Eubæan* War, and the Truce made for thirty years.

28. The *Lacedæmonians* acquainted the Deputies with what was resolved; but without told them they would signify it to all their Associates, that if so be the

War

The Athenians getting the better,

Closely besiege Potidea.

Strabo lib. 7.
p. 330. B.
Thucyd. Diad.
p. 101. aliter ad
Olym. 86.
ana. 2.

Their Ambassadors answer in their behalf.

Archidamus King of Lacedæmon his prudent discourse.

which is credited by Sthenelaidas, and War is decreed.

Sect. 2. War should be decreed by the common consent; it might be carried on with their joint Force: then departed they to their several homes to know the minds of their superiours, and the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned. After their departure, the *Lacedæmonians*, before the matter should any further proceed, sent to *Delphos* to enquire of the Oracle concerning the event of the War, whence receiving such answer as they wished, they again sent for their Allies, and propounded the business to them, who unanimously decreed it, and it was exceedingly pressed by the *Corinthians*, who, before this meeting, for fear of the loss of *Potidea* had sent about it. It being not expedient to begin the War unprovided, all were desired to repair home, and make all Provisions possible (in which was almost spent a Year) and in the mean time Ambassadors were sent to *Athens* to make demands, of which, if any were denied, a more specious pretence might be obtained for the War.

The Lacedæmonians enquire at Delphos about it.

29. In the first Embassy they demanded the expiation of a piacular Offence, in which *Pericles* was involved by his Mothers Kindred. For, knowing him to be a man of great Counsel and Courage, by all means they endeavoured upon this account to have him banished; but the other objected to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they had drawn out of the Temple of *Neptune* some of their *Helots*, and slain them, and starved *Pausanias* to death in that of *Pallas Chalcidæa*, where he took Sanctuary. After this the *Spartans* sent to require them to abstain from *Potidea*, to set at liberty *Ægina*, and especially they pressed them to let the Inhabitants of *Megara* have the liberty of their Port and Market, without which they must expect nothing but War: but to none of these Demands was there given a satisfying Answer, the *Megarians* being accused for appropriating to their own use the Ground which belonged to the Goddess of *Eleusine*; and receiving such fugitive Slaves as fled from *Athens*. In the third Message *Ramphius* and his Collegues added but this to the other demands, that the *Lacedæmonians* were desirous of Peace, and would give it, in case the *Athenians* would suffer all the *Græcians* to be free, and live according to their own Laws. These things thus often the *Spartans* demanded, to amuse the other party till they themselves could be provided, and to catch at a specious pretence for a quarrel.

30. The *Athenians* upon the last Message called the Assembly of the People to deliberate about the matter, that they might send a clear and positive Answer, once for all. Many speaking *pro* and *con*, at length *Pericles* the most excellent of all the *Athenians* of that Age, both for doing and speaking, with his Eloquence (wherewith he was said by the Poets to Thunder and Lightning) easily drew the Multitude to his Mind. After he had inveighed against the *Lacedæmonians* as swollen with Envy, he excused themselves, and encouraged the People by arguments drawn from their Ability to undertake the War. He advised that this Answer should be returned: That the Decree against them of *Megara* should be rescinded, in case the *Lacedæmonians* would give such freedom of their City to the *Athenians* and other of the Associates: that they would set all Cities under their Jurisdiction at liberty, which were free before, when the League should be entered into: provided the *Spartans* would do the same, and suffer such as were under them to live according to their own Customs; and not to be tyed to those of *Læonia*; and lastly, that they were content to be judged concerning these things in controversy, according to the Leagues; neither would they first make War, but effectually defend themselves. He added, that this was both just and honourable, and if they undertook the War cheerfully, they should find their Enemies less considerable: that out of the greatest Extremities the greatest Honour was wont to accrue both to their State in general, and to each Citizen in particular, which he made good by instancing in the *Median War*, at which time the City was far less considerable than at present, and whence it arrived to this pitch of greatness: He told them it was fit they should imitate their Ancestors, and leave not the Empire received from them diminished unto posterity.

The Athenians by the advice of Pericles, gave a positive answer once for all by way of denial.

31. Why *Pericles* should be so earnest for the War; (a) several reasons have been alleged, and this (b) amongst the rest, that he was not able to make account for the publick Money he had received to build a Portal in the Castle to the Honour of *Minerva*. He consumed abundance of Treasure, in this Work; and none looking after him, diverted the publick Money taken up, under that pretence to other uses. Whilst he considered hereof, and sat forrowful at home, *Asibiades* a Boy and his Sisters Son (whom after his Brother in Laws death

Thucyd. lib. 1. Diogenes ad Olym. 87. etc. 2.

he brought up in his own House, and who afterwards became very eminent) came and asked him why he was so sad, to whom he answered, because he knew not how to give an account of his Office, at which the Boy replied, *Study therefore rather how thou mayst not need to give an account of it.* This most prudent man destitute of advice from himself, used this of a Child, and for this reason perswaded the People to the War, that being intangled therein they might have no leisure to call him to account for the disbursement of the Money. What ever his Motives were, the People (c) decreed what he proposed, and answered the *Lacedæmonians* particularly according to what he said; and in general, that they would do nothing they had enjoyed them, but were ready to acquire themselves of these matters laid against them, before equal and indifferent Judges; and with this answer the Ambassadors returned to *Lacedæmon*, whence no more came. These were the Quarrels which fore-ran the War, being begun about the Affairs of *Epidamnus* and *Corycra*. Notwithstanding this disagreement, yet they continued commerce with each other, went to and fro without any publick Officer, or Herald; but yet not without jealousy one of another. For these things that happened made confusion in the Leagues, and mingled matter for War.

32. Several learned Men flourished in this space, as (a) *Aeschylus* the Tragædian, (b) *Jocus* a famous Physician of *Tarentum* in *Italy*, (c) *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian* Philosopher, who was defended by his Scholar *Pericles*, when accused of Atheism; (d) *Panyasis* a famous Poet; *Pericles* himself, the Son of *Xanthippus*, accounted by (e) *Cicero* the first *Athenian* Orator. Besides these, (f) *Charondas* and *Zaleucus* both Scholars of *Pythagoras*, whereof the former gave Laws to the *Thurians*, and the other to the *Locrians*; *Melissus*, *Protagoras* the Atheist, and *Empedocles*, (g) all who flourished about the eighty fourth *Olympiad*. *Herodotus* of *Halicarnassus*, who being sent to *Thurium* in *Italy* with some new Planters to restore the Colony there, lived to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War* which he mentioneth; and in the fourth second Year of his Age, about the third of the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, recited his Book at (h) *Athens* in the Assembly of the *Panathenæes*, by the emulation of which *Thucydides* then young was much moved; so that afterwards this stirred him up to write. (i) *Euripides* the Tragædian, the Scholar of *Anaxagoras*, (k) *Sophocles*, who was chosen General of the *Athenian* Forces, (l) *Phrynus* the Comædian, and (m) *Pindar* a *Theban* the Prince of *Lyric Poets*, who died aged eighty five years, in the second of the eighty sixth *Olympiad*. (n) *Meton* an *Athenian* in the year before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War* (according to the account of *Thucydides*) *Apseudes* entering into his Office of *Archon*, began his Cycle of the Moon, containing nineteen Years: In this space, though not precisely, the *Lunations* do recur; so that if the *Quadrature* of the Moon fall out as at this day this year, the same shall return the same day of the nineteenth year succeeding. Either because it was written in Letters of Gold, or for the precious use of it, it obtained to be called, as still it is; the *Golden Number*. It is found by adding an unit unto the Year of our Lord, and dividing the whole by nineteen. The remainder shall be the Cycle of the Moon; or if nothing remain, the Cycle is out; that is *Nineteen*.

Sect. 2.

(c) Thucyd. in lib. 1.

(a) Anaxagoras ad Oly. 76. an. 4. (b) Sulp. in Trogæ. (c) Plutarch in Pericle. (d) Anaxagoras ad Olym. 76. an. 1. (e) Cicero in Bruto. (f) Diogenes. (g) Diog. Laert. Anaxagoras.

(h) Paganus de script. Græc. (i) Eschyl. (j) Schol. in vita Anaxag. (k) Sulp. (l) Sulp. (m) Sulp. (n) Sulp.

(o) Capillus Cornelius c. 18. ad Ann. rom. lib. 1. an. 7. 7. 12.

R r

SECT.

Sect. 3.

S E C T. III.

From the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, to the ending thereof.

Containing the space of twenty seven Years.

I^N the fifteenth Year after the recovery of *Eubœa* by the *Athenians*, and the Truce concluded for thirty years; the sixth month after the Battle fought at *Potidea*; in the fourth eighth Year of the Priesthood of *Chrysis* the Priest of *Argos*; *Enchus* being the principal *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, *Pythodorus Archon* at *Athens*; in the first Year of the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, the thirty third of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, of the World the 3574, began the *Peloponnesian War*, henceforth there being no Commerce with one another without an Officer at Arms, and Hostility exercised without intermission.

The Peloponnesian War begun with the surprising of *Plataea* by the *Thebans*, which the *Theban* men presently recover.

2. In the second Month of *Pythodorus* his Government, and the beginning of the Spring, three hundred *Thebans* seized upon *Plataea*, by the Treachery of some in the Town, it being associate to the *Athenians*; for they perceiving a War to be drawing on, and knowing that Town to be always in Peace adverse to them, thought good to make sure of it betimes. The Inhabitants thinking more to have got in, than indeed did, at the first yielded it, but then again apprehending the Truth, resolved to rescue their Liberty, and set by Night upon the *Thebans*, whom they knew to be weary, ignorant of the Town, and would be much troubled with the Dirt, by reason of abundance of Rain which fell that Night. The Device prospered, and they slew almost half the number, taking the rest Prisoners, which were one hundred and eighty, and amongst them *Eurymachus* the Author of this Expedition. It hapned that from *Thebes* another Party came too late to the help of their Fellows if need should be, who seeing what was done, considered whether they should not set upon such *Plataeans* as were abroad in the Country, and waste it round about, thereby to redeem their Friends. The *Plataeans* (as the *Thebans* said) sent to them, being afraid of this, and offered them to release the Prisoners if they would forbear to spoil their Grounds; but in case they did, threatened to put them to Death; whereupon the *Thebans* withdrew, and yet for all this the *Plataeans* put their Friends to death. The *Plataeans* on the other hand alleged, that they never made any Promise to dismiss them; but in case they should agree in Treaty. But they sent to *Athens* to give them notice there of this Attempt made upon their Town.

The Lacedæmonians and Athenians heads of the two Parties.

3. The Message being carried before the *Thebans* were put to death, the *Athenians* sent word to *Plataea*, that they would do nothing against them till they heard further from them; after they had first seized upon such *Bœotians* as were in their Dominions. Then after the truth was known, they sent an Army which victualled the place, and taking out the useless multitude of both Sexes, put a Garrison therein. Thus the League being plainly broken on both sides, both parties prepared themselves for the War, both sent away Ambassadors to the *Persians*, and other *Barbarians*, and for themselves to obtain new Alliances. Now were old Prophecies and Sayings in all mens Mouths, which they interpreted according to their affection. Most were inclined towards the *Lacedæmonians*, who professed themselves the vindicators of the Liberty of *Greece*, and hating the *Athenians*, either for that they desired to shake off their Yoke, or feared to undergo it. On the *Lacedæmonian* side were the *Peloponnesians* except the *Argives* and *Achaans*, who were Friends to both, all but the Inhabitants of *Pellene* amongst the latter, who at the beginning sided with the *Lacedæmonians*.

They Lib. ad. an. 11. Diogenes ad. Olymp. 87. an. 1. Et Xenoph. Hellenic. lib. 2.

demonians, and afterwards the rest also joyned themselves to them. Without Peloponnesus, the *Megarians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*. The *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians*, furnished them with ships; the *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, and *Locrians*, sent out Horse-men, and the rest of the States supplied them with Foot.

4. With the *Athenians* stood the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plataeans*, *Messenians* inhabiting *Nanpausus*, most of the *Acarnanians*, the *Corecyans*, *Zacynthians*, and the rest of the tributary Cities all over, the *Carians* inhabiting the Sea-coasts, the *Dorians* their neighbours, *Jonians* upon the *Hellaspont*, several Towns of *Thrace*, and other places not few, the *Islands* lying betwixt *Peloponnesus* and *Crete* towards the Sun-rising, and all the *Cyclades* except *Melus* and *Thera*. The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corecyans*, afforded shipping, the rest, men and money, as *Thucydides* writeth, who in this Catalogue passeth by *Eubœa* and *Samum*, though they abounded with shipping, and sided with the *Athenians*. Presently after the action about *Plataea*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent abroad to their associates to meet at the *Isthmus*, which they did accordingly, two third parts of each of the Cities. Here *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King and Captain General, having first gravely advised them not to trust too much to their own strength, though they made up such an Army as the eldest of them had never seen, sent to *Athens* to see if that City would now remit any of it's former rigor; but the Messenger being sent back without hearing, he marched for *Attica*, the *Bœotians* at the same time having invaded the Territories of the *Plataeans*.

5. Ere *Archidamus* invaded *Attica*, *Pericles* his friend, who by the *Athenians* with nine others was appointed General, foreseeing that if he should spare his Villages, either upon the account of their particular friend-ship, or by order from the *Spartan* State, to render him suspected, it would create him abundance of envy and ill will, to avoid all suspicion, called the People together, and gave the said Villages to the Commonwealth, and advised them to gather all their things out of the Villages, and contain themselves within the City, to take care of their shipping, and not to neglect their confederates, from whom they might be supplied with money, which together with good counsel and advice is the fineness of War. He told them that they had six hundred Talents of Tribute yearly coming in, besides other revenues; that they had in the Cattle left six thousand Talents of Silver ready coined, besides in bullion and plate five hundred Talents more, and money in the Temples, besides forty pound of pure Gold about the statue of *Pallas*, which it was lawful to use in extremity, making it up again afterwards. They had ready nineteen thousand Foot-men, and twelve hundred Horse, besides others that used bows on Horse-back, and six thousand Archers on foot: of Gallies fit for sail three hundred, and he added other things to make them courageously begin the War. They obeyed him in fetching their goods into the City, and shutting up themselves there, though much to their prejudice and trouble; but such authority had he with the people, having first, to ingratiate himself, enlarged the authority and liberty of the multitude, whereby afterwards in effect he ruled alone. They set themselves also with all their might to the rigging of their Fleet, and gathering together the forces of their Confederates.

6. The *Peloponnesian* Army entered *Attica* by *Oenoe* a Castle of the *Athenians*, upon the frontiers of *Bœotia*, and there *Archidamus* staid, providing all things for the storm. Being somewhat long in his preparations, his adversaries thence found matter wherewith to accuse him, as one who affected the *Athenians*, and one purpose before at the *Isthmus*, and now also protracted the time till they should have removed all their goods out of *Attica*. He indeed thought they might be inclined to a compoture for the saving of their goods, and therefore did delay his march, but finding no message sent, and not being able to take the Castle, he removed about eighty days after the *Thebans* entered *Plataea*, in the height of Summer, Corn being now ripe, and invaded *Attica*, which he wasted as far as *Acharne*, the strongest Garrison of all the Country, and but seven or eight miles distant from *Athens*. When they in the City understood this, having not suspected he would have peirced so far, and afflicted for the loss they sustained, they began to be much moved, (especially they of *Acharne*, who seemed to themselves a considerable part in the State) and tumultuously gathering together, now began to rail at *Pericles*, that he being General did not lead them out against the Enemy. He would not call the assembly nor any Con-

Sect. 3.

pany together, for fear they should resolve rashly upon any thing; but was very careful of the defence of the Citie, and sent out a party of horse, of which some were *Thessalian* Auxiliaries, to restrain the excursions of the Enemy into the parts adjacent, which was beaten back with some loss. At length the *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, removed from *Acharnae*, and waiting other places, departed through *Bœotia* into *Peloponnesus*, and went severally to their own homes.

The *Athenians* sent a Fleet into *Peloponnesus* to divert their enemies.

7. Whilest they were yet in *Attica*, the *Athenians*, to divert them, sent out a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, on which were aboard one thousand Souldiers of heavy Armour, and four hundred Archers, with which the *Corycraans* joynd fifty Vessels more, and other associates contributed their numbers. Coasting the *Peloponnesian* thoro, besides other harm done, they landed in *Laconia*, and had taken *Mecone*, then unwall'd, and meanly manned, but that *Brasidas* the *Spartan* with one hundred men brake through, and getting into the Town, defended it so, as they were glad to retreat to their ships. Then went they to *Elis*, where they seized on *Phia*, and staying there two dayes, harra'd the Countrey, and overthrow such as were sent to restrain them: but their ships being forely tossed with a Tempest, and hardly recovering the Haven of *Phia*, and understanding also that greater forces were coming against them, they departed thence, and grievously distressed such places as they came to. At the same time also another Fleet was sent from *Athens* to infect the *Locrians*, and defend *Eubœa*, which did much harm upon the Coasts of *Locris*, took *Thronium*, took Hostages with them, and overthrow the *Locrians* that came out to resist them. In the same Summer the *Athenians* cast out the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, for that they imputed to them the especial cause of the War, and judged that Island convenient for them to place a Colony therein of their own. The *Lacedæmonians* out of requital for the kindness received from them during the Earth-quake, and War with their slaves, and out of hatred to the *Athenians*, gave them *Thyrea* and its Territories to inhabit (which separate *Laconia* from the Countrey of *Argos*, reaching as far as the Sea,) but such of them as this place for its straightness could not receive, were dispersed up and down *Greece* it self.

They eject the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, and plant a Colony of their own in the Island.

An Eclipse of the Sun on the third of August.

8. This same Summer, at the change of the Moon, hapned such an Eclipse of the Sun (at which time saith *Thucydides*, it is judged that it can only happen) that at Mid-day the Stars were seen, which according to the *Fulian* account hapned on the third day of August, as the astronomical Tables demonstrate. About the same time the *Athenian* Fleet of one hundred Gallies having in *Acharnaia* taken several Towns, came to *Cephalonia*, an Island lying over against *Acharnaia* and *Leucas*, which being inhabited in four Towns, they reduced without one stroke, and so returned home. In the beginning of Autumn, the *Athenians* with a vast Army invaded *Megaris*, which waisting in an Hostile manner they returned, and so they did once a year, till they got *Nisæa* into their hands. At this time also they placed a Garrison in *Atalante*, an Island belonging to the *Locrians* of *Opus*, which hitherto no body had peopled, lest it should prove an Harbour for Robbers that from *Locris* might prey upon *Eubœa*. In Winter, according to their custom, they solemnized the Funeral for those that first died in the War on this manner. First, their bones for three dayes were laid out to be seen in a Tent, where it was lawful for their friends to come, and do such duties as was usual to the dead. Then when they were carried out, each Tribe came, and putting the bones of their fellows into *Cypress* Coffins, carried them away on Chariots, and one Chieft was carried empty for such as had not been found; the women of their kindred making lamentation as for them. Then were they buried in a publick Sepulchre, in the most famous Suburb of the Citie, called *Cerameicus*, where all slain in War were constantly buried, except they that fell at *Marathon*, who for their greater honour were buried in the place of the fight. After they were buried, some one Eminent for prudence and eloquence made a Funeral Oration in commendations of them, which at this time was most excellently performed by *Pericles*. The scope of his speech was to shew they deserved immortal glory for shedding their blood in their Countreys behalf, and to excite the living to seek after such renown. With this Winter ended the first year of the *Peloponnesian* War, whose History for its influence into the whole is the more considerable.

The manner of burying those who died in the Wars.

9. In the Spring the *Peloponnesians* again under conduct of *Archidamus* their former General invaded *Attica*, at which time fell also upon it, a most fearful plague, as it is described by *Thucydides*, who was sick of it, as seldom hapned; during the rage of which they plundered and waisted the Countrey all over. *Pericles*, *Thucydides* at 222.

returning

Sect. 3.

Attica the second time invaded, when it was seized with a fearful plague.

returning to his former Countel, hindered the Citizens who were very desirous to issue out and fight, and provided an hundred ships, with which and fifty of the associates of *Chius* and *Lesbus*, armed with four thousand foot and three hundred horse, he departed to *Peloponnesus*, the Coasts of which he fore waisted, and forced the Army to return home to defend it, which they were willing to do all because of the plague, after they had been in *Attica* fourty dayes. After the return of *Pericles*, his Army was sent under the Command of *Agnon* and *Cleopompus*, against *Chalcis* and *Potidea*, at the later of which it was seized by the pestilence and greatly diminished, and *Agnon* with one thousand and five hundred, which remained of four thousand, returned home. But the people being fore afflicted by the plague and War together, were angry now against *Pericles*, as him that moved them to take up Arms, who calling them together sharply reproved them; and they confessed what he said to be true, and that he had advised them upon good grounds, but being iraged at their private difcommodities, they fined him eighty Talents, and banished him the City, and yet presently after, according to the inconstant nature of the multitude, recalled, and created him General with full power.

Diodorus

10. In the same Summer a Navy from *Peloponnesus* of an hundred Gallies fell upon *Zacynthus*, an Island addicted to the *Athenians*, which waisting, and being not able to do any more, they returned home. The *Peloponnesians* also in the end of Summer sent Ambassadors to the *Persian* King to desire aid, who were also commanded to go to *Sitacles* King of *Thrace*, to desire a League of confederacy with him; but they were taken near the *Hellefont* by some *Athenians*, through the assistance of *Sadocus* the Kings son, and free of *Athens*, and being brought thither, in revenge for some *Athenians*, Merchants, and others, slain in *Peloponnesus*, they were put to death. In Winter twenty Gallies were sent from *Athens* to *Naupactus* to secure the Straights lying betwixt *Peloponnesus* and *Ætolia*, and other six to *Caria* and *Lycia*, to gather money, under Command of *Melesander*, who in a fight was there slain with part of his forces. *Potidea* now also being in despair of any supply from *Peloponnesus*, and fore afflicted with famine (which raged so far as they ate man's flesh) yielded to the *Athenians*. Of the besieged such as were Males had liberty to depart with one Garment apiece, Females with two, and a little provision. The City being thus emptied was replenished with a Colony from *Athens*, to which state this siege stood in two thousand Talents. And so the second year of the War ended with this Winter.

Potidea delivered up to the *Athenians*.

Archidamus besieged *Plataea*, which held out.

11. In the next Spring *Archidamus* the *Lacedæmonian* King marched against *Plataea*, and besieged it. The *Plataeans* sent to him to desire he would forbear to use any extremity against them; but he returned them very harsh conditions, requiring them to forsake the *Athenians*, to give up their City, and all they had, for the time of War, and in the mean time to go and dwell somewhere else, promising that as soon as the War should be over, they should have all entirely restored to them. They desired a Truce, till such time as they could send to the *Athenians*, their associates, and know their mind, who being utterly against it, they then sent *Archidamus* word, that they were resolved to undergo whatsoever the chance of War should lay upon them, for that they neither could, nor would revolt from the *Athenians*. He then fell of waisting their grounds, and with all his might attempted the City, which was as valiantly and powerfully defended by the Inhabitants. No way taking, at length the *Spartans* attempted it by fire, which consumed most part of the Town, leaving but a few houses for the *Plataeans* to live in. Yet still the matter succeeded not, and at length despairing to take the place by force, they raised a Wall round about it, which they fenced with a double Ditch to shut them in, and leaving sufficient Guards, departed home. Before this the Townsmen had sent out to *Athens* all their useless Company. This same year the *Athenians* fought with various success in *Thrace* and *Acharnaia*.

Plataea lib. 2. at 3.

Potidea died.

12. In the latter end of this Summer, and the sixtieth Month of the year died *Pericles*, of the Epidemical Disease, or the Plague, as *Plutarch* reporteth, though not by its sudden force as others, but in a way of Consumption, which, if so, was extraordinary. As he drew towards his end, some of the principal men of *Athens* that were left alive of his ancient friends, as they sat by him, not thinking that he understood any thing, discouraged much of his great and many victories and Trophies which he had erected, placing therein the main of his commendation. He understanding the discourse, interrupted them, saying, that he wondered they should especially take notice of those things, which fortune made common

idem in Pericle

Sect. 3.

His commendation.

to him with others, and make no mention of that which was most worthy and remarkable, for *No man, saith he, upon mine account hath put on a black Garment*. A man he was to be had in constant admiration, not only for his equity and mildness, which he shewed in so many businesses of concernment, and such enemies as were exercised against him; but also for his greatness of spirit, that this he especially charged upon himself, not to indulge his anger in so great power, or his malice; neither to be implacable towards his greatest adversary: and this seemeth to be the reason that he enjoyed the surname of *Olympius* without envy, because he was of so sweet a disposition, and in the greatest power preferred his life unblemished. The great misdeeds the *Athenians* had of him made them soon perceive what man he was, whose power whilst alive they ill bore, as dashing their eyes; when dead, and they had experience of others, they confessed that no man could in that height of place have carried himself more moderately, or in that modesty more gravely, and that height of power which used to be branded with the name of Tyranny, appeared in him to have been the wholsom preservative of the Commonwealth; such depravedness of manners, and excess of wickedness falling upon all things after his death, which he weakening and keeping under as long as he lived, procured that it exceeded not the strength of the remedy.

Archidamus the third time invaded Attica.

The Athenians besiege Aegina.

13. The Summer following being the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian War*, rising, the *Peloponnesians* and their confederates made the third invasion of *Attica*, when Corn was now ripe, under the Conduct of the same *Archidamus*, which they waited up and down as long as their provisions lasted. In the mean time all the Island *Lesbus* (except *Methymna*) revolted from the *Athenians*, having had a great desire to do it before the War, but that the *Lacedæmonians* would not receive them. A Fleet of forty ships were then presently dispatched from *Athens*, and War was denounced to the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, except they delivered up their ships, and pulled down the walls; which being denied, War was made upon them, their Gallies put to flight, and the Haven blocked up. Hereupon they desired a Treaty, and obtained truce to send an Ambassage to *Athens* about a Peace; but in the mean while they sent underhand Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, to desire a straight League and alliance, with present aid. The Ambassadors being ordered by the *Spartans* to stay at *Olympia* at the time of the solemnity of the eighty eighth *Olympiad* pleaded there their cause, and in the name of their City were received into the League, and assistance out of hand was promised to them. Another Expedition was then resolved on into *Attica*, but the *Spartans* being ready, at the *Isthmus*, whereas their associates loitered, and the *Athenians* then with a Fleet of thirty ships prey'd upon *Peloponnesus*, they being adverted of the loss they sustained in *Laconia*, returned hence.

14. Yet the *Peloponnesians* in performance of their promise made to the *Mityleneans*, dispatched away a Fleet of forty Gallies, which found another from *Athens* to oppose it, consisting of one hundred; for the *Athenians* now abounded in shipping, having ready furnished two hundred and fifty Gallies, on which they expended much, so as to defray their expences, they now first of all were afflicted, exacting yet from their confederates the usual Tributes, which they paid with much repining. At the same time the *Mityleneans* and the rest of the *Lesbians*, made War upon the *Methymnians*, who persisted in their obedience to the *Athenians*. These understanding of it, sent at the latter end of Summer a band of men into the Island, which drew a line round about *Mitylene*, upon which Guards being set, the Inhabitants were straitly besieged. In Winter the Inhabitants of *Plataea* being greatly distressed for want of victuals, and despairing of any aid from *Athens*, resolved to break through the Enemies Fortifications, though exceeding difficult to be passed, and save themselves by flight. Many for the difficulty of the thing changed their minds, but three hundred stood firm in their resolution, and taking advantage of an exceeding dark and tempestuous night, two hundred and twelve with remarkable courage and constancy brake through, and (the rest being repulsed into the City) came safe unto *Athens*. Towards the end of Winter *Salathus* was sent from *Lacedæmon* to *Mitylene*, to encourage the besieged to hold out, by promise of help; and another Expedition to be made by the confederates into *Attica*. And so the fourth year of the *Peloponnesian War* ended.

Attica invaded the fifth time, and the Mityleneans yield.

15. In the beginning of the fifth year, the *Peloponnesians* sent forty ships to *Lesbus* to the relief of the *Mityleneans*, under the conduct of *Archidamus*, and they themselves with an Army, over which *Cleomenes* (Uncle and Guardian to *Pausanias*) young

Sect. 3.

young King yet under age), was Captain, invaded *Attica* the fifth time; which they most grievously distressed; but hearing nothing from *Lesbus* that they liked, and being in scarcity of Victuals, they returned the sooner into *Peloponnesus*. The *Mityleneans* being sorely distressed in the same nature, whether the Magistrate would or not, yielded themselves to the mercy of the *Athenians*, which the *Peloponnesian Fleet* understanding before they arrived at *Lesbus*, went over to the Coast of *Asia*, and there having cast many things in their heads, without any thing of note performed, returned, through the perswasion of their General, into *Peloponnesus*, being from *Lesbus* in vain pursued by *Paches* the *Athenian* Captain. He returning from the pursuit, settled things in *Lesbus* according to his own mind, sent *Salathus* the *Lacedæmonian* Messenger (whom he took in the Town) with the authors of the revolt, and some whom the Townsmen sent to intercede for them, unto *Athens*, staying there himself for further orders. *Salathus* was presently put to death, and the people being called together to consult about the *Mityleneans*, resolved, at the instigation of *Cleon*, a man of bitter severity, that all those of ripe age should be put to death, as well as they that were sent to *Athens*, and all the women and children should be made bondslaves; and this decree was without delay sent to *Paches* to be put into execution. But considering of this rash and cruel sentence, they repented of what they had done, and the next day met to advise further of it, when again *Cleon* a man in great grace with them, pressed vehemently the former decree. But *Diodorus* one of a milder spirit opposed him, and having endeavoured the day before to no purpose to do it, now by very few voices carried it from him.

A severe sentence against them.

Reverted.

16. Then was there dispatched a swift Gally, with order if possible to get before that which carried the former Decree, and command *Paches* to abstain from putting it in execution. Yet the former arrived at *Mitylene* first, having set forth a whole day before it; but whilst *Paches* was considering of the sharpness of the Decree, and how to perform it, the latter arrived, and so the lives of the multitude were saved, being so near to destruction; as scarcely any thing nearer. But to punish the revolt, above one thousand of those whom *Paches* had sent to *Athens* as authors of it, the People commanded to be put to death, *Mitylene* was deprived of it's walls and ships, all *Lesbus* except the *Methymnians* had hard conditions imposed upon them. The fields were taken from all the owners, of which the tenth part being dedicated to the gods, the remainder was distributed to the Citizens of *Athens*, the tillage thereof being left under a vast rent to the *Lesbians*: and all such Towns as were now subject to the *Mityleneans*, the *Athenians* reduced under their Dominions. The same Summer they seized upon *Minoa*, an Island lying before the shore of *Megaris*, and the Port of *Nise*, and fortifying it, made the Coasts more safe and convenient to all intents. In the mean time those that were left in *Plataea* were forced by meer famine to yield themselves and City to the judgment of the *Lacedæmonians*, who sent five men to hear their Orators, and the *Thebans* their Enemies: These men adjudged them all to death, which accordingly was executed upon them to the number of two hundred, with whom were slain twenty five *Athenians* found in the Town, and the women adjudged to slavery. The City for some time was given to some exiles to inhabit: then, scarce a year being past, was by the *Thebans* utterly destroyed, an Inn only being built out of the ruins of the Temple of *Fano*, and the Temple itself enlarged, all the grounds being seized on by the *Thebans*. This was the fortune of the *Plataeans* (who thought they might have had some favour shewed them for the merits of their Ancestors in the *Median War*) after they had continued ninety two years in society with *Athens*, and no more is to be heard of them till *Plataea* was rebuilt by *Alexander the Great*.

A lamentable Edition at Corcyra.

17. During these things, a most lamentable sedition hapned at *Corcyra*, part of the Citizens being for Popular Government, and the rest for that of a few or the most potent; the former trusting to the aid of the *Athenians*, as conformable to their policy; and the other to the *Peloponnesians*. Twice within the City did they fight; and both the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* sent their Fleets to the assistance of their friends; but the *Athenians* being stronger at Sea; and sending sixty Gallies more to the help of the former Navy, the *Peloponnesians* withdrew themselves; having only lightly skirmished with the Enemy in the sight of *Corcyra*, before the latter Fleet arrived. Then those for the Popular Government, strengthened by the assistance of the *Athenians*, cruelly ragd against

Sect. 3.

against their Adversaries, no mercy being shewn to such as took Sanctuary, or hung upon the Altars, neither from Parents to their own Children, inasmuch that the City was almost shaken to pieces and made desolate, and a grievous Sedition indeed came afterwards proverbially to be termed a *Coreyran*. And it was not only fatal to *Coreyra*, but to all *Greece* besides, being drawn into Example by other States which afterwards broke out into factions.

Sits in Sicily
of which the
Athenians make
advantage.

18. At the same time the *Greek* Cities in *Sicily* fell into Diffentions, some being of the *Dorick*, and others of the *Ionick* Faction, the Head of the former *Syracuse*, and of the latter *Leontium*, which two made War upon each other. The *Leontines* craved aid of the *Athenians*, for that they were not only of the *Ionian* Stock, but conjoined with them in an ancient League of confederacy. The *Athenians* willingly took the opportunity to get some footing in *Sicily*, to hinder the exportation of Corn thence into *Peloponnesus*, and especially to make way for their Power and Dominion there. At the end of Summer they sent thither twenty Gallies. In Winter these Ships assisted with ten more from *Rhegium* in *Italy*, invaded the *Æolian* Islands near to *Sicily*, and wasted such as refused to yield. At the same Season the Plague began again at *Athens*, which took away a great number of Soldiers, but much greater of the common People: Earthquakes also hapned in several places. And with this Winter the fifth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War ended.

The sixth
Summer of
the War.

19. In the beginning of the next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* came the sixth time to the *Isthmus*, with intent to invade *Attica*, under the conduct of *Agis* the *Spartan* King, but being affrighted with the frequent Earthquakes, they returned. In the mean while the War in *Sicily* variously proceeded; *Laches* the *Athenian* Captain taking some Towns. The *Athenians* sent out one Fleet to infect *Peloponnesus*, and another the Island *Melus*, which stubbornly withstood their Commands, both which did nothing of very great concernment. The *Spartans* planted the Colony of *Heraclæa*, in the platform of old *Trachinia* a City in *Thessalie*, being for the convenience of its situation upon the Sea, and the Haven, very fit for carrying on the War against the *Athenians*. These received a great loss from the *Æolians*, but in Winter thrice overthrew the *Ambracians*, who were forsaken by their Friends the *Peloponnesians*, which made them now embrace a Peace with their Adversaries the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilocheians* (who called in the *Athenians* against them) and entered into a League and Society for ten Years with them. The War proceeding all this while in *Sicily*, a greater Fleet was sent under conduct of *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, to oppose the *Syracusians*, towards the end of Winter, at which time the Hill *Ætna* belched out great store of Fire into the Territories of *Catana*, fifty years after it had the last time so done. Thus the sixth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War ended.

Ætna breaketh
out into
Flames.

20. In the beginning of the next, the *Peloponnesians* under the command of *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King, again invaded *Attica*. The *Athenians* having furnished forty Ships for *Sicily*, gave order to the Captains, in their way to have an eye to the *Coreyrans*, who were much infested by their own exiles, and were in fear of sixty *Peloponnesian* Gallies sent thither: and to *Demosthenes* was given the command of some Ships wherewith he should infect *Peloponnesus*. As all the Ships sailed by *Laconia*, *Demosthenes* a man of a prompt and earnest Disposition, advised the other Captains to fortify *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory joyned to the main by a little neck of Land. Before it lies a small barren Island of less than two Miles Compass, and within that a Creek which is a good Harbour for Ships, the force of Weather being born off by the Head-land and Isle. The Promontory which had antiently belonged to the *Messinians*, and was now desolate, he pressed fore that they might seize upon, and make their own, being very convenient for the wafting of *Laconia*; but the other Captains dissented from him, haſting for *Coreyra*, when in the mean time such a Tempest arose as forced them to take into the Harbour. Then did he again urge his former advice, and though he nothing more profited with the Captains, yet the Soldiers desirous to make some stay there, and seeing the commodiousness of the Haven, fell upon fortifying the place, and with wonderful diligence and pains perfected the Wall in six days. Then was *Demosthenes* left there to keep it with five Ships, and the rest directed their course for *Coreyra*.

Pylus fortified
by Demosthenes
the Athenian.

Draweth the
Peloponnesians
out of Attica,
and being fore-
ly laid at the
both by Land and Sea
the Peloponnesians
are weak.

21. The news of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* in all haſt thither out of *Attica*, fifteen days after their arrival, and they brought their whole Force both by Land and Sea to recover this piece of Ground, which they well foresaw how bad a Neighbour it might prove in time. In the Island named *Sphaſteria*, they placed

placed a number of men all *Spartans*, which were to keep it by their turns, Sect. 3.
and topped up the Haven on both sides, that there might be no entrance in for the *Athenian* Ships: then furiously did they assault *Pylus* both by Land and Sea, but it was as valiantly defended by *Demosthenes*; so that with several new onsets the Storm was continued till the next day, and then the *Peloponnesians* drew off to recruit themselves, and provide for a new onset. In the mean time came in forty *Athenian* Ships (to which *Demosthenes* had before-hand sent to acquaint them with his condition) and with them some belonging to their Allies, which first offered fight to the *Peloponnesians* in the open Sea; but that being refused, set upon them in the Haven, brake, and sunk many of their Vessels, took some, and forced the rest to run themselves on Ground, about which afterwards ensued a great contention, whilst the *Athenians* would become Masters of them, and the *Spartans* out of Shame, and Grief for their Friends in the Island, laboured with more earnestness to get them off, which they effected by some, and the rest fell as Prize to the Enemy, who now closely besieged the *Spartans* that were left in the Island.

The Lacedæ-
monians desire a
Truce,

22. *Pylus* being now secure, but the *Spartans* in the Island as good as lost, the Magistrates were sent for from *Lacedæmon* into the Camp (as the custom was in great Dangers) who perceiving that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens, than by composition with the Enemies, took Truce for a time with the Captains, till they might send to *Athens* about a Peace. The conditions of the Truce were, that the *Peloponnesians* should deliver up to the other all their Ships, as well such as were upon the Coast of *Laconia* as there, to be restored to them if the Peace should not succeed, and that they should attempt nothing upon the Fort, nor the *Athenians* against their Camp. That certain quantity of Victuals should be daily carried into the Island, but no Ships should pass into it secretly, that the Truce should end at the return of the Ambassadors, and if in the mean time it should be broken in any one point, it should be esteemed utterly void in all. The Ambassadors coming to *Athens* put the People in mind of that moderation all men ought to shew in Prosperity, and with what credit they might now, at their request, make a Peace. But *Cleon* a man very vehement, and much in request, withstood it, so that in stead of Peace on equal Terms, and recompence for harm received, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities, which had been by the *Spartans* long before this War taken from them, and refused to continue the Treaty, except the *Spartans* in the Isle were delivered up to them as Prisoners. The Ambassadors returned without success, and the Truce being ended, both sides betook themselves to their Weapons again about *Pylus*.

And send to A-
thens about a
Peace, which
Cleon opposes.

23. The *Peloponnesians* demanding their sixty Ships which they had given up, and now at the end of the Truce were to be restored to them in as good a condition, were put off, under pretence that they had broken the Truce. The Island was also afresh besieged, and the *Spartans* valiantly standing out, things went on but slowly, so that *Cleon* himself, who much vaunted what he could do, was by the People, who now began to relent of their not embracing a Peace, forced, whether he would or not, to command a new supply of men thither. He and *Demosthenes* (whom he chose for his Colleague) first offered Conditions to the *Spartans*, and then upon their refusal forced them, after the loss of one hundred and twenty eight, to yield themselves to Mercy. The number of those that yielded were two hundred and ninety two (whereof one hundred and twenty of the Nobility of *Sparta*) which were carried to *Athens*, and being closely imprisoned, it was resolved, that when the *Peloponnesians* next invaded *Attica*, they should all be slain; and then was a Garrison of *Messinians* (the old Inhabitants and bitter Enemies to the *Spartans*) sent into *Pylus*: The *Lacedæmonians* forely discouraged by these Events, and fearing worse things, sent to *Athens* again about the liberty of the Prisoners, and delivery of *Pylus*, but the Ambassadors were often rejected, and nothing done, the *Athenians* being still more puffed up by their good success. This Summer they overthrew the *Corinthians* in the *Isthmus*. A Fleet being also sent for *Sicily*, assisted the *Coreyrans* in their way against their Exiles (who having got footing in the Mountains, annoyed them) and by their help they now utterly subdued them, and using them with unwonted cruelty, the sedition here had an end. *Anachorium* a Town to *Corinth*, upon the Bay of *Ambracia*, they also took. In Winter *Artabernes* a *Persian* being sent from his Prince to *Lacedæmon*, was intercepted in *Thrace*, and brought to *Athens*, where his Letters being opened and read, they contained no secret, and he was sent back with Ambassadors to *Epheſus* to the King of *Persia*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, concerning whom they there had intelligence that he was

The Spartans in
the Island
Sphaſteria yield
to mercy.

The Sedition
of coreya endeth.

Secl. 3.

dead, and so the Ambassadors returned home. The Inhabitants of *Chius* being suspected by the *Athenians*, were commanded to demolish their new Wall. With these things the seventh year of the War ended.

A Partial Eclipse of the Sun on the 21st of March.

24. In the beginning of the eighth year hapned a partial Eclipse of the Sun, which the Astronomical Tables shew to have fallen out on the twenty first day of *March* after the *Fulian* account, before noon, half the Diameter or above being obscured, the fourth year of the eighty eight *Olympiad* now drawing to an end; and an Earth-quake hapned on the first of the Month *Munichion*, which some make to fall in with the same day. The *Athenians* this year fell upon the Island *Cythera*, lying near to *Laconia*, and inhabited by a *Spartan* Colony, which they took, and putting therein a Garrison for a time, thence made excursions into *Laconia*. Afterwards they removed thence a great part of the Colony, and took, and burnt *Thyreæ*, standing upon the Confines of *Laconia* and *Argolis*, given by the *Spartans* to the *Æginetans*, whom now they carried away, and plundering the Town set it on fire. Conveying their prisoners to *Athens*, the *Æginetans* were condemned to death, and the *Cythereans* being dispersed throughout the Islands, such as they left in *Cytheræ* were subjected to a great Tribute. But in *Sicily*, at this time, an Universal peace was made, and embraced by all the Cities, through the earnest perswasion of *Hermocrates a Syracusan*; so that the *Athenian* Forces were forced to quit the Island, for which at their return two of the Generals were unjustly banished, and the third underwent a great fine.

An Universal Peace in Sicily.

25. The Exiles of *Mitylene* with others of *Lesbus*, and some Mercenaries, seizing upon *Rhetium in Asia*, took *Antandrus*; but selling the former again to the Inhabitants, they were drawn out of the later to fight, by *Aristides*, and *Demodocus*, (or *Symmachus*, as *Diodorus* calleth him) who overthrew them, and took the Town from them. These two were Captains of the Fleet, and collected Tribute from the Islands; their Colleague *Lamachus* being gone into *Pontus* against the *Heracleans*, who being in League with the *Persian* King denied to pay it. His ships, by the vehemency of water which ran down the River, were shattered, and he lost one way or other the greatest part both of them, and his Forces; so that he could not move thence, either by Sea, or Land; whereupon the *Heracleans* thinking it a more honourable part to do good than to take revenge, furnished him with provisions, and sent him away with a Convoy, concluding that the waisting of their grounds would be well recompensed if they should make friends of their Enemies. With this Convoy he passed through the Country of the *Thracians* in *Asia*, and so came to *Chalcedon*.

Scits about 416.

26. At this time the Inhabitants of *Megara* were much distressed, what by the several invasions of the *Athenians*, and their own Exiles whom they had cast out, who now preyed upon them from the Villages. Wearing with these continual disturbances, they thought of recalling the Exiles; but the Magistrates understanding that, and presently apprehending what danger might arise to themselves from those men of whose banishment they had been the cause, conspired with *Hippocrates* and *Demophilus*, the two *Athenian* Captains, to betray the Town to them. The Gates were opened, and the *Athenians* had been Masters of the place, but that some of the Conspirators changed their minds, and obstructed the business, which the other seeing seized upon part of the long Walls, and casting up a cross work against the Town, set themselves with all their might to compels about the *Nisææ*, or Port, hoping, if they could get it, the more easily to obtain the Town. And the Garrison in it being presently discouraged by the stopping of victuals, which they were wont daily to receive out of the Town, yielded, the *Spartans* to mercy, and the rest upon condition of liberty to Ranom themselves. Then the *Athenians* prepared for setting upon the Town: but were hindered by the coming of *Brasidas the Spartan*, who hovering about *Corinth*, upon notice how things passed here, hastened, thinking to prevent the taking of *Nisææ*, and after he had heard of its surrender, yet used all expedition, hoping to save the Town, and to recover it. But when he came the *Megarians* were divided in their affections, yet both parties feared to let him in, for that they thought it best to reserve themselves for that party that should have the better, and Govern themselves according to Emergencies, and therefore he was forced to depart at this time without having done one thing or other.

27. Not long after, the *Boeotians* came, and joyned themselves to *Brasidas*, and thereupon followed an Engagement with the *Athenians*, which ended with equal success to both sides. That party of the Town which favoured the

Exiles,

Secl. 3.

The Exiles re-admitted rise against their Adversaries, contrary to their Oath.

Several amongst the *Boeotians* attempting to bring in Democracy are disappointed.

Brasidas the *Spartan* sent into *Thrace* to give trouble to the *Athenians*.

Thucydides the Historian, the *Athenian* General.

Exiles, being encouraged with the presence of their friends, sent for *Brasidas*, and other *Peloponnesian* Officers into the Town, to consult with them, who confirming them in their resolutions then departed home: The *Athenians* also following, such as sided with them for fear betook themselves to flight. Then were the Exiles recalled, having first taken an Oath to forget all things past, and not consult their own passion, but the good of their Country; but having got the power into their hands, and having the Guards of the City at their disposal, they caused one hundred of those they suspected to be apprehended, and being condemned by a forced judgement of the people, they put them to death. Then taking all the Government to themselves, it continued in an *Oligarchical* way a long time.

28. At the same time, several amongst the *Boeotians* attempted to change the frame of their Government, being much desirous of Democracy as it was established at *Athens*; and to this purpose held correspondence with them there, plotting to betray several places into their hands; but the matter being discovered succeeded not, but only to the loss of the *Athenians*, who were overthrown in battle. In the mean while the *Lacedæmonians* being invited by *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia*, and some of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* (who promised them some pay for their men) resolved to send some Forces into *Macedonia*, and *Thrace*, to divert the power, and design of the *Athenians*, who now began to be ill thought of by many in those parts, and feared by reason of their growing strength. They made choice of *Brasidas* for their General, a man of approved valour, and remarkable integrity. They did a thing at this time, which is noted with cruelty and injustice. Being something down the wind in their Fortune, they suspected the power and number of their slaves the *Hædæes*, left in this their weakness they should attempt something against them, and took occasion at this expedition, by offering all such of them liberty as would cheerfully embrace the service, to observe who amongst them were most active, and when they expected to be manumitted, instilled thereof they made away (though how is not known) about two thousand of them, and sent seven hundred away with *Brasidas*, together with one thousand Mercenaries hired out of *Peloponnesus*.

29. *Brasidas* after his arrival, by fair means reduced *Acanthus* and *Scagirus* (both Colonies of the *Andrians*) from the *Athenians*, and then in Winter set upon *Amphipolis* a famous Colony of theirs, situate upon the River *Strymon*, which almost compassing it gave an occasion to the latter name of it, being before called *Nine-ways*. In a dark night he seized on the bridge, and all but the City it self, and 'tis thought had taken it also had he led his Souldiers on, but such as had conspired with him to betray it being overmarched, and stirring not, he onely wasted the grounds about it, and attempted nothing further for the present. The Inhabitants who affected the *Athenians*, being more in number, sent to *Thucydides* the son of *Olorus*, and the Writer of the History of the *Peloponnesian* War, then the *Athenian* General, lying in *Thasus*, an Island inhabited by a Colony of the *Parians*, half a days sail distant from *Amphipolis*, who with seven ships hastened thither to prevent the delivery of it, or however to save *Eione*. But *Brasidas* being aware hereof, to obtain *Amphipolis* before his coming offered them most large conditions; that all should there remain, and live in the same State as formerly, as well *Athenians* as others; or if they liked better to remove, it should be free for them so to do, which they accepted of, hearing nothing from *Thucydides*, who yet came to *Eione* that very night, and saved it, whereas *Brasidas* else had taken it the next morning. Yet he took three other Towns near to *Amphipolis*, and left them to be Garrisoned by *Perdiccas*.

30. The *Athenians* were much moved for the loss of *Amphipolis*, which had been of great use to them in affording them Wood for shipping, as well as money, and besides this, how a free passage seemed to be open to the *Lacedæmonians* to invade their confederates, who thereupon might be induced to revolt by *Brasidas*, who being a very moderate, and just man of himself, gave out, that his design was to set *Greece* at liberty. And even so it fell out, for the Cities hearing what had hapned, and great commendations of *Brasidas*, sent to him to hasten his march towards them with promise to revolt, thinking they might safely enough do it, for that they fully perswaded themselves, that the power of the *Athenians* was not so great as they found it afterwards, when it was too late to repent them of their rash and inconsiderate resolution, into which they were hurried

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Sect. 3.

Brasidas en-
vied by his
own Country
men.A Truce for a
year.The Temple
of Juno at
Athens burnt.Cleon sent into
Thrace, is
quickly puffed
up.

by an earnest desire of liberty. The *Athenians* having intelligence of this, used all diligence to send Soldiers into all of them, as the shortness of the time, and the Winter season would bear. *Brasidas* sent to *Lacedæmon* for a new supply of men, but little heed was given to his message, partly because the great ones there envied his glory, and especially because the people being well wearied now with the War, desired to have their men that were taken in the Island, and to make peace. Yet he having made provision for the building of ships upon the River *Strypæ*, went on with the War, drew all the Towns upon the Mountain *Abos*, except two, to submit, and then by surprise taking *Torone*, a Town of *Chalcis*, and tributary to the *Athenians*, he stormed the Castle the third day after. The remainder of the Winter he spent in fortifying the places taken already, and providing for taking of others which he designed. And thus the eighth year of the War ended.

31. In the beginning of Spring the *Lacedæmonians* for the reasons above-mentioned were desirous to come to a composition, and they hoped that now the *Athenians*, something discouraged by what *Brasidas* had done in *Thrace*, might not be averse to it. And indeed they were inclining to a cessation of Arms, that they might stop his proceedings till such time as they could recruit themselves, intending to be governed in reference to the length of the Truce as their affairs should comport, and so a Truce was concluded for a year, the Articles of which imported these things especially. That what both sides possessed at this time they should enjoy; that free access and regress should be given to Ambassadors and Herald, and their Confederates, to treat about a peace: that Ambassadors should not be received; that all controversies should be decided by Law, and not by force: and something was added concerning the use of the Sea; In this Truce the Confederates on both sides being comprised. During this Cessation several Treaties were held about a League, but something happened which disturbed forely the minds of the *Athenians*. For *Scione* a Town of the Peninsula of *Pellene* of its own accord revolted to *Brasidas*, and was followed by *Menda*. *Brasidas* ignorant of the Truce, after the revolt of the former, laboured for with the latter, and *Potidea*, to reduce them also; but then news came to him of the Cessation, and much contention there was about the places; for that the *Athenians* said that *Scione* revolted two days after the Truce was sworn to, and concluded. Being not able to recover them by words, they sent an Army to effect it by deeds, and *Menda* they recovered, whilst *Brasidas* was absent, assisting *Perdiccas* the King of *Macedonia* in his War with *Archibius*, where such dissatisfaction passed betwixt the King and him, that thenceforth *Perdiccas* began to join himself to the *Athenians*. *Scione* was incompassed about with a Wall, which being finished in the later end of Summer, and a sufficient Guard being left, the rest of the Army was brought home. The Winter following all was quiet betwixt the two States by virtue of the Truce; but the *Mantineans* and *Tegeans* fought a battle with equal success, both parties erecting their trophies. The Spring drawing on, *Brasidas* attempted by night to surprise *Potidea*, but missed of his purpose. And with this Winter the ninth year of the War ended, in which the Temple of *Juno* at *Argos* was burnt through the negligence of *Chrysis* the Woman-Priest, who flying for it, another was placed in her room, after she had during this War continued eight years and an half therein.

32. The Truce being expired on the day of the *Pythian Games*, the seventh of the month *Thargelion*, *Cleon* having himself persuaded the *Athenians* to undertake the Expedition was sent into *Thrace* with a Fleet of thirty ships, aboard of which were one thousand and two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, besides Confederates. Hearing that *Torone* was but manned with a mean Garrison, he departed from the siege of *Scione*, and set upon it with such earnestness, both by Land and Sea, that in the same day he took it, and though he attempted *Stagirus* in vain, yet he effectually did it upon *Galopsus*, a Colony of the *Thracians*, after which he itaid at *Eione* expecting some Auxiliaries out of *Macedonia*, and *Thrace*. Here he grew very secure, being exceedingly puffed up with his late success and that at *Pylus*, which he arrogantly imputed to his own wisdom; but his men disdained to lye idle, and pretended to be wearied of his Government, as thinking him unfit to command. Herewith he moved from *Eione* in a secure posture, thinking of nothing less than fighting, which was taken notice of by *Brasidas*, who having fewer men than he, and less experienced, thought it not

Wildom

Sect. 3.

To slain together with
Brasidas his ad-
versary.But the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* desire a peace.Which is con-
cluded.

wisdom to try a battle with him, nor at once to let him fight with all his Forces; but pouring them violently upon him by degrees, thereby to confound and overthrow his Army. He had a discovery of *Brasidas* his intents, and began to retreat, but then he fell upon him out of *Amphipolis* in the manner aforesaid, and without much ado put his men to the rout. *Cleon* himself flying was slain outright, and *Brasidas* before this was mortally wounded and carried to *Amphipolis*, where he died, after he had heard how his men had got the Victory, being honoured by the Town-men, as an Heroe, by sacrifice, anniversary Solemnities, and naming a Colony after him, which they did to ingratiate themselves with *Sparta*, because of the fear they stood in of the *Athenians*. Of the *Athenians* were slain six hundred; but of the Conquerors but seven men; such disadvantage was there in the battle.

33. In the beginning of Winter *Ramphias* with others in commission with him, was sent from *Lacedæmon* with new Forces, and came as far as *Pieria* an hill of *Thessaly*; but there the *Thessalians* opposed his passage, and news of *Brasidas* his death arriving, other causes also moving him (whereof this was not the least, that the *Spartans* before his coming from home were inclined to a peace,) he returned to *Lacedæmon*. And after that the action at *Amphipolis*, and his return, came to be known, both sides for weighty and urgent reasons were much more inclined to it, *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slain, whereof the one was a man of a turbulent spirit, and the other a great Soldier, who fought after glory in Military matters. The *Athenians* having received two great blows, at *Delium* first (when the change of the Government was to be made in *Boeotia*) and now at *Amphipolis*, had learnt not to trust too much to the smiles of their fortune: therefore they who before would hear of no conditions, as certain of Victory, now were much abated in their confidence, and repented they had not embraced peace, when it was offered them upon such honourable terms, after the action at *Pylus*, fearing that their confederates would be encouraged by this change of their fortune to change their affections. On the other side the *Lacedæmonians* who thought they should have ended the War, and brought the *Athenians* to terms by an invasion of *Attica*, now found they were much mistaken, the defeat in the Island they had ever before their eyes, and felt the excursions from *Pylus* and *Cythera*; they feared their slaves, lest they should rise against them; and another danger pressed them fore; for the State of *Argos* which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty years well-nigh expired, would probably take the benefit of their present troubles, by joining with those who alone found them work enough, being so powerful at Sea. Above all, the liberty of the Prisoners at *Athen*, whereof most of them were of the greatest quality, provoked them to a pursuit after peace.

34. The business was much helped on by *Plistonax* the *Spartan* King, and *Nicias* the *Athenian*, the former being weary of those calamities which were raised against him upon any miscarriage in the War, and the other much enamoured of Peace, by the obtaining of which he thought he should be famous to succeeding Ages. Several treaties all the Winter were on foot about it, and towards the Spring the *Lacedæmonians* to make the *Athenians* the more readily to embrace it, gave out, that they would with the whole force of all their confederates invade *Attica*, and fortify a Castle therein. After much tickling about it, a peace was concluded for fifty years, upon these terms especially: that a restitution of places and prisoners should be made on both sides, except *Nisæa*, which the *Athenians* might still keep from the *Megarians*, and *Platea*, which the *Thebans* refused to restore to its Inhabitants. The two States swore to the performance of it, and all their allies and confederates (except the *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Megarians*, who liked it not) and it was concluded at *Sparta*, upon the twenty sixth day of *Artemisius*, *Pleistolas* being *Ephorus*; at *Athen*, upon the twenty fourth of *Elaphobolion*, *Alcæus* being Archon, in the beginning of the Spring, presently after the *Bacchanalia*, ten years and a few days being past since the first invasion of *Attica*, and the beginning of the War.

35. The *Lacedæmonians* were by lot to make restitution first; which they presently did perform, but as to places, *Amphipolis* was the cause that they could not perform it; for neither the Inhabitants, nor the rest of the Associates would suffer it, though the *Spartans* drew out their Garrison, and did all that in them lay to restore it, they being unwilling to come again under the dominion of their old Lords, and counting it unreasonable for the *Spartans* to desire it.

The

Sect. 3.
Several Cities dissent.

The deputies of the dissenting Cities were at *Lacedæmon*, and being desired to sign the League, flatly refused, except some things were changed in it. Which the *Spartans* hearing dismissed them, and very prudently applied themselves to the *Athenians*, making an offensive and defensive League with them, thereby to retain them from joining with the *Argives* and *Peloponnesians*, which confederacy it behoved them above all things for to hinder. After this straight League, the prisoners taken in the Island were set at liberty, the eleventh year of the War now rising, and the peace was observed according to agreement; but all the late confederates of *Sparta* took this exceedingly ill, and let out all their hatred, formerly conceived against the *Athenians* their professed Enemies, upon their unjust friends. The *Corinthians* especially took it in great disdain, who had been the greatest incentives to the War, out of envie to the State of *Athens*, and as their Deputies departed from *Lacedæmon* they took *Argos* in their way, where to the principal Citizens they inveighed grievously against this League, saying, it was made with design to enslave *Peloponnesus*, whose vindicators they the *Argives* must needs be, and that it was incumbent upon them to decree, that all free Cities which would, might enter into an alliance with them for their mutual safety, which if they would do, they were sure that many, out of hatred to the *Spartans*, would give their names to it.

And the Deputies of the *Corinthians* application to *Argos*.

36. After their departure the thing was first referred to the Magistrates, and then to the People, who chose twelve men, to whom they gave power to make a League with any City or State, except the *Spartans*, and the *Athenians*, with whom nothing was to be concluded, without the advice and consent of the whole body of the People. This they did, because they foresaw a War to be made with *Sparta* after the end of the Truce, and hoped by this means to become master of *Peloponnesus*; for as the *Lacedæmonians* were now condemned for their bad success (and the rather more for that all had such vast conceits of their courage, that they thought they would have submitted to no conditions, but have cut out all by the Sword) so they who had been of neither party in this War, but allied to both, had bettered their condition, and now flourished exceedingly. The *Mantineans* first, who living in *Arcadia*, stood in fear of the *Spartans* whole confederacy they had shaken off, entered into an alliance with them, and after them the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, who thought they might understand more of the matter than themselves did, and had high thoughts of this great and rich City, conceiving it able to do much, because that of so long it had done nothing. They were grievously incensed against the *Spartans*, and this offended them especially, that in the straight League betwixt them and *Athens* it was provided, that by mutual consent they might add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This proviso they looked upon as made to enslave *Peloponnesus*, by the assistance of *Athens*, for that if any thing was to be changed, it were but just that it should be done by consent of all the Confederates who were concerned in it.

Those of *Proxenos* apply themselves to that City.

The *Lacedæmonians* vindicate themselves to *Corinth*.

37. The *Lacedæmonians* knowing well how much they were concerned in these courses, sent Ambassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, whence they well perceived the mischief to have proceeded. They expostulated with them for what had been done, and laid perjury to their charge, in case they left their society and betook themselves to *Argos*, and blamed them for not admitting the League with *Athens*, because it was formerly agreed, that what the major part should conclude, it should oblige all; except some divine impediment interposed. The *Corinthians* replied in the Assembly of the Agents of those Cities which refused the League, that in general the *Lacedæmonians* themselves had not fully performed the conditions of the League, who had not taken order that the cities forced from them should be restored, and that for their part they could not desert their confederates in *Thrace*, whom they perswaded to rebel against *Athens*, and taken into protection, and to whom they were obliged by oath taken more than once, which to them appeared to be a sufficient divine impediment why they could not enter into a League with *Athens*. And as for their conjunction with *Argos*, after they had advised with their friends, they should do what was right and fitting. After their departure, in the next assembly they entered into a League with the *Argives*, and so did the *Eleans* with the *Corinthian* Colonies, and those of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*.

38. All the Summer of the eleventh year, the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* had commerce with one another, though great consultations were on foot, and the associates bickered with one another, and both parties wanted not dissatisfaction.

For

Dissatisfaction between the parties.

The designs of the *Bœotarchs* frustrated.

Panaetius dissuaded.

For the *Lacedæmonians* restored not *Amphipolis*, neither procured the associates in *Thrace*, the *Bœotians*, nor *Corinthians*, to sign the League, though they engaged jointly to cause them to do it, and that if within a certain time they did it not, both were to hold them as Enemies. The *Athenians* seeing that they performed not these things, suspected they dealt deceitfully with them, and for this cause refused to surrender *Pylus*, repented they had dismissed the prisoners, and withheld other places till the *Spartans* had first performed the Covenants. They excused themselves, for that they had done as much as in them lay, having set at liberty their prisoners, drawn out their Forces from *Thrace*, and omitted nothing in their power, in which the restitution of *Amphipolis* was not: and as for what concerned the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, they would do what they required. They earnestly desired that *Pylus* might be restored, or, at least, that the *Hæloes* and *Mefsenians* might be taken thence, which after much ado was granted, and these men were conveyed into the Island *Cephalenia*.

39. In Winter the Deputies of the Confederates came to *Lacedæmon*, and laboured in vain to dissolve the League betwixt that State and *Athens*. But now other *Ephori* having entered into their Office, who had nothing to do in making the straight alliance, and were also much averse unto it, they dealt secretly with the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, to perswade the former to join themselves to *Argos*, and then all to enter into a League with *Sparta*; which they were sure would purchase this willingly, with a breach betwixt them and *Athens*, for that then the War would be more easy out of *Peloponnesus*; only they desired much that the *Bœotians* would deliver up *Panaetius* into their hands, that therewithal making exchange with the *Athenians* for *Pylus*, they might with less difficulty make War against them. As the Ambassadors were in their way, two of the principal men of *Argos* met them, and were very earnest with the *Bœotians* to embrace their society, which, when they came home, they laid open to the *Bœotarchs*, and Ambassadors followed from *Argos* to perswade them to it, who were kindly entertained and dismissed with hope that some Ambassadors should follow them to conclude the business. In the mean time the Agents from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and *Thrace*, agreed with the *Bœotarchs*, that they should bind themselves by Oath to assist him who should want it, and not to begin or finish any War without the joint consent of all, and upon this condition, that the Treaty should be signed. But ere this could be done, the *Bœotarchs* were to refer the matter to the four Councils of *Bœotia* wherein lay the supreme power, which not being made acquainted by them what advice the *Ephori* and others of *Sparta* had given, for fear they should give that State offence by joining with *Corinth* which had revolted, they judged the contrary, and so by the means of the *Bœotarchs*, who took it for granted that the Councils would act according to their advice, the matter proceeded no farther now, and afterwards was neglected by them.

40. This Winter also many Treaties were held betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; about the restitution of places; and the *Spartans* hoped, that if *Panaetius* was but restored to the other, they should recover *Pylus*. But such Towns as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent, and therefore Ambassadors were sent earnestly to request the *Bœotians* to deliver up *Panaetius* with the *Athenian* prisoners. They stoutly refused to do it, except they would enter into as peculiar and straight a League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*. Now this could not be legally done, because in the League with *Athens* it was provided, that neither should make either League, or War, without mutual consent. Yet being possessed with an inflamed desire of recovering *Pylus*, and the more, because they were moved by the *Ephori*, and others that desired a breach with *Athens*, they struck up a League with them. Then did the *Bœotians* utterly demolish *Panaetius* instead of giving it up, and so the eleventh year of the War ended.

41. In Spring the *Argives* hearing nothing of the *Bœotian* Ambassadors promised to be sent, but great talk of the demolishing of *Panaetius*, and the League betwixt them and the *Spartans*, whom they thought to have drawn them in with the consent of the *Athenians*, were much perplexed, thinking they now should be run upon by all, though they formerly promised themselves the Dominion of *Peloponnesus* by forsaking the alliance of *Lacedæmon*. They therefore sent presently thither, and struck up another League with them for fifty years. In the mean

while

Sect. 3.

Sect. 3.

The Athenians
thereat, and
otherwise of-
fended.

while three were sent from *Sparta* to receive from the *Boeotians* the *Athenian* prisoners and *Panaëtus*, who yielded both persons and place, but this utterly demolished, pretending for their excuse, that by an ancient League it was to be held by neither of them in particular, but be common to both. The *Athenians* received their men, but were much moved that *Panaëtus* was demolished (though the Ambassadors put it off by telling them they needed not now to fear any thing from it) being sensible of a double injury received, both as to the Town, and the League made without their knowledge, and then they called to mind other breaches of the peace, and were jealous that they were circumvented by the *Spartans*. And occasion was hence taken by such amongst them as bare no good will to the peace, to seek all manner of ways to break it. Amongst these was *Alcibiades* the son of *Clinias* by the sister of *Pericles*, who though a young man, yet eminent for his Nobility, Riches, and Favour with the people, bare a secret grudge against the *Lacedæmonians*, for that despising his youth, and having no regard to the ancient friendship betwixt them and his family (which his Grand-father having dissolved, he fought to restore by kindness shewed to the prisoners taken in the Island) they made use of *Nicias* and *Laches* in the conclusion of the League before him, which he thought was much to the prejudice of his honour.

Are incensed
by Alcibiades.

42. He cried out, that their design was first to suppress *Argos*, and then to do as much for *Athens*, and at this time there being no good agreement betwixt the *Argives* and *Spartans*, he sent to them privately, exhorting them, as they tendered their own safety, to enter into a League with *Athens*. They who were now not consulting how to become masters of others, but how to save themselves, were well pleased with his message, and though they had Ambassadors now resident at *Lacedæmon* about the League with that State, yet did they send away others to *Athens*, together with the *Eleans* and *Maninæans*, to make one offensive and defensive with them there. The *Lacedæmonians* hereat were at a stand, seeing well, that such a Combination tended to their hurt. To keep in with the *Athenians* the *Ephori* thought that more was done already than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest course, seeing they had done so much, not to stick at a little more, but rather by giving full satisfaction, to retain the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than the rest of *Greece*. This resolution prevailing, such were sent away to *Athens* as had most affection to peace, who laid in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commission to conclude all, excused the League entered into with the *Boeotians*, as having been done only to pleasure them in the regaining of *Panaëtus* and assured them of the readiness of their State to give all satisfaction, being much grieved that things went otherwise than according to their pleasure. *Alcibiades* taking notice that they laid in the *Senate*, that they came with full Commission to conclude, feared that thereby the people might be drawn to a peace, and he interposed by a notable stratagem. He perswaded the Ambassadors of his friendship towards their City, and advised them to take heed that their absolute power to conclude might not be known to the Commonalty, lest the multitude should thereupon grow peremptory, and yield to nothing, except they could draw them to unreasonable conditions.

Who hindered
the peace by
a notable
stratagem.

43. The Ambassadors believed him, and ordered their speech to the people according to his directions. Hereupon he took the advantage which their double dealing afforded, and openly inveighed against them as men of no sincerity, come for no other purpose than to draw the people from strengthening themselves with friends, intending to withdraw the *Argives*, and their adherents, to their own alliance, as already they had done the *Boeotians*, though contrary to their Oath. Then he commended the cause of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Maninæans*, to the people, which was much moved, having had before no good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*; but an Earth-quake intervening before they came to the question, nothing was done that day. At the next meeting *Nicias* perswaded them to let him first go to *Lacedæmon* to know their minds concerning the League with the *Boeotians*, whether or no they would renounce it, and their friendship with *Amphipolis*, and restore *Panaëtus* in such a condition as it ought. But *Xenares* the *Ephorus*, and his party, was so strong, that none of these things could be procured; only the peace with *Athens* was again sworn to, to gratify *Nicias*, who was sensible how he should be blamed at his return, being accounted also the Author of the League. After his return the *Athenians* made a League with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Maninæans* for one hundred years at large

Nicias labour-
eth for it.

Sect. 3.

large described by *Thucydides*, but tending to the mutual assistance of each other. Hereby nothing in terms was done derogatory to the League with *Sparta*, and the *Corinthians*, though the Allies of *Argos*, yet refused to be comprised in it (as in the former betwixt the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Maninæans*) alleging that the former Convention was sufficient, which did not oblige them jointly to make War upon any one, though to defend one another. This they said, for that they seemed to find reason to forsake these Confederates, and to apply their Minds afresh to the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Lacedæmonians*
keep from the O-
lympic exer-
cises.

44. This Summer the nineteenth *Olympiad* was celebrated, from the solemnity of which the *Lacedæmonians* were kept by the *Eleans*, being forbidden the Temple, and offering Sacrifice, for which a Guard was set, because they had not paid a Fine of two thousand Minæ imposed upon them by them, according to the *Olympian* Law, for putting some men into the Castle *Phorycus*, and the Town of *Zepea*, during the *Olympian* Truce. They sent their Ambassadors to excuse the matter, but nothing was done, so that they sacrificed at home, which bred very ill Blood betwixt them. After this solemnity the *Argives* and their Confederates sent to *Corinth*, to perswade them there to embrace their Party; but the Ambassadors of *Sparta* being there, and it being much debated, an Earth-quake hapned, and so they returned without any success. In Winter hapned a Fight betwixt the *Heraclæots* of *Trachine* (placed there by the *Spartans* to their loss) and part of the *Thessalians*; with others, wherein they were worsted, and many of them slain: amongst whom *Xenares* the *Lacedæmonian* General. With these things the twelfth Year of the War ended.

Alcibiades
marcheth into
Peloponnesus.

45. The next Summer *Alcibiades* with some Forces out of *Attica*, and the assistance of *Argos*, marched into *Peloponnesus*, which passing over he came to *Patras*, where he dealt with the Inhabitants about building a Wall thence unto the Sea, intending also of himself to build another as far as *Rhium* in *Achaia*; but the matter was hindered by the *Corinthians*, *Sicyones*, and others, who would have been endangered thereby. The *Argives* made War against *Epidaurus* upon light occasion, thinking, that if that Town was but subdued, they should be more safe from the *Corinthians* on that side, and the *Athenians* would have a readier way to send them aid from *Ægina*. Whilest they were busie about a Peace, *Ephaniades* the *Corinthian* threw this in their Dish, that what they made words of, that they contradicted by their Deeds, and upon that account they drew back their Army. But no conclusion coming of their Treaty, they invaded the Territories of *Epidaurus* again, and wasted the third part thereof. The *Lacedæmonians* were twice abroad with their Armies this Summer, but were recalled by their superstitious Ceremonies. The *Athenians* also sent the *Argives* one thousand men under Conduct of *Alcibiades*; but they having drawn away their Forces, and having no employment for them, they returned home. In Winter the *Lacedæmonians* conveyed three hundred Garrison Souldiers into *Epidaurus*, which passing through the Borders of the *Athenians*, the *Argives* expostulated with them for suffering it, contrary to the League, and complained that they restored not the *Helotes* and *Messenians* unto *Pylus*, whence they had taken them upon the desire of the *Spartans*. This accordingly was done at the instance of *Alcibiades*. All others were quiet this Winter, except the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, who skirmished sometimes, and towards Spring the former hearing *Epidaurus* to be naked, came suddenly with their scaling Ladders, and endeavoured the taking of it, but in vain. Together with this Winter the thirteenth Year of the War ended.

Agis the *Spartan*
King in-
vadeth the
Argives.

46. The Summer following, the *Spartans* seeing in how bad a case their Friends the *Epidaurians* were, and that the rest of *Peloponnesus* had either already revolted, or was ill affected to them, fearing that if they delayed, all things would go worse, they armed themselves, and Slaves, with their Confederates, under the conduct of *Agis* their King. It hapned that the *Argives* were compassed round about by their Enemies; but when they were about to fall on, two of their Captains stepped out, and perswaded *Agis* to abstain from Fight, saying, that the *Argives* were willing to do all just things, and make Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*. This they spake of their own Heads, without the consent or knowledge of the Multitude; and *Agis*, without acquainting any more of the Captains or Confederates, consented to a Truce for four Months, and there-with drew off his Army. The *Lacedæmonians* and Confederates obeyed him for the rigour of the Law, but grievously blamed him for letting slip, or rather wilfully losing so great an opportunity, having the Enemy at such an advan-

Is easily put
off, and deler-
edly blamed.

Sect. 3.

tage, and having such a numerous and well-furnished Army as had not been seen of the Græcians to that day; there being met together besides the Spartans, the Arcadians, Boeotians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Peloponnesians, Phliansians, and Megarians, and the choice of all these States, who seemed not only able to fight with the Argives, and their Associates, but with any other in Combination with them. The Argives also not considering what danger they had escaped, were foreinraged against their Officers, who had as they thought let the other escape out of their Hands, inasmuch that they had stoned one of them, had he not taken Sanctuary, and yet they sold his Goods. Not long after a party of one thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse coming from Athens to their aid, the People, by the persuasion of Alcibiades, renounced the Truce made with Argis, and the Confederates gathering together, went and besieged Orchomenus, wherein the Spartans had put the Hostages received from the Arcadians, and which was, without much to do, delivered up to them.

Severely fenced.

47. The Lacedæmonians being grievously intragued against Argis, especially after the news came about Orchomenus, beyond all precedent decreed his House should be demolished, and fined him one hundred thousand Drachmes, which he demoprecating, and promising to redeem his credit by some notable exploit, they yet made a new Law, that there should be ten men assisting to him, without whose consent he should not as much as lead the Army from the City. News presently was brought that Tegea was besieged, whereupon he took the Field, and came to a set Battle with the Argives and their Confederates, wherein though his right Wing was overborne through the negligence of the Polemarchi (who did not soon enough communicate the orders received from him) yet he put to flight the Enemy in the other, and then coming to the help of it, obtained the Victory. This was that noble Fight, as Thucydides extollet it, betwixt the most eminent and powerful States of Greece, than which there was none more remarkable that hapned amongst the Græcians themselves. Yet the number of the slain was not great. Of the Argives and their Allies about eleven hundred, of the Confederates of Sparta not many, and of the Lacedæmonians themselves three hundred were reported to have fallen. The Day after, the Epidamnians, while Argos was naked, fell in upon their Grounds, and killed many of those that came out of the City against them. While the Lacedæmonians were busied in their Carnean Solemnities, the Eleans and Athenians assisting the Mantinians, went and threw a line about Epidauri, upon which they left a sufficient Guard, and departed.

Yet the Lacedæmonians sent to Argos about a peace.

48. In the beginning of Winter the Lacedæmonians after their Solemnity was over, again took the Field, but thinking now the Argives might be humbled, sent to feel their Minds about a Peace. At this time such as desired a change of the Government at Argos became powerful, and hoped if they could conclude with the Spartans, to take it out of the Hands of the Multitude, and bring it to a temper agreeable to the constitutions of that State. By the artifices of those men, the Argives were brought to forsake the Mantinians, Eleans, and Athenians, and joyn themselves in a League with the Lacedæmonians to continue for fifty Years: It was agreed, that no intercourse should be held with the Athenians, except they would draw out all their Forces from Peloponnesus (The freedom of Epidauri being especially looked at herein by the Spartans as much concerning them) and that no Treaty or War was to be entered upon without mutual consent. They then took care for several other things, and sent to Perdiccas King of Macedonia, to enter into a League with him, but he did not thoroughly assent to it, though he bore respect to Argos, whence he accounted himself descended: but they renewed the League with them of Chalcis, and obliged others unto them. The Argives sent also to the Athenians, to require them to draw off their Guards from Epidauri: but they hereupon sent Demosthenes thither to get all the Fortification into their own Hands, after which they furnished it to the Towns-men, and renewed their antient League with them. The Mantinians at first refused to joyn with the Argives in the League with Athens; but after considering that they could not subsist without them, subscribed, and gave up those places they had in their Hands. After this, one thousand men from Lacedæmon, and as many from Argos, were sent to Sicyon, whereby by the endeavours of the Lacedæmonians, the supreme Power was transferred out of the Hands of the People to few Men, which was after affected at Argos also, an Oligarchy being introduced, agreeable to the Government of Sparta. With this Winter the fourteenth year of the War ended.

An Oligarchy set up at Sicyon and Argos.

47. The

The Argives recover the Democracy, and renounce the League with Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians in vain attempt to take Argos.

They will not take notice that the League is broken with Athens.

Miles taken.

The Athenians look after Sicily.

Perce aid to be sent to the Athenians under the command of Alcibiades, Alcibiades, and Lamachus.

49. The Summer following, the People of Argos bearing heavily the change of the Government, took their opportunity when the Lacedæmonians were busied in the naked exercises of their Youth, and killing some of their adversaries, and expelling others, reitored the popular Government, renounced the League with Sparta, and renewed that with Athens. Then they fell on building of their long Walls from the City to the Sea, thinking, that if they should be blocked up by Land, to have intercourse with the Athenians by Sea. In Winter the Lacedæmonians knowing that they were busied (men, women, slaves and all) in this work, with their Associates (all but the Corinthians, who stirred not) came against Argos, hoping to take the City by means of those within that were of their party; but being frustrated of their expectations, they demolished the Wall, and taking Hyllas a Castle of Argolis, put to the Sword all the Males of free condition, and so returned. After this, the Argives wasted the Territories of the Phliansians, for harbouring their Exiles. This same Winter the Athenians renounced the League with Perdiccas, accusing him of Conspiracy with the Argives and Lacedæmonians, of non-performance of the League betwixt them, and laying the blame upon him that the Expedition miscarried which they had made, under the conduct of Nicias against the Chalcidians and Amphipolis in Thrace. With these things the Winter ended, and together with it the fifteenth year of the War.

50. The Year following, Alcibiades with twenty Ships sailing to Argos, took thence three hundred men suspected of Lacedæmonian, who were carried into the Islands subject to the Athenians, and there committed to custody. After this the Athenians with strong force invaded the Island Melus, the Inhabitants of which being a Colony of the Lacedæmonians, denied them obedience. They first sent Commissioners to the Town to treat with the Melians, where there was much canvassing the case; but in conclusion they continuing in their resolution not to yield, Fortifications were made against the City, and strong Guards left upon them. Almost at the same time, the Argives making excursions into the Phliansian Territories, by the lying in wait of the Phliansians, and their own Exiles, lost eighty of their men. The Athenians that lay in Pylus now also wasted Lacedæmonia, notwithstanding which, the Lacedæmonians would not take so much notice as to account the League broken, and thereupon to take Arms; but only caused it to be proclaimed by a Cryer, that whosoever of their Subjects would, might prey upon the Athenians: the Corinthians only about some controversies made War upon them, all Peloponnesus besides being quiet. The Melians made two Sallies against the Besiegers, with good success; but a fresh Army being sent from Athens by the help of some Treachery took it this Winter, upon terms of yielding to Mercy. All the Males of ripe age that could be taken were put to the Sword, the women and children made Slaves, and the Town was reoccupied by a Colony of five hundred Athenians.

51. This same Winter the Athenians, with greater preparations than ever, thought it to be resolved seriously to look after Sicily. Their pretence was to give assistance to their Friends and Allies there, but the true and only cause was the desire of propagating their Empire, by the bringing under of all that whole Island. A good occasion was now given them by the death of the Egypsiens, who upon account of former Alliance, came and sued to them for Aid against the Syracusians their Enemies, upheld by them of Syracuse, offering them Money for carrying on the War; whereupon they thought fit first to send Ambassadors to be informed concerning the Money boasted of, and the state of the War. The Lacedæmonians this Winter made excursions into Argolis, and carried away much Booty. The Argives caused Ornea to be demolished, where their Exiles harboured, by the help of the Athenians, who sent some Forces to Methone a Town bordering upon Macedonia, thence to infect the Territories of Perdiccas. The Chalcidians hereupon solicited the Lacedæmonians to send Aid to the King, but they thinking it not Policy to break quite with Athens, refused. Thus the Winter with the sixteenth Year of the Peloponnesian War ended.

52. In the beginning of Spring the Ambassadors sent from Athens returned out of Sicily, bringing from the Egypsiens sixty Talents of Bullion, with a monthes pay for sixty Ships, as was required. The Ambassadors affirming (though falsely) as well as the Egypsiens that they had much Money in their Temples and publick Treasury; the People thereupon much elevated decreed Aid to be sent to them, under the conduct of Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, to whom they gave in charge,

T t 2

Sect. 3.

The Herme broken at Athens.

Alcibiades suspected, and desirous to be tried, is yet by his Enemies sent away.

Then again recalled.

The Syracusians stand on their Guard.

The Corinthians and Spartans send them aid.

that, if it might be, they should restore the *Leontines*, and do those things which they saw to be most advantageous to the Commonwealth, according to the comportment of affairs. *Nicias* laboured with all his might to divert the People from such a sudden resolution, proposing all the difficulties and dangers of the War, and thought to have excused himself by magnifying the power that was required to such an undertaking; but his mouth was stopped by a Decree, which gave him as much as he could exact. For one hundred Gallies were ordered for the Expedition, besides others of their Confederates, which amounted to above thirty, over and above Vessels of burthen, and others necessary for the transportation of six thousand and one hundred men, with the greatest care and industry imaginable; the Soldiers were completely furnished with Arms, cloths, and all things necessary; and a drachm a day assigned for their wages.

52. Before the departure of the Fleet, all the *Herme* throughout the City (these were the images of *Mercury* set up at every man's gate) in one night were mangled and abused, which was taken as an ill omen, and the People was jealous that it was done by some that were Enemies to the Popular Government. Great inquisition was made in vain to find out the Authors, but the suspicion light upon *Alcibiades* one of the Generals, through the practice of his emulators, who made use of his lofty deportment, which ill suited with their kind of policy. He offered himself to the trial, being fearful to be condemned absent; but his Enemies put it off for the present, and got him to be sent away, intending to make use of that which he feared, that being condemned unheard, he might be the sooner oppressed, because now by his own authority and interest, he had drawn many to give their names to the Expedition, and therefore they could not easily carry any thing against him, because of his popularity. As the Fleet sailed towards *Sicily*, the Generals sent some before to discover further in what conditions the *Egestans* were, who bringing tidings clean contrary to what both they, the *Egestans* themselves, and the Ambassadors sent to them had asserted, the Generals were all divided in their opinions what to do, but *Alcibiades* hot and youthful, was for their proceeding, to which *Lamachus* at length assenting, his desire was obtained. They then landed and seized upon *Catana*, attempted *Camarina* in vain, when *Alcibiades* received orders to come and plead his cause at *Athens* about the *Herme*, his Enemies having obtained it should be so. In truth he was condemned beforehand, but to colour the matter, he was sent for to plead, and that must be with bonds laid upon him. He was aware of the danger, and departed straight to *Lacedæmon*, with intention to teach the *Athenians* what person they had compelled by unjust Judgment to forsake his Country, and betake himself to their Enemies. After this was known, sentence of death was published against him of his Partners, many (whether justly or no *Thucydides* much questions) being put to death without proof already in the City.

54. The *Syracusians*, though not fully persuaded of the design of the *Athenians* against them at first, (and thereupon not so well provided as they might have been) yet made all possible provision for resistance. The two Generals, after the departure of *Alcibiades*, by a stratagem drew them out of the City, and in the mean time brought their Forces near unto it, and worsted them, and when they fell out, but without any great loss sustained on either part, and then drew off to their Winter-quarters at *Catana* and *Naxos*. The *Syracusians* then encouraged by *Hermocrates* one of their new Generals (a wife man, who had forsworn them of the design of the *Athenians*) sent to *Sparta* and *Corinth* for aid; strengthened their Fortifications, made excursions to *Catana*, where they wasted the grounds, plundered, and burnt part of the *Athenian* Camp which was empty. Both sides laboured to draw the *Camarinians* to their side, but in vain; yet many Cities especially in the In-land, embraced the society of the *Athenians*, who sent also this Winter to the *Carthaginians* to procure their amity; the Cities upon the *Tyrrhenian* shore they also drew in, and all *Sicily* was now divided into these two factions. The *Corinthians* readily resolved to send aid to the *Syracusians*, and sent some of their own with their Ambassadors to *Sparta* to procure as much for them from that State. The *Spartans* made difficulty at first to do it, for fear of giving the *Athenians* offence; but hearing from *Alcibiades* what their designs were (who was come thither upon the publick faith) at his persuasions resolved also upon sending Forces under the Command of *Gylippus* they also embraced his Counsel concerning

renewing the War, and fortifying *Declea* a Castle in *Attica*. At the same time, the *Athenian* Generals sent to *Athens* for money and horse-men, which was readily decreed to be sent. Herewithin the seventeenth year of the War ended.

55. The next year the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* preyed mutually upon one another in *Peloponnesus*. In *Sicily* the *Athenians* with their whole force, and new supply of horse, layed to *Syracuse*, about which they seized upon many places, and several skirmishes ensued about the Fortifications; wherein the *Athenians* had the better. Then was the *Athenian* Fleet conveyed into the Haven of *Syracuse*, whence great contention ensued, and *Lamachus* one of the Generals assisting his friends was slain. The *Syracusians* endeavouring the recovery of *Epipolis* were repelled by *Nicias*, who thence drew a double work against the Town, and strengthened himself by the access of Confederates, and store of provision. The besieged receiving no assistance from *Peloponnesus* parled with *Nicias*; but the besieged succeeding not, they made choice of new Captains, whilst *Gylippus* the matter succeeding not, they made choice of new Captains, whilst *Gylippus* was not now far off, but despised by *Nicias* for the small number of his men. In Greece the *Spartans* distressed the *Argives*, who were assisted by the *Athenians* with thirty ships. These made excursions into the Territories of *Epipidaurus*, so that the League which had so long continued betwixt them and *Sparta*, though in a doubtful condition, was now openly broken, and the War resumed; and that more by their fault than any blame of the *Lacedæmonians*; if *Thucydides* be judge.

Demophanes and Eurymedon joyned in Commission with Nicias.

56. *Gylippus* arriving at *Syracuse* disturbed the work of *Nicias* about the Wall, and changed the constancy of his good fortune, who yet was not discouraged thereby, but proceeded in his utmost endeavours for the service of those that sent him, making preparation for Sea-matters, wherein the *Athenians* seemed to excel all others: hereupon ensued several skirmishes with various fortune, and the remaining of Summer was spent on both sides, in increasing their Forces and procuring aid. *Nicias* writing to *Athens* for supplies, new Levies were made, and *Demophanes*, and *Eurymedon* joyned in Commission with him, whereof the latter was sent in mid-winter with ten Gallies, and a great sum of money into *Sicily*, and the other staid till Spring to get ready what was remaining: twenty ships they also ordered to attend the motions of the *Peloponnesians*. These things being known, the *Spartans* and *Corinthians* calling upon their Confederates provided for the invasion of *Attica*, accordingly as *Alcibiades* had advised. With these things the eighteenth year of the War ended.

57. In the beginning of the Spring the *Peloponnesians* under the Command of *Agis* the Spartan King, invaded *Attica*, where they fortified *Orealea*, a place some twelve miles distant from *Athens*, and as much from the Borders of *Boeotia*. The *Athenians* sent thirty ships to waste *Peloponnesus*, and sixty (with five of *Chius*) into *Sicily* under *Demophanes* his Command. Out of *Peloponnesus* were sent to the aid of the *Syracusians*, from *Sparta* six hundred men, from *Corinth* five hundred, *Sycion* two hundred, and out of *Boeotia* three hundred, to the *Corinthian* Gallies lying at *Naupactus* were ordered to be a Convoy. At *Syracuse* the affairs of the *Athenians*, through the skill and valour of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, went down the wind, who being also much distressed at home by the excursions out of *Declea*, yet kept up their spirits to the admiration of all men. After *Demophanes* had arrived in *Sicily*, and heard of the miscarriages of their Fleet at Sea, he blamed *Nicias*, that he had not as soon as he came, applied all his endeavour to *Syracuse* the head of the War, and caused him to agree to set upon *Epipolis*, a difficult and craggy place, where falling on in the dark night, they could not discern betwixt friend and foe, all speaking in the same dialect, and thereby great slaughter being made of them, partly by themselves and the Enemy, the *Athenians* received a great defeat. The Generals hereupon consulting together, were not of the same opinion; *Demophanes* now was for departing away speedily out of the Island, seeing all things hapned cross therein, though he had been the cause of the fight: on the other side *Nicias*, who had laboured with all his might against the War, now pressed earnestly that it was for the honour and interest of their Country to stay and carry on the siege, and though *Eurymedon* was of the same opinion with *Demophanes*, yet could not *Nicias* be removed from his, so that their departure was deferred till they understood that *Gylippus* was come with new supplies out of *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily*. This resolution he stuck to so much, for that he knew the multitude rather to lookat success than the reason of things, and was unwilling to hazard

The Athenians defeated at Syracuse.

Sect. 3. his life and reputation in the hands of those who would be ready to condemn before they heard him, as they had done *Sophocles* and *Pheidorus* the former Generals, pretending they had taken money for making peace, when indeed there was not any possibility of making War.

58. But upon the report of *Gylippus* his coming, *Nicias* was content, and order was given for the Army to dislodge with the greatest secrecy; when in the mean time fell out an Eclipse of the Moon. By this, which was accounted an ill Omen, was *Nicias* again so terrified, that out of a superstitious conceit he would not have the Camp break up till twenty seven days were past. The *Syracians* much rejoiced hereat, and resolved to hinder their flight, or force them to transfer themselves to some other place. They first beat up their Camp, and the next day provoked them to fight, both at Land and Sea, and in the mouth of the Haven engaged in a great and bloody battle, wherein *Eurymedon* one of the *Athenian* Generals was slain, and though the Squadron of *Gylippus* was worsted, which made the *Athenians* erect a Trophy, yet had they the worst of it, all considered. This made them too late repent that they had so ambitiously and unjustly undertaken a War with a City as great as *Athens* itself, and one of the same kind of Government, Enemy to *Oligarchy*. But the *Syracians* were more and more animated, conceiving now great hopes of obtaining much glory and favour amongst the *Græcians*, of whom some they might free from slavery, and others from the fear of it for the time to come, by chastising their Tyrants, as they were accounted. As a way hereto they resolved to block up the mouth of the Haven, that the *Athenian* Fleet should not pass out thence by stealth.

59. The *Athenians* seeing themselves in this strait, concluded it the best for them to make a new, and a more narrow Camp near to their ships, and attempt another battle at Sea, in which, if they had the better, then to remove to *Catana*, but if not, to burn their Vessels and depart by Land to some convenient place. This was attempted with all care and expedition; but the *Syracians* opposed them, and in the straitness of the Haven was such a dispute, as scarcely ever before had hapned, which was beheld by the land Armies with passion suitable to the condition of their friends: Norwithstanding the *Syracians* lost almost as many Vessels, yet the other were so weakened, and the Sea-men so discouraged, that though the Generals would have attempted to break out another time, yet they refused any more to go aboard; so that they concluded of getting away by Land the next night. If this had been done it might have fallen out well for the Army, but by the cunning device of *Hermocrates* they were circumvented, and persuaded to stay till the third day after.

60. Their departure was most full of out-cries, sorrow, and misery, set out to the life by *Thucydides*, so that none can read it without compassion. *Gylippus* seized upon their hundred and thirty ships left in the Haven, then pursued them, and set upon them behind, before, and on all sides, so that distressed for all necessities, they took another way than that which lead to *Catana*, otherwise than they had intended, and they were divided into two bodies, whereof that with *Demophanes* soon yielded upon promise of their lives. *Nicias* required better terms, and refused to submit; but at length was forced to it, craving favour for himself and men, at the hands of *Gylippus* and the *Spartans*; eighteen thousand in one day were slain, seven hundred taken and condemned to Mines, were after sold. The two Generals were (contrary to the utmost endeavour of *Gylippus*, who would fain have had the honour of carrying them to *Sparta*) put to death, or as *Diodorus* saith, killed themselves in prison. This was the end of the *Sicilian* War, so indiscreetly undertaken by the *Athenians*, who when they had those already that gave them enough to do, would needs make to themselves more Enemies, and so by labouring to grasp, lost all. *Meton* (a) the Astronomer (mentioned before) was so certainly persuaded of the danger of this expedition, that when he was enrolled amongst those that were to undertake it, to prevent his going, he counterfeited himself mad, to confirm the belief of which he set fire on his own house. But (b) *Hippocrates* the Coan (Prince of Physicians) is said to have set out his own son at his own charge, as Physician to the *Athenian* Army.

61. The *Athenians* were loath to give credit to the first report of the loss of their Army and Fleet, because of the greatness of it, but then knowing it to be so indeed, were much incensed against those that persuaded them to undertake the War, and for that they feared the *Sicilians* would now come upon them whilst they

they were destitute of all things, the City was filled with great consternation. Yet within a while, they took courage, and making all provision for defence, gave Commission to some few of the most ancient and experienced amongst them, to consult and provide fit matter for the multitude to debate. In Winter following all *Greece* was elevated upon this their bad success. They who were wretches before, now offered themselves to join in suppressing those of whom formerly they stood in fear: the Confederates of *Lacedæmon* more vigorously provided against them, and all those that had been subject to them were earnest to shake off the yoke. The *Lacedæmonians* having taken encouragement, let themselves very seriously to the War. *Agis* their King went into *Thessaly* to raise money, and a Fleet of one hundred Gallies was prepared amongst the Confederates. *Pharnabazus* one of the *Sarapæi* of *Persia*, and Lieutenant of those parts of *Asia* about the *Hellepoint*, and *Tissaphernes* another of the *Sarapæi*, sent to *Sparta*, and offered them assistance. These designs were carried on as secretly as could be, that the *Athenians* might get no knowledge of them; who laboured all the same time about the Rigging of a new Fleet. With these preparations the nineteenth year of the War ended.

62. The next year the *Athenians* were at the beginning somewhat encouraged by some success at Sea; and thereby the *Lacedæmonians* so far discouraged again, that they thought seriously of concluding the War, till otherwise perwaded by *Alcibiades*, who undertook an expedition into *Ionia* to withdraw it from the obedience of *Athens*, and did very much effect. The *Athenians* hereat abashed, and fearing all their Associates would revolt, took out one thousand Talents, which as yet had been untouched, as forbidden by the Law, and laid them out in this case of extremity in provisions, and especially in preparing a new Fleet. Then by *Alcibiades* his means was a League of alliance made betwixt *Darius Notbus* King of *Persia*, and the State of *Sparta*, by virtue of which the King allowed money for the payment of their Soldiers. The *Athenians* recovered *Lesbos*, and *Clazomenæ*, the *Milesians* and *Chians* (principal in the revolt) were destroyed by them, but again they had the worst of it in a Sea-fight near to *Rhodes*, which the *Peloponnesians* then by fair means drew to their society, exacting of the Inhabitants twenty three talents in the name of tribute, which success, because of the strength of that City, made them confidently despise the money, and alliance of *Persia*.

63. For, *Tissaphernes* and they were at some difference about the form of the League, which they complained was not rightly drawn, for therein they were tied to give up to the *Persian* the Islands, *Thessaly*, *Locri*, and *Beotia*, which heretofore had been under the power of that Empire: which seemed unworthy for the *Lacedæmonians* to do, who pretended themselves the vindicators of the liberty of *Greece*, against the incroachments of the *Athenians*; Herewith *Tissaphernes* was grievously nettled, and departed in discontent from *Cnidus*, where eleven *Spartans* had met him to require that the instruments should be corrected. At this time it also hapned that *Alcibiades* was envied for his glory, and suspected by the *Peloponnesians*, and hated by *Agis* the *Spartan* King, for that he had corrupted his Wife, inasmuch that order was reported to have been sent to *Apollonius* the General, to kill him; but he withdrew himself to *Tissaphernes*. He laid open to him the full State of the *Peloponnesians*, perwaded him to diminish the pay that his Master allowed them, by changing a Drachm into three Oboli a day, part of which also he should ever keep unpaid, to have the Seamen at his devotion. He further suggested crafty counsel to him: especially that they should not suffer the *Athenians* to be suppressed by the *Lacedæmonians*, but to keep those two States ever in an even balance, and let them weaken one another by their mutual enmities; yet to favour a little more the *Athenians*, because they would be content with part of the sovereignty of the Seas, and would go no further, whereas the *Spartans* would not rest here, but contend for the sole Dominion, and to bring all the *Græcians* from under the *Persian* yoke. These things he pressed upon him as great mysteries of State for his Master's service, and as such he embraced them; wherefore the promise he had made of joining the *Phœnician* Fleet with that gallant one of the *Peloponnesians* was not performed, and the power of this was weakened by the withholding of the Soldiers pay.

64. *Alcibiades* had a great desire to return into his own Country, which would not be to any purpose except it were preserved, and therefore he communicated these things to *Tissaphernes*. He wrote to some of the chief of the *Athenians* then lying

Great joy in
Greece.

Alcibiades his
actions against
his own
Country.

He fleeth from
the Spartans
out of fear.

He suggesteth
crafty counsel
to Tissaphernes.

He desireth to
return to his
Country.

(a) *Alcian* 1^{er}.
Hist. lib. 13.
cap. 12.

(b) *Plut* Sym-
pos in Chion. ad
an. M. 3190.

Thucyd. lib. 8.

Sect. 3.

Pyrrhus
handeth
in fear of
him, and
laboureth
to destroy
him,To no pur-
pose.Commissioners
sent to
treat with
Alci-
biades and
Tissaphernes,
but in vain.Tissaphernes
reneweth
the War with the
Peloponnesians.

lying at *Samus* concerning his desire, and told them wherein he was dealing with him; and yet he signified that he had no mind to return, as long as the Popular Government (under which he was banished) should continue. The *Athenians* that lay at *Samus* liked the matter well, and generally inclined to change the Government, for that they were made to believe that *Tissaphernes* by the procurement of *Alciades* would be their friend, and they should have money from him for the payment of their Army. But *Phrynus* the General standing in fear of *Alciades*, by reason he had spoken too freely against him, opposed it with all his might, and when he could do nothing by words, very boldly acquainted *Alyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* General with the matter. He who now had not *Alciades* in his power, was no whit eager for his destruction, and being withal corrupted by *Tissaphernes* to betray his trust, went and acquainted him and *Alciades* with what he had received. Hereupon *Alciades* wrote to the *Athenians* in *Samus*, and acquainted them with the treachery of *Phrynus*, required them to put him to death as a Traitor to his Country, who hereupon was exceedingly troubled, and boyled with anger against *Alyochus*; yet in so desperate a case adding one rash act unto another, he wrote again to him, upbraided him with unthankfulness, and signified that he would betray *Samus* with all the *Athenian* Army there unto the *Lacedæmonians*, which he could do, because the Town was unwall'd, and would do, so far as it was lawful in so eminent a danger, as he was in, to provide for his own security.

65. *Alyochus* without taking this opportunity to serve his Country, made this known also to *Alciades*, which *Phrynus* understanding, and knowing that *Alciades* would write hereof to the Army, that he might prevent him, he told the Soldiers that the Enemy intended to set upon *Samus* by Sea and Land, now that the City wanted walls, whereupon he commanded them, having absolute authority, to raise a work about it, and keep diligent watch. This was done accordingly, and then though *Alciades* his letters presently after arrived, yet no credit was given to the accusation, as proceeding from his bitter Enemy, but more confidence reposed in him. *Alciades* then applied himself to *Tissaphernes* to reconcile him to the *Athenians*, but he being unwilling to lose all his credit, was cool in the business. But whilst he dealt with him, the Soldiers in *Samus* having sent to *Athens* to deal with the People about the change of Government, *Pisander* chief of the messengers laboured to convince them of the absolute necessity thereof, for that otherwise they could not be freed from imminent destruction. The People being circumvented yielded to it, and gave him with ten other Commissioners power to treat, and conclude whatsoever they found necessary for the State, with *Tissaphernes* and *Alciades*: but the former of these standing in fear of utterly losing the *Peloponnesians*, would not give any encouragement, or open his mind fully to *Alciades*, who fearing to lose his power and credit with him, which he had so boasted of to the *Athenians*; that he might put them by, demanded such hard Conditions as he knew they could not grant, and so the Commissioners returned with great stomach and disdain, to have been so ill used by him.

66. And *Tissaphernes* to prosecute that design of setting the *Grecians* upon each other, and keeping them in equal power; fearing that if he detained any longer the pay from the *Peloponnesians*, that they would be too much weakened by the *Athenians*, who now of late had the better of it in some engagements, and thereby the King's Provinces should be exposed to danger, went this Winter into *Caria*, where he renewed the League on better terms for the *Peloponnesians*, paid the arrears due to the Army, and promised to dispatch away the *Phænician* Fleet. This new alliance was made in the thirteenth year of *Darius*, (*Alcibiades* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*) upon the River *Maander*, attested by the names of *Tissaphernes*, *Hieramenes*, and the Children of *Pharnaces*. Towards the end of Winter *Oropus* a Town situate upon the confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*, revolted to the *Boeotians*, being formerly in the jurisdiction of *Athens*. Hereupon the *Boeotians* conceived hopes to alienate all *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*, especially for that the *Erarians* who were principal in that Island, inclined to a revolt, and sent away to the *Peloponnesians* to desire they would come into *Eubœa*. But their care for *Chios* which was distressed by the *Athenians* suffered them not to comply with their desire; for they set out a Fleet to relieve that Island, but the *Athenians* being masters of the Sea, it durst not venture further than *Miletus*; and therefore the *Athenian* ships returned unto *Samus*. Thus ended the twentieth year of the War.

67. In

Sect. 3.

The Govern-
ment changed
to Oligarchy
in Athens, and
the Cities sub-
ject to it.

The Model.

Four hundred
men have the
executive
Power.They send to
Athens about
a peace, who
signify their
them.Refer their
second address
to Sparta.The Army at
Samus enraged
at them.

67. In the beginning of Spring *Dercylidas* was sent from *Sparta* by Land to the *Hellepont*, with no great force, where with ease he brought off *Abydos* (a Colony of the *Milians*) from their obedience to *Athens*, and after that *Lampsacus*, but attempted the same upon *Sestos* to no purpose. The *Athenians* and *Chians* had a battle at Sea upon equal Terms: but *Strombichides* the *Athenian* hearing what was done in the *Hellepont* halted thither, recovered *Lampsacus*, was repelled by the Inhabitants of *Abydos*, and then went to *Sestos* in *Europe*, where he placed a strong Garrison for the security of those parts. In the mean time *Pisander* and his Colleagues being returned from *Alciades* to *Samus*, in conjunction with those therein, resolved without him to change the Government. They first did it in most of the Cities which were subject to *Athens*, and found it almost effected there, after that *Androcles*, a man who was most earnest in the defence of *Democracy*, with some others, were secretly murdered by some Conspirators, who laboured thereby to gain the good will of *Alciades* and *Tissaphernes*. These designed to have the State governed by five thousand men of the most able with Bodies and Estates to serve it, and the People durst not contradict them, such factions and jealousies had risen, that no man was secure of his Neighbour. But *Pisander* and his Colleagues arriving, obtained of the Multitude, that ten men might be empowered, to conclude and set down in writing such things as seemed to them requisite for a settlement, which on a certain day were to be referred to the People.

68. When the day came, these ten men first required, that it might be lawful for any one to speak his Opinion without danger of incurring any penalty by the Laws. Then they proposed, that no Magistracy should be undertaken and exercised after the usual manner, nor any receive salary for the exercising thereof: that five Presidents should be chosen, who should pick out one hundred men, and each of these chuse three more, that all might make up the number of four hundred. That these four hundred men should be invested with the supreme Power and Authority; should decrease and ordain what seemed good unto them; and might call together the five thousand when they thought it convenient. These Propositions, though of so great consequence for the change they were likely to produce, were yet admitted of, not as much as one man gaining them, such a change there was made in the minds of the People, which now since the banishing of the Tyrants, had only been governed by its Laws and Constitutions, and not only not subject to the Authority of others, but reigning over many, devalued it self of so great Sovereignty and Power. But these four hundred men thus authorized, were conducted in a solemn manner to the Senate-house, with Daggers under their Coats, and compassed about with armed Men, where the old Senate having their Salaries paid were dismissed. They chose the *Pyrranes* or *Presidents* out of their own Body, and then began to exercise their Authority; but not without Blood, Bonds, and Banishment. They sent to *Agis* the *Lacedæmonian* King, then lying at *Decælea*, to treat of Peace, but he not having any Opinion of their Power as long to continue, but thinking the People would shortly resume it, rejected their Ambassage, and sending for more Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came to *Athens*, hoping that in these Commotions he might affright the City into a Surrender. But he found the contrary; for all agreeing in this to resist him as the common Enemy, they stood notably to their defence, and sallied out upon him; so that having no hopes, he dismissed his new Forces, and with the other returned to *Decælea*.

69. After his return, the four hundred sent other Ambassadors to him about a Peace, who referred them to *Sparta*, whither they went, but what success they had, doth not appear from *Thucydides*. They knew the common Soldiers at *Samus* (though *Pisander* and his Companions had stickled for it) to be Enemies to Oligarchy, and therefore to take them off, they sent to acquaint them that the Power was not in them only, but in the five thousand also, and laboured to satisfy them in this point, that this was equivalent to *Democracy*, seeing that during that Government, when all things were done by the Body of the People, a greater number did not use to meet. But they at *Samus* being impatient of any but Popular Government, after the departure of *Pisander* and his Colleagues, had restored it there, and sent to *Athens* to signify so much, not knowing what had hapned there, which was very unwelcome news to the four hundred, who cast some of the Messengers into Prison. But *Chares*, hiding himself for some time, escaped, and carried back a report how things stood, amplifying much the oppression and insolence of these Governours; whereat the

U u Soldiers

Sec. 3.

Soldiers were grievously enraged, and threatened death, not only to the Authors of the *Oligarchy*, but to all that had been partakers of it; and at such a Season when the Enemy expected such advantages, they had committed something, tending to the ruine of their Countrey, had they not been restrained by the interposition of more stayed and prudent men. *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſylus*, who had been most earnest for restoring the Popular Government, that they might do it in a safe and honourable way, caused all the Soldiers, especially such as they knew to favour *Oligarchy*, to take an Oath unanimously to act for the restitution of the power of the People; to fight resolutely against the *Peloponnesians*; to take for Enemies the four hundred men at *Athens*, and to admit of no entercourse with them by any Officer at Arms; which Oath also they caused to be taken by all the *Samiens* that were at Age, whose conjunction they thought necessary for carrying on the Design.

Takes an Oath of Combination on against them.

70. Then did the Soldiers chuse them new Officers, of whom were *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſylus*, and encouraged one another to the Enterprize, both from the justness of their undertaking (for that the Army had not revolted from the Citie, but the Citie from it) as also from their Strength, far superiour (especially in respect of the Fleet) to that of the four hundred, adding also, that *Alcibiades* upon promise of security, and restitution, would be assisting to them, and that they might hope well concerning *Tissaphernes*, and the King of *Persia*. In the mean while the *Peloponnesians* fore mutined against *Tissaphernes*, and *Aphyochus*, that they had not their pay, and were not lead out to fight with the *Athenians*, whilst they were so at odds amongst themselves, which forced the later to draw both Sea and Land-forces to *Mycale* for an engagement, but the *Athenians* refusing to fight, for that they were inferior to them in number of Ships, when more came from the *Hellspont* presented themselves; but then the *Peloponnesians* conceiving themselves too weak for the encounter, refused to engage. *Thraſybulus* in the mean while persuaded the Army to recall *Alcibiades*. Audience being given him, after he had complained of the injustice of his Enemies, he discoursed much of the State of Affairs as they then stood, Magnified above measure his Power with *Tissaphernes* (which he did, both to discourage them at *Athens*, and to render the *Satrapa* the more odious to the *Peloponnesians*) who he said would assist them to the felling of the bed he lay on. Hereupon the Soldiers mightily elevated with Hopes, presently created him one of their Generals, with full power, thinking of nothing but the punishment of the four hundred, and resolving without any regard of the Enemy at hand to sail directly for the *Piræus*.

Recall'd Alcibiades.

71. *Alcibiades* withstood their Resolution, saying, that nothing was rashly to be committed, and seeing that they had put the Power into his Hands he must go to *Tissaphernes*. This he did, not only to transact what he pretended, but also to boast of his new Power, to let the *Persian* know he could either pleasure him, or incommode his Affairs, and so this crafty man procured, that he both made him fear the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* stand in Awe of him, whilst hereby he made up his own Interest. That also which he intended concerning *Tissaphernes*, and the *Peloponnesians*, came to pass; for distrusting him before, they were now very bitter against him, since he hindered the Fight at *Mileus*, and defrauded them of their pay, and *Aphyochus* their own General they had killed in a Mutiny, had he not taken Sanctuary. Presently upon this came *Mindarus*, sent from *Sparta* to succeed him, who then departed home with an Agent from *Tissaphernes*, whom he sent to excuse himself to that State, and answer such Objections as were made against him. *Alcibiades* returned from *Tissaphernes* to *Samus*, where met him the Ambassadors of the four hundred men (who upon hearing how things were there, had all this while out of fear staid at *Delus*.) The Soldiers would not hear them, and voted they should be put to death; but he caused them to have leave to deliver their Message, which they did with all the advantage they could, in excuse of those that sent them, accusing of falsehood what had been reported by *Chæreas*; but still the Army was dissatisfied, and cried out to sail to the *Piræus*. *Alcibiades* now timely interposed himself; for, had the Army then departed for *Athens*, all *Ionia*, and the *Hellspont* had been presently lost; but he put a stop to their heat, and checked those that were so fierce against the Ambassadors. He himself bad them return this Answer, that the five thousand might retain their Power, but the four hundred were commanded to desert, and restore the Senate of five hundred whom they ousted; that they should do well at *Athens* to take care of the Commonwealth, and not to give place to the Enemy; for whilst the City was

Alcibiades giveth them a resolute answer.

Sec. 3.

safe, he hoped to make up the breaches; but if either it should be lost, or the Army at *Samus* miscarry, there would want those who should be reconciled to each other.

The Councils of Tissaphernes in the dark.

72. With this answer he dismissed the Messengers in safety, as he did also with much kindness Ambassadors sent from *Argos* to offer assistance against the four hundred. *Tissaphernes* now upon what design is utterain, went to *Apollonia* where the *Phœnician* Fleet lay, pretending he would purge himself to the *Lacedæmonians*, and give order to *Tamus* his Officer to pay the Arrears due to the Army. But neither did he remove the Fleet from *Apollonia*, according to agreement, pretending frivolous things, nor did *Tamus* accordingly pay the monies; which raised many conjectures and much discourse. *Thucydides* thinketh his design to have been to hold the *Græcians* in suspense, and suffer them to weaken one another, for that if he had joyned himself to either party, by the help of his Fleet he might in a short time, and without difficulty have finished the War, and given the victory to which side he pleased. *Alcibiades* went to him with thirteen ships, promising either to induce him to joyn his Fleet with the *Athenians*, or to procure that he should not assist them of *Peloponnesus*; it being likely enough that he knew his intention of not moving to the one party or the other; but this he did, especially by his entercourse, and familiarity with him, to increase the indignation and choler of the *Peloponnesians*, and thereby to constrain him to joyn himself with the *Athenians*. But the return and report of the Ambassadors sent from the four hundred men raised great perturbations in the minds of men at *Athens*, whilst those, who either out of some ambitious design (all men being greedy of power over others) or for the publick good, desired that the Supreme Authority might be in the five thousand, had the advantage of the other factions. The other were as busie as concerned, especially *Phrynichus*, because so obnoxious to *Alcibiades*, *Pisander*, and others. They sent to *Lacedæmon* to make peace with that State upon any terms, and Fortified that part of the *Piræus*, which commandeth the mouth of the Haven, whilst made the other party, which affected *Democracy*, very jealous; *Theramenes* crying out that they intended to betray the City to the Enemy, who now with forty two Gallies hovered about the Coasts.

How men in Athens stood affected to the four hundred.

The Traitorous designs of the four hundred.

Tumults at Athens.

73. Neither were these mere Calumnies; for these four hundred men for the most part desired to retain the Dominion over both Citizens and Allies; but if not that, yet to continue Masters of the Fleet and Fortifications, and if this could not be obtained, then to call in the Enemy, to redeem their lives, and part of the City, with the ships and works; being resolved never to give way to the Popular Government, from which they could expect nothing but sudden destruction. To this purpose they made the Wall upon the *Piræus* with several Gates to let in the Enemy if need were. But *Phrynichus* returning from *Sparta* whither he was sent Ambassador (though to no purpose) was stabbed in the Forum by a conspiracy; after which *Theramenes* and his party grew more bold, and by the help of the Soldiers seized upon some of the Chief of the four hundred, whence ensued a very great tumult, all being ready to fall one upon another, and certain mischief had followed; but that the ancient men somewhat repressed the younger, and *Thucydides* the *Phœnician*, then sojourning in the City, laboured earnestly to persuade them, crying out, that they should not themselves destroy their Country, now that the Enemy was ready to assail it; and with much ado he kept them from offering violence to one another. *Theramenes* also checked the Soldiers in the Haven; but he giving way to it, the new Fortifications there were demolished. The next day the four hundred met, though in great fear, and sent some of their number to appease the Soldiers, saying, that they would chuse five thousand men, who from amongst themselves should chuse the number of four hundred by turns to rule the State, desiring they would not undo the City by compelling it to yield to the Enemy. Herewith the minds of the Soldiers were somewhat quieted; and with much ado they agreed that a general Assembly should be had at a certain day for an agreement; but when the day came, and the Assembly was scarce gathered together, news came that the forty two ships, under Command of *Hegelandrides* the *Spartan*, held their course directly from the Coast of *Megara*, to the Island *Salamine*.

74. The Soldiers now concluded of the certainty of what *Theramenes* had told them, and that these ships intending for the *Piræus*, it was good that the Fortifications were demolished; and likely enough it was that *Hegelandrides* hovering so long about *Epidaurns*, expected some good opportunity to fall on *Athens*. Here:

Sect. 3.

The Athenians
defected were
seized with
great confu-
sion.The contrary
dispositions of
the Athenians
and Lacedæ-
monians.The power of
the four hun-
dred strong-
est, and the
Government
most equally
poised.The Athenians
obtained a
Victory at
Sea.

upon the Assembly hasted to the *Pireus*, but the Fleet making towards *Eubœa* at length came to *Oropus*, which making them very solicitous for *Eubœa* wherein their hope only remained, they sent *Thymochares* with some ships to *Eretria*, which he joyning to those that were in the Island, made up thirty six sail. He was forced to fight sooner than he intended, by the fraud of the *Eretrians*, who delayed to bring victuals to sell as they were wont, and thereby drew the Soldiers further off from the Fleet, and made great disorder; so that the *Peloponnesians* setting upon them, whilst out of good order, quickly put them to flight. They took twenty two ships, killing some, and taking the rest of the men: such as fled to Land, and betook themselves to *Eretria* as to friends, were killed by the Inhabitants; then presently all *Eubœa*, except *Oreus*, revolted to the *Peloponnesians*. When tidings hereof came to *Athens*, never did so great consternation seize upon them there, no not after the overthrow of *Sicily*. For the Army at *Samus* dissented from the City; they had neither ships left, nor men to serve in them, and were broken into factions, of which they could not foresee the event; and the loss of *Eubœa* was exceeding great, because that Island furnished the City with more Commodities than *Attica* itself. And their fear was increased by the nearness of it, from which the Enemy might presently come and seize upon the *Pireus* now destitute of ships, which they did not only think would be, but imagined to be already done.

75. And had the Enemy been a little bolder, he might easily have done this, and more. Had he besieged the City, it would have been more grievously broken by seditions, and constrained to call home the Army at *Samus*; and thereby he might have reduced with ease *Ionia*, the *Hellepont*, all the Islands, and all as far as *Eubœa*; and so consequently all the *Athenian* Dominion into his power. But well was it for the *Athenians* that they had such an Enemy to deal with as the *Spartans*, who were of so contrary dispositions: they being speedy and bold in executing all their designs; but these slow, and something fearful, especially in Sea-matters, whereby they afforded many opportunities to the *Athenians*. These things are confirmed from instance in the *Syracusians*, who being of the same nature as the *Athenians*, were good enough for them at all assays. The *Athenians* in the midst of all their fears took yet all care possible for their Affairs, furnishing out twenty ships, and meeting together in *Præce*, the usual place for popular Assemblies, they abrogated the power of the four hundred, and gave it to five thousand, amongst whom some were to furnish the Commonwealth with Arms, ordering that none should receive any wages for his employments. Many other meetings then succeeded, in which certain Law-makers were chosen, and other things decreed for the good of the State, at which time *Thucydides* thinketh the *Athenian* Commonwealth to have been better than ever tempered and qualified, a moderate, and equal way being brought in betwixt the power of a few, and that of the whole people. A decree also passed for the restitution of *Alciades*, and those with him. Upon this change *Pisander* and the rest that adhered to *Oligarchy* fled to the Enemy.

76. In the mean while the *Peloponnesian* Fleet lying at *Miletus*, in vain expected money from *Tissaphernes*, and the coming of the *Phœnician* Fleet: on the other side *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant to the King upon the *Hellepont*, promised them all kindness, and in particular used his endeavour to draw all the *Greek* Cities within his Government from the society of the *Athenians*; which *Tissaphernes* also had promised, but performed like other things. *Mindarus* the General of the Fleet moved herewith, went from *Miletus* towards the *Hellepont*, with a Fleet of seventy three ships, which *Thrasylus* the *Athenian* understanding, made after him with fifty five sail, labouring to get before him. Some stop was made by the way, but nothing very considerable done till they came towards an engagement at *Gonosma*. Sixteen Gallies of *Athens* were first met with by the *Peloponnesians*, who took three of them, and burnt another; and at length both the Fleets joyned battle, being enlarged since they came into the *Hellepont* by the access of other ships. At first the *Peloponnesians* put to flight the middle battel of the *Athenians*, and driving the ships to Land had the better of it there; but being too eager in the pursuit, they brake their ranks, which *Thrasylus* and those with him observing in his wing, wound about and fell upon them with such violence, as forced them to flee. They took twenty one ships, the rest by reason of the straightness of the Sea getting into some Harbour or other, and though they lost fifteen of their own, yet obtained they a seasonable Victory, which made them lift up their heads (having been dejected by so many disasters) and cease to complain of their Fortune.

77. The

77. The report of it at *Athens*, as of an unexpected thing, mightily encouraged the people also, so that notwithstanding the revolt of *Eubœa*, and intestine Seditions, they had hopes still, if they prosecuted the War with diligence, to have the better. Four days after the Fleet removed from *Sestus* towards *Cyzicus*, where in their way they took eight Gallies that came from *Byzantium*, and taking the Town, which then for want of walls could make no resistance, fined the Inhabitants; the *Peloponnesians* at the same time endeavouring to recruit their Navy. In the mean while *Alciades* having been with *Tissaphernes* returned to *Samus* with thirteen Gallies, bringing word, that he had stopped the *Phœnician* Fleet from joyning with the *Peloponnesians*, and had rendered the *Satrapæ* more friendly towards the *Athenians*. Then presently adding nine ships to the former, he constrained the *Helicarnassians* to pay a great sum of money, and fortified *Cos*. *Tissaphernes*, when he heard that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was gone towards the *Hellepont*, hasted from *Apudus* into *Ionia*, where understanding that the Inhabitants of *Antandrus* had received a Garrison from the *Peloponnesians* of *Abydos*, because they had been ill dealt withal by *Astachys*, whom he had made his Lieutenant in those parts, as also that the *Peloponnesians* had cast his Garrison out of *Miletus*, and *Cnidus* (which they did to affront him, laying grievous matters to his charge) left they should proceed any further, and grieving that *Pharnabazus* in a less time, and with less expence, should make more use of them against the *Athenians*, he determined to follow them into the *Hellepont*, to expulate with them about *Antandrus*, and purge himself as well as he could of those things laid to his charge about the *Phœnician* Fleet, and other matters. And when he came to *Ephesus* he sacrificed to *Diana*. Here the history of *Thucydides* (A) endeth (with the Sum- (A) Diodorus
mer of the twenty first year of the War) which afterwards was continued by *Thucy- (A) Olymp. 31.
des*. (A) The work of
pompus for seventeen years; but by *Xenophon* for twenty eight. (The work of
the former is lost; and that of the latter extant, but without a beginning, in the (A) *affairs* in
judgment of a learned man, who, besides the proem, will have the history of *Thucy- (A) Anst. Pto-
des* two years to be wanting; from the end of that Summer at which *Thucydides* left, to the conclusion of the Summer of the twenty third year of the War. But *Diodorus* placing the last things of *Thucydides* in the second year of the ninety second Olympiad, in the very next relateth those which are mentioned in the beginning of the first Book of *Xenophon*, so that if the whole was extant in his time, he either missed the two years, and so inverted the Chronology of all his history succeeding; or else only the proem of the first Book of *Xenophon* is lost (if there was any) and the history entire.

Tissaphernes
seizeth Al-
ciades.
Alciades o-
verthroweth
Mindarus the
Spartan.

78. Not long after the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* engaged twice in fight at *Ægæ*, the Sea, wherein the *Athenians* had the better first and last, the second having been fought to no great purpose on either side. *Tissaphernes*, after this coming to the *Hellepont*, *Alciades* went to visit him, whom he secured, and committed to close custody, pretending he had orders from his Master to make War against the *Athenians*; but rather for that he feared he should be accused by the *Peloponnesians* to the King, and therefore thought by this enterprize to redeem his credit. But after he had been secured thirty days, he made his escape to *Clazomenæ*, where pretending to have been sent by *Tissaphernes*, he sayed thence to the *Athenians* an Army lying at *Cardia*. Sailing thence to the *Hellepont* or *Cyzicus*, he overthrew *Mindarus* both at Sea and Land, who died also in the fight, taking all the *Peloponnesian* ships, after which he forced from the Town a great sum of money, and prosecuted the Victory by fining and securing other places. In the mean while letters were intercepted, and sent to *Athens*, which were to *Sparta*, written from *Hippocrates* Lieutenant to *Mindarus*, and found to contain the distress of the Fleet in these few words, according to the *Lacedæmonian* custom: *All is as it is*. *Mindarus is slain, the Soldiers are famished: we know not what to do*. *Alciades* is lost. But *Pharnabazus* laboured with all his might to encourage the *Lacedæmonian* Army, telling them they had lost nothing but wooden ships, their men being saved, and that new ones should be built at his Masters cost (who had wood enough at the Mount *Idæ*) in which work he was very diligent, and relieved the *Chalcedonians* then distressed.

79. The news of the success with the letter of *Hippocrates* coming to *Athens*, *Diodorus* filled the people with excessive joy, who offered sacrifice to their gods, and kept holy day. They chose then one thousand of the most valiant Foot, and one hundred Horse for prosecuting the War, and sent thirty Gallies more to *Alciades*, that he might with greater success set upon the allies of *Sparta* now the Sea was in his power.

The

Sect. 3.

The Lacedæmonians send to Athens about Peace.

Cleophon hindereth it.

Ages repulseth from Athens.

The acts of Thrasybulus the Athenian.

Alcibiades be- siegeth Chalcedon.

The Lacedæmonians when they understood how things went, dispatched away Ambassadors (the chief of which was *Endius*, unto *Athens*;) about a Peace. They offered that both States might retain such places as they had already in their Power, that the Garrisons might be dismissed on both sides, and the Prisoners redeemed man for man; and much in a little was said by *Endius*, to shew that the *Athenians* were more concerned to be for Peace, though he denied not but that the War was hurtful to *Sparta*: The most moderate men amongst the *Athenians* were willing to hear of an accommodation; but such as made their own Markets out of the publick loss, and gained by the War, withstood the proposition. Amongst these as principal was *Cleophon*, the most eminent of the *Demagogues* (or leaders of the People) at this time, though formerly a maker of Harps, whom many remembered to have been bound with Fetters, but he was surreptitiously registered amongst the Citizens. He speaking many things fit for his purpose, especially made use of the late success; which he so improved, as if Fortune now had forgot to be inconstant. The People herewith puffed up, and conceiving great hopes that by the conduct of *Alcibiades* they should re-obtain their ancient Power, refused to entertain the Proposals made by *Endius*; of which ill advice they were afterwards sensible, when it was too late, falling so low from this height of Presumption; that they could never after recover themselves.

80. After this, *Ages* the *Spartan* King made excursions from *Decelea*, as far as the Walls of *Athens*, at which time it happened that *Thrasybulus* was in the City about business; who leading out his *Athenian* Soldiers and others that were private, offered him Battle; at which he was troubled, and hasted away, losing a few of his men in some light Skirmishes. His service got *Thrasybulus* great credit, that he easily obtained what he came for, one thousand Foot of heavy Armour which he easily would pick out; one hundred Horse; and fifty Gallies, being decreed to him; but *Ages* seeing that it was to no purpose to besiege *Athens* by Land, as long as they could bring in what Provision they pleased at the *Piræus*, sent away *Cleobulus* the Son of *Ramphius* to *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*, to make provision for Sea matters; who got through the *Hellepont* with much ado; and with the loss of three Ships out of his fifteen he had with him, came to *Byzantium*.

81. The next Year in which the ninety third Olympiad was solemnized, wherein *Embotas* the *Cyrenean* got the Prize in the Course, *Eulochippus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Endemon* Archon at *Athens*; *Thrasybulus* having obtained the Ships decreed to him, with five thousand Sea-men, sailed to *Samos*, whence after three days he departed, and took *Coleophon*, made excursions into *Lydia*, where obtaining much booty, he also went against *Ephesus*. *Tissaphernes* coming in good time, he was beaten back from the City with double loss, whence he sailed to the *Hellepont*, and in his way at *Zelesus* put to flight a Fleet of twenty five *Syracusan* Ships, four whereof he took with the men in them. Then he departed he to *Sestos* to the other *Athenian* Forces; and thence removed to *Lampzus* with the whole Army in the beginning of Winter, which Town they fortified, and besieging *Amydas* overthrew *Pharnabazus*, who came with a considerable Body of Horse to relieve the Town; which Victory reconciled the Soldiers, who before this were at odds, because those under *Alcibiades* being hitherto Victorious, would not be joyed with the followers of *Thrasybulus* who had been beaten. In the same Winter the *Athenians* made frequent depredations in the Territories of the *Persian* King. Then also the *Helots* which had fled from *Maceda* to *Corinthium*, were upon agreement dismissed by the *Lacedæmonians*; and the Plantation of *Heraclea*, and *Trachinis*. Were by the *Athenians* the ancient Inhabitants, betrayed into the hands of the *Oreians* the common Enemy, and seven hundred of them slain, together with *Lakotas* the *Lacedæmonian* Governour. Thus the twenty fourth Year of the War ended, wherein the *Medes* having rebelled, were reduced to Obedience by *Darius Nobis*, and the Temple of *Pallas* at *Phocæa* was burnt with Thunder and Lightning.

82. In the beginning of the next Spring *Pantacles* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Antigonos* Archon at *Athens*, the *Athenians* with their whole Army and Fleet went into *Proconessus*, thence to *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*, and late down before *Chalcedon*. The *Chalcedonians* aware of their coming, sent all their Booty to the *Byzinthians* their Neighbours, which being known to *Alcibiades*, he went with a sufficient Force, and by Threats got it delivered up to him, after which returning he compassed *Chalcedon* from Sea to Sea with a Rampire, and to the Ri-

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. 1.

Sect. 3.

ver. *Hippocrates* the *Lacedæmonian*, Governour of the Town, troubled hereat, fell out, and fought with that party that was under *Thrasybulus*, for a long time with ambiguous Fortune, till *Alcibiades* coming in, *Hippocrates* was slain, and his men repulset into the Town. *Pharnabazus* during the Fight came to relieve him, but could not get to them by reason of the *Athenian* Fortifications. He, whilst *Alcibiades* was absent, gathering Money from the Cities, made an agreement with the other *Athenian* Captains, that he should pay them twenty Talents, that the *Chalcedonians* should pay all their Arrears, and afterwards as much as they were wont: in the mean time the *Athenians* should offer them no Violence, till the *Athenian* Ambassadors, which he took upon him to convey, should return from the King. *Alcibiades* at this time was at *Selymbria*, which having taken, he returned to *Byzantium* with a body of Horse and Foot newly raised in *Cheronefus* and *Thrace*, where *Pharnabazus* expecting him to have his Oath to the agreement. He refused to take his Oath except *Pharnabazus* did the like, who confederated to him, and so they both swore not to hurt each other. Together with the *Athenians*, others went as Ambassadors to the King from the *Lacedæmonians*; as also *Hemocrates* and his Brother *Proxenus* now banished from *Syracuse*.

83. The *Athenians* then presently besieged *Byzantium*, which having no hopes to obtain by strong hand, they attempted by Treachery, and had it delivered up to them, whilst *Cleobulus* the Governour, a *Lacedæmonian*, was gone to *Pharnabazus* to solicit him about Money to pay the Soldiers, and to gather a Fleet together wherever it possible he might raise the Siege. News hereof was carried to *Pharnabazus* then wintering at *Gordium* in *Phrygia* with the Ambassadors whom he was carrying to the King. In the beginning of Spring when they were on their Journey, they met with some *Spartans*, who already had been with him, and said they had obtained from him for the *Lacedæmonians* what they desired, and how he had appointed his younger Son *Cyrus* his Lieutenant for the Sea-coasts, whom he had commanded also to assist the *Spartans* in the War, bringing a Commission with him whereby he was constituted Governour over all that used to meet upon the Plains of *Capstus*. The *Athenian* Ambassadors hearing this, desired first to see *Cyrus*, and then to go to the King; but if not, to return home. But *Cyrus* required *Pharnabazus*, either to deliver them up into his Hands, or to send them back, because he would not have the *Athenians* privy to what was done. But he neither sent them to the King, nor dismissed them, but kept them off and on for three Years, after which he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to dismiss them, seeing he would not permit them to go to his Father, and so procured them by *Aritharcanes* to be conveyed through *Mysia* to Sea; and so they layled to the *Athenian* Army.

84. *Alcibiades* having a great desire to return to *Athens* with the Army, first betook himself to *Samos*, whence he went and gathered up one hundred Talents amongst the *Carians*, and returned thither. *Thrasybulus* with thirty Ships going into *Thrace*, reduced several places into his Power, and *Thesus* amongst the rest, for at this time distressed with Seditions, Famine, and Pestilence. *Thrasybulus* with the rest of the Army failed to *Athens*, before whose coming the People had created anew three Generals, *Alcibiades*, and *Thrasybulus*, who were absent, and *Conon* present in the City. *Alcibiades* encouraged hereby failed to the City, where at his landing multitudes of People came to meet him, admiring his person, and the present posture of Affairs, which they ascribed to his good conduct, whom they now acquitted from what was laid formerly to his Charge, and executed him for siding with the Enemy, seeing he was thereunto led by necessity. He spoke to the *Senate* and People in his own defence, and gave such satisfaction, no body opposing, that he was created General with full Power, as able to restore the Commonwealth by his own Industry to its ancient Power. He first on Land (which of late had not used to be done for fear of the Enemy) celebrated the *Eleusinia*, and then in the third Month after his Arrival, with a Fleet of one hundred Gallies, aboard of which were one thousand and one hundred Foot of heavy Armour, and one hundred and fifty Horse, he failed to *Andrus*, the Inhabitants of which he worked in Fight, and thence departed to *Samos*, intending to make use of that Island as the Seat of War. At this time *Lisander* was sent from *Sparta* to succeed *Cratippidas* in the Fleet, who went to *Cyrus* to desire him in earnest to undertake the War, blaming the backwardness of *Tissaphernes*. *Cyrus* promised him his utmost assistance; but he desired that the Sailors might have a Drachm a day assigned as their Wages, thereby to entice the *Athenian* Mariners to forsake

Xenoph. lib. 1. Plutarch. in Alcibiades.

The Athenian Ambassadors and others sent to the Persian King never came at him.

Alcibiades returned to Athens.

Lisander made Admiral by the Lacedæmonians, obtained pay of Cyrus for his Seamen.

Sect. 3.

lake their Masters. He answered, he could do nothing against his Fathers Order, who had appointed for every Ship thirty *Mine* a Month, it being in the power of the *Lacedæmonians* to furnish out as few, or as many Ships as they pleased; but afterwards he condescended to increase their pay to four *Obols* a day: Moreover, he paid them all their Arrears, and gave them a Months Pay before-hand, which made them very cheerful, and ready for all Duty.

85. The *Athenians* were much troubled hereby, and sent also to *Cyrus* to obtain his Favour, but could not be admitted, though *Tissepheus* used all his interest in their behalf, relating, that his design had been according to the wife Council of *Alciades*, not to promote the Affairs of either, but to suffer them to destroy one another. *Alciades* understanding that *Thrasybulus* being gone from the *Hellespont* fortified *Phocæa*, went thither to speak with him, leaving the Fleet with *Antiochus* his Pilot, whom he commanded expressly not to Fight, no, not although he were provoked to it, until his return. But he being not at all used to command any thing except the Helm of a Ship, could not bear his new Power without making trial of it, and with two Gallies went, and provoked *Lysander* in the Haven of *Ephesus* (where he was intent upon mending his Fleet consisting of nifty Sayl) who first sent out some particular Ships against him; but the whole *Athenian* Fleet coming in to his Aid, he was also forced to carry out his, and so engaging with it, there ensued a sharp Conflict upon uneven Terms. For, the *Athenians* came on without order, and so within a short time were discomfited, *Antiochus* slain, and fifteen Ships lost; the other returning back to *Samus*. *Alciades* returning within a while, in great chafe for what had happened, went, and offered Battel again to *Lysander*, but he contenting himself with his former Victory would not stir, and not long after the *Lacedæmonians* took *Delphinium* and *Eion*, two Towns in *Thrace*. This loss was at *Athens* by *Thrasybulus* imputed to the neglect, and luxury of *Alciades*, who thereupon by the people was outed of his Command, and ten other Captains chosen for the management of the War, amongst whom was *Thrasybulus* himself, *Conon*, and *Pericles* the Son of *Pericles* the great. Hethen went and made War upon the *Thracians* that were not under the Command of that King, and thereby enriched himself with great Treasure, having built a Castle for his security, called *Bisanthe*, in those parts. *Conon* who at this time was governor of *Antandrus*, *Phanisthanes* being assigned his Successor, according to the decree of the People, went to *Samus*, took *Thuria*, and made excursions into the Territories of the Enemy. So this Year ended, in which the *Carthaginians* with a Fleet of one hundred and twenty Gallies, and one hundred and twenty thousand men invading *Sicily*, overthrew the *Agrigentines*, whom after a seven Months Siege they also forced to a surrender.

An Eclips of the Moon.

Callicratidas succeeding *Lysander* defeated, and brought *Conon* into *Attica*.

The *Athenian* Generals overthrew *Callicratidas*.

86. The Year following wherein the Moon was Eclipsed in an Evening (April the twenty fifth, some three hours after Sun-set, as the Astrological Table demonstrates) and the old Temple of *Pallas* was burnt at *Athens*, *Pitæus* being *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Callias* *Archon* at *Athens*, the twenty fifth Year of the War commencing, *Callicratidas* was sent from *Lacedæmon* as Successor to *Lysander*, whose time was now expired. He having furnished himself with Money subdued *Metymna*, and charged *Conon* the *Athenian* General to depart out of those Coasts, and when he perceived him putting out to Sea, made after him, intending to stop his Passage to *Samus*. He pursued him to the Haven of *Mitylene*, where he worsted him, took thirty of his Ships, and then besieged him in the Town, from which he cut off all Provisions. *Conon* sent out two Gallies to carry word hereof at *Athens*; one of which escaping clear from the Enemy, came thither with the News, whereupon relief was presently decreed to be sent. *Callicratidas* in the mean time overthrew *Diomedon*, who came to relieve *Conon* with twelve Ships, ten whereof he took, but when he heard that the *Athenian* Fleet was now come to *Samus*, consisting in all of one hundred and fifty Sayl, he left *Eteonius* with fifty Ships to continue the Siege, and with the other one hundred and twenty betook himself to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbus* over against *Mitylene*, where he supped, and it happened that the *Athenian* Fleet coming to *Arginusæ* (a place also over against *Lesbus*) supped there the same Night. Here they fought the next Morning a long, and earnest Battel, wherein at length *Callicratidas* his Ship being Sunk, and he init, his men began to flee towards *Chius* and *Phocæa*. The *Peloponnesians* lost seventy nine Ships, and the *Athenians* nineteen, with most of the men in them.

87. The *Athenian* Generals resolved that *Theramenes*, *Thrasybulus*, and others, with

Sect. 3.

with forty two Ships, should hasten to such Vessels as were as good as lost, to preserve them and the men, and the rest should fly to *Mitylene* against *Eteonius*; but a vehement Tempest arising they were all hindered, and forced to continue in the same place, during which stay, *Eteonius* having notice by a Pinnace how things went, told his men the clear contrary, with which artifice encouraging them to take the Sea, he escaped. It might have been expected that the ten Captains, who joyntly had the Command in chief over the *Athenian* Fleet, might have received great Honour for such a Victory: But they were instead hereof, by the especial endeavour of *Theramenes*, brought to Judgment, for suffering many Citizens to perish in the broken, and sunken Ships, whereas, as it was pretended, they might have saved them. They alleged justly for their excuse the Tempest which followed the Fight; but after much canvassing, both in the Senate and Assembly of the People, the Malice of *Theramenes* (who set persons on to make great Lamentations for those that were dead) so far prevailed, together with the forgery of a certain fellow (who saying that he himself escaping in a Meal-Tub, had been intreated by those that were in peril of drowning, to desire the people to revenge their death against the Captains) that against the form of Law (contrary to which *Socrates* the Philosopher only refused to act as one of the *Prytanes*) eight of them were condemned, and six being present were put to death; amongst whom was *Pericles* the Son of *Pericles*. Those that were absent escaped, the heady multitude quickly repenting of their rashness, and the accusers of them were bound over to answer what they had done. Afterwards a Sedition being raised, wherein *Cleophon* was slain, they took the opportunity and fled; but *Callixenus* one of the most faulty returning to the City, and hated of all men, was slain to death.

And for that he was rewarded with a sentence of death executed upon six of them these present, amongst whom *Pericles* the son of *Pericles*.

88. The Soldiers of *Eteonius* wintering in the Island *Chius*, where they wanted both Victuals and Clothes, most of them conspired together to seize upon the City *Chius*, to which whosoever agreed was to wear a Reed as a distinction. He having notice of it, was fain to what ill will, disgrace, and damage it would bring upon him if it proceeded, and fearing his own Life, he boldly killed one of the Soldiers, whom he met with the Reed upon his head, and being asked the reason of it, said as boldly, it was for wearing that mark of Sedition, whereas the rest were so daunted that they for fear cast away their Reeds, and so the Plot was broken in pieces. Then received he Money of the *Chians*, and gave them a Months Pay, and taking no further notice of the Plot, encouraged them with fair Words, and promises, and so layd away. After this the Allies met together at *Ephesus* to consult about their Affairs, where it was agreed, that ten men should be sent to *Lacedæmon* to desire that *Lysander* might be sent back to the Fleet, of whose abilities they had already sufficient proof. By the Laws of *Sparta* he could not be twice General, and therefore they found out a middle way, to appoint *Aracus* to that place, and send him as his Lieutenant. Five and twenty Ships were then delivered to *Lysander*, at the end of the twenty sixth Year of the War, wherein *Cyrus* killed his two Cousins *Autobasces* and *Mitranus*, because they had not given him the Honour due to Kings of *Persia*, by holding their Hands within their Cloths when they came to him. For this he was accused to his Father, who upon pretence of Sickness sent for him to come to him.

89. The Year following wherein *Archytas* was *Ephorus* at *Sparta*, and *Alcibiades* *idem ibid.* *Archon* at *Athens*, *Lysander* gathering his Navy together, went to *Cyrus* for Money, which being obtained with some difficulty, he paid his Soldiers and Seamen their Arrears. At *Samus* also the *Athenians* provided for fighting; where in the mean time came a Message to *Cyrus* from his Father, who now being sick desired to see him, although at this time the King lay incamped against the *Thamneri* of *Media*, Neighbours to the *Cadusians*, who had revolted. *Cyrus* thereupon sent for *Lysander*, and consulting with him about the War, desired him not to Fight the *Athenians*, except he overmatch them in number of men, told him his Father and he were able enough to increase the Fleet upon occasion, and to bind him and the State of *Sparta* to him, he gave him all the Revenues he had in those parts, with all the ready Money, and so took his Journey. *Lysander* neither daring to Fight the Enemy with so few Ships, nor to be idle with so many, subdued some places, and having given *Agis* a Visit in *Attica*, layd unto the *Hellespont*, which finding clear, he besieged *Lampacus*, and took it. The *Athenian* Fleet, which consisted of one hundred and eighty Gallies, hearing of this, came from the *Chersonesus* to *Seftus*, and thence layd to *Agopolamot*,

Sect. 3.

The Athenian Fleet quite defeated at Ægospotami by Lysander.

a River over against *Lampacus*, the *Hellepont* at this place being not two miles broad. *Lysander* contained his men in great order, and refused to fight without an advantage, which was at length given him by the *Athenians*, who braved him, but were in continual disorder, carelessly running up and down, inasmuch that *Alcibiades* having notice of it, came and advised the Captains to look better to themselves, but returned with no other recompence than bad words. But *Lysander* keeping diligent watch upon them, observed his time when they were most of them landed, some eating and drinking, others looking for victuals, and others wandering up and down, and setting upon the Fleet easily became Master of it all without any opposition, except eight, wherewith *Conon* fled into *Cyprus* unto *Euagoras* as the King, knowing how bad entertainment he should have at home.

A consultation what is to be done with the prisoners.

All of them put to death except *Adimantus*.

Such *Athenians* as had confusedly got into their ships were slain or taken, and those that were yet on Land by the Land Forces, which *Lysander* had in a readiness for that purpose. He took three thousand men, with the Captains and all the ships, except those eight of *Conon*, and a Packet-Boat, which tacking to his own ships, with the sound of Pipes and the *Pezan* sung, he returned in triumph unto *Lampacus*. Then called he the allies together to consider what was to be done with the prisoners. Many crimes were objected against them, as that they had done many unjust things, and now had determined, if they had got the Victory, to cut off the right hands of the *Peloponnesians* (or the thumbs rather, as *Platarch* hath it, of their right hands, that they might never be able more to handle spears, but row with Oars) and having taken the two Gallies of *Andrus* and *Corinth* to cast headlong all the men into the Sea, the perfwader to this being *Philoctetes*. Hereupon it was resolved, that they should all be put to death, except *Adimantus* who had withstood the Decree of cutting off the hands, which sentence was accordingly executed. *Lysander* then falling about to the Cities under the *Athenian* power, dismissed the Garrison Soldiers and all others he found, with charge to get them to *Athens* under pain of death, which crafty policy he used to fill the City with men, that it might not be able long to endure a Siege for want of *Victuals*. When they of the City heard the news, they were affected accordingly, bewailing not only the fortune of the slain, but their own also, expecting now that should be done to themselves, which heretofore they had done to the *Melians*, a Colony of *Sparta*, and to the *Elitians*, *Scironians*, *Toroneans*, *Æginetians*, and many other *Greek* Cities, not in way of revenge for any injury, but out of indulgence to their own lust; for that they rejoiced in other mens miseries. Yet as grief would give way to prudence, they took care for fortifying the City against a Siege, in which they could not look for any assistance from elsewhere, all their Confederates, except the *Samiens*, having forsaken them, and such as they had banished from their dwellings, being again restored to those places which they had filled with Colonies of their own.

Lysander besieged *Athens* both by Sea and Land.

91. *Lysander* having taken away Democracy, brought in the power of a few into all the Cities. Herein he dealt with much cruelty and ambition, (putting in such men only as were his creatures, that he might obtain an unlimited power or Tyranny over all Greece) and sending for Land Forces from *Sparta*, he besieged *Athens* both by Sea and Land. The *Athenians* continued so resolute for a long time, that till many were already dead of famine, not a word was heard of asking Peace. Then Ambassadors were sent to *Agis* the *Spartan* King about it, who referred them to *Sparta*, having as he said no commission to entertain their overtures. Thither then they went, offering, that they might gain the friendship of *Lacedæmon*, to part with all places besides the City and *Piræus*, where they would retain the Fortifications; but they had for answer, that if they seriously desired peace, they must return home, and not return till they had better advised of the matter. Hereat the *Athenians* were much abashed, thinking now of nothing but servitude; none daring to propose the demolishing of the walls; for the *Lacedæmonians* having offered them Peace upon these terms, *Archestratus* for advising them to imbrace it, was imprisoned, and it was decreed that it should be unlawful to mention it for the time to come. *Theramenes* then procured to be sent to *Lysander* to get out what his intention was, whether to enslave them, or to have the walls demolished, and thence he returned not till the fourth month, that in this time they might be constrained to resolve of something. At his return, he said he could get no other answer, but that they must send again to *Sparta*, and thereby he procured himself and others to be sent with full authority for concluding a Peace.

92. The Ambassadors of the Confederates being assembled at *Sparta*, many of them, especially the *Corinthians* and *Thebans*, urged that no composition was to be made with them, but that *Athens* should be destroyed; but the *Spartans* would not

Sect. 4.

not give way to it, saying, it was not their intention to destroy a City, which in the greatest dangers of Greece had done the greatest things for it's deliverance. They then without much delay made peace with them upon these terms: That the long walls and the fortifications of the *Piræus* should be demolished; that they should deliver up all their ships except twelve, receive their exiles, follow the *Lacedæmonians* both by Sea and Land in the Wars, and have the same Friends and Enemies with them.

Which yielded.

The walls demolished, and the Gallies burnt.

Some at the return of the Ambassadors would have refused these terms; but the far major part siding with *Theramenes* accepted of them. *Lysander* then seized upon the ships, and the walls, upon the sixteenth day of the month *Manichion* (on which they had formerly overthrown the *Persians* at *Salamine*) and went about to alter the Government, which the People strongly resisted, inasmuch that he sent back to *Sparta* to complain of them, saying, they had broken the League, in that their walls were not demolished; and though no worse thing was yet decreed against them though pressed by some, yet this made them willing to receive any thing. Then sent he for all the Pipers out of the City, to whom joining those in his own Camp, at the noise of their instruments he caused the walls to be demolished, and the Gallies to be burnt, the Confederates making great solemnity, as if that day gave beginning to the liberty of Greece. Herewith, the twenty seventh year, and the War it self ended, which being carried on for so long a time with most various fortune, dubious and inconstant events, with infinite charges, all sorts of contests, and the ruine of so many Captains, as had not perished in all the Wars of Greece besides, was finished by the politick industry of one man, whom some thought thereupon they could not sufficiently admire, in the seven hundred and eightieth year after the end of that of *Troy*, in the fourth of the ninety third *Olympiad*, the nineteenth of *Darius Nothus* (who died presently after the conclusion of the Peace) A. M. 3600.

A. M. 3600.
Pl. 23. an. 4.
C. 349.
Diod. Sicul. 19.
Eddi. Ptole. 27.

S E C T. II. III.

From the end of the Peloponnesian War to the beginning of the Reign of Philip King of Macedonia.

Containing the space of forty four Years.

1. THE year following being that wherein the ninety fourth *Olympiad* was celebrated, in the course of which *Crocus* the *Thessalian* got the prize, *Endæus* was *Ephebus* at *Sparta*, and *Pythadorus* *Archon* at *Athens*, whom yet the *Athenians* did not so account, because that the *Oligarchy* being brought in this year, they esteemed it as *Anarchical*. As soon as the long walls and the *Piræus* were demolished by the command of *Lysander*, thirty men were chosen to make Laws, by which the Commonwealth might be governed. After their creation and investiture in the power, they deferred both to publish or write the Laws; but constituted the Senate and other Magistrates at their pleasure. Then, first, they laid hold of all such as had under the Democracy lived by informing, and false accusing of others, which was not displeasing to honest men. So that those being condemned by the Senate, they were put to death. But afterwards they began seriously to lay their heads together, how they might make themselves Masters of all. They sent *Æschines* and *Aristotle* two of their company to *Sparta* to desire a Garrison for the better government of the City, till they had taken out of the way all naughty persons, and had seduced the Commonwealth, promising themselves to pay the Soldiers. *Lysander* being made use of procured what they desired, and *Callistinus* was sent as *Flaminius*

The thirty Tyrants at Athens.

22000. at print.

Sect. 4.

unto *Athens*, whom they so flattered, that they brought him to consent to whatsoever they should act. Now then they fell upon, not only naughty and dissolute persons, but on the best, whosoever they thought ill affected, and would endeavour to stop their proceedings. *Therameus* one of them protested against this cruelty, and added, that it was impossible their power should continue in that State without a sufficient company to assist them. Hereupon they fearing him, lest he should make himself Captain of the discontented, which was almost the whole City, chose out of the Citizens three thousand which they thought meetest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the power, with this privilege, that none of them should be put to death without the consent of the Senate; all the rest of the People being left to the discretion of the thirty, whom they also disarmed at a general muster.

Fill all places with murders and rapine.

2. Now thinking themselves secure enough, they filled all places with murders, not only of their private Enemies; but such whose wealth might enrich them, of which they were excessive greedy; and to this purpose they agreed, that every one should name one man whom he would put to death for to seize upon his goods. *Therameus* having disliked the election of the three thousand, uttered now also his detestation of this wickedness, refusing himself to commit it. For this they were more jealous of him, fearing he might cross their abominable practices, and resolved upon his destruction; so that having provided a company of young men with daggers to assist them, they called the Senate together, and therein *Critias* (his once familiar friend, but now his deadly Enemy, because the most cruel Tyrant of the thirty) bitterly accused him as a turbulent and unfeeling man; being now for the People, and another while against them; he objected against him the death of the six Captains procured by him, and concluded he was not a fit man to live in a Commonwealth, especially so constituted. *Therameus* replied with undaunted courage, and gave satisfaction to the Senate, as *Critias* perceived by their muttering, who thereupon concluding, that if he escaped it would endanger his own life, he consulted with his Companions, and then returning to the Senate, told them, that having first expunged his name out of the Catalogue of the three thousand, and hereby he being subjected to their censure, they condemned him to death. *Therameus* replied again, that his name was no more easy to be blotted out than any other mans, in consideration whereof, he advised them all to make his case their own: but none daring to oppose, for that they knew the men that were present to be privily armed, he was led away, and compelled to drink poison, which he did with a resolute and gallant spirit. After this the Tyrants, as being at liberty to do what they pleased, forbade all that were not contained in the Catalogue, to come into the City, from which they expelled them and the borders, that they and their Associates might enjoy their Lands. The Citizens brook themselves to the *Piræus*, but being thence also expelled, they filled *Megara* and *Thebes* with their multitudes.

Therameus one of them, for detesting their wickedness, is put to death.

3. This banishment of the *Athenians* procured their liberty. For, now they entered into consultation, and resolved to hazard their lives for the freedom of their Country; seeing that now what would have been Treason at home, would have no danger abroad, but such as might be found in the execution. First *Thrasybulus* who was then at *Thebes*, with but a thirty in his company, seized upon *Phyla*, a Castle in the Territories of *Athens*; which the Tyrants understanding, endeavoured to recover, but to no purpose; for he having gotten to him within a while seven hundred men, put to flight the Garrison Soldiers of *Sparta*, whom they had set to watch two miles off from the Castle, killing of them about one hundred and twenty men. Herewith the Tyrants were somewhat discouraged, but thinking it best to get *Eleusine* into their power, they went thither, and perceiving the Inhabitants that were able to bear Arms to go out at the gates, that they might only as they pretended take the number of their heads, most wickedly murdered them. After this *Thrasybulus* with one thousand men seized upon the *Piræus*, against whom, though the Tyrants came out with their whole power, yet he obtained the Victory against them, killing seventy, and what more, *Critias* the Arch Tyrant, with *Hippocritus* one of the Collegues, and *Charmides* one of the ten Captains which had been placed over the *Piræus*. When the slain were delivered up to be buried, and thereupon both parties met, *Cleocritus* a Cryer belonging to the Priests, and a man famous for his loud and audible voice, expostulated with those who sided with the Tyrants for expelling them their fellow Citizens, educated together, partakers heretofore of the same things, faced

Thrasybulus opposeth the Tyrants.

Cura. Nihil in Thrasybulus.

Sect. 4.

sacred and prophane, prosperous and adverse, and all for to satisfy the lust of those Monsters, who had kindled such a flame as had already consumed more than the *Peloponnesian* War did in ten years. His speech produced such effect, that the three thousand fell at difference amongst themselves; such as had been bused in the destruction of other men, together with the Tyrants, vehemently contended that nothing was to be granted to them in the *Piræus*; but those that were confident in their own innocence, crying out there was no reason that they should obey the will and pleasure of the thirty, and suffer the City to perish, prevailed against them. Then was the power of the thirty abrogated, and ten chosen in their room, one out of every Tribe, after which they quitted the City, and retired to *Eleusine*.

Their power is abrogated.

They fend for aid from Sparta.

Lysander is sent and besiegeth Thrasybulus, and his fellows in the Piræus.

4. Notwithstanding the change of the Government, yet there was no accord betwixt them in the *Piræus* and those in the Town, but several acts of Hostility they committed against one another. At length the three thousand in the Town, and the Tyrants of *Eleusine*, sent to *Sparta* to desire aid against the other, saying, that the people revolted from the *Lacedemonians*; and *Lysander* procured them one hundred Talents to be sent out of hand, himself ordered to go General to assist them, and his brother *Libys* General of the Fleet. Then besieged he the *Piræus*, both by Land and Sea, and sorely frightened them; but *Pausanias* the *Spartan* King thinking much that he should get the glory of Conquering *Athens* the second time, which he would make as his own, he perswaded the *Ephori* to give way, that he should follow him with another Army, under pretence of assisting him; upon which account the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians* amongst the Confederates refused to follow him, alleging they should break their Oaths by fighting against them, who had done nothing prejudicial to the peace. This they did, concluding that the *Lacedemonians* would lay the Territories of *Athens* to their own domains. *Pausanias*, after his arrival, sent to them in the *Piræus* to bid them depart, and they refusing it, for a colour to his designs, he led his Forces against them. But returning without any thing performed, he went to view the Walls the next day, at which time they sallied out upon him, and still fresh supplies coming in on both sides, wrought, and received considerable damage.

But Pausanias the Spartan King, emulating Lysander, taketh up the matter.

The popular Government restored.

5. Yet for all this he underhand sent unto them about a composition, and instructed them what they should offer. They obeyed him, and he perswaded also those in the City to end the controversy, that both might become friends to the *Lacedemonians*. The two *Ephori* present with him (for two used always to accompany the *Spartan* Kings in their expeditions) inclined to his opinion, rather than to the severity of *Lysander*, and so accordingly they sent Ambassadors from both parties to *Lacedemon* about an agreement. The *Lacedemonians* after audience presently dispatched ten Commissioners with them back to *Athens*, who, together with *Pausanias*, might make an agreement. They presently composed all on these terms: That all should return home to their own habitations, except the thirty, and the ten, and eleven men which had commanded in the *Piræus*; and if any feared the people they might remove to *Eleusine*. These things being done, *Pausanias* drew off the *Spartan* Army, and those that were in the *Piræus* went up with their Arms into the City, and there sacrificed to *Minerva*. Then by the perswasion of *Thrasybulus* the popular Government was restored, and all things ordered as in former times. A little after it being heard that they in *Eleusine* hired Soldiers abroad, attempting new matters, the whole City rose against them, took their Captains as they came to parley, and slew them: the rest by their friends sent to them were perswaded to agree. Then passed a general Act of Oblivion for all that was past, confirmed by an Oath, to keep which they being very careful, even yet faith *Xenophon*, jointly manage the affairs of the Commonwealth. By which wise order the City returned to its former quietness, upon this Sedition raised by the thirty Tyrants, who being created by a Decree of the Senate, as a forced faith, put to death one thousand and four hundred Citizens unheard, and forced more than five thousand to fly into the *Piræus*.

*Hecates in Anapogit.

6. But this Tyranny of the thirty, not only produced the destruction of many in the Town; but of *Alcibiades* also then living in *Asia* with *Pharnabazus*, whom he intended to make use of to bring him to the King, hoping he might deserve no worse of that Prince than *Themistocles* had done of his Predecessor. When the *Athenians* were deprived of their liberty by the means of *Lysander*, and the Tyranny of the thirty, they then began again to repent of what they had done to him, judging that if he had been yet at the Helm, they should never have made shipwreck of their liberty, and still their confidence was in him, and

Platarch in Alcibiades. Cura. Nihil.

Sect. 4.
The thirty Tyrants procured Alcibiades to be made away.

and thought their cause was not utterly desperate as long as he was safe. The Tyrants also were jealous of him, procuring all the intelligence they could concerning all his actions, and at length Critias remonstrated to *Lysander*, that things could not stand as they did long, if he lived, who yet was nothing perswaded to procure his death, till he received a *Scytala* from the Magistrates at *Sparta*, who either feared his great abilities, or did it to gratify *Agis*, to remove him by some means out of the way. He sent to *Pharnabazus*, requiring him to dispatch him, who enjoyed his brother *Agis*, and his Uncle *Susamithres* to be his Executioners: They coming to the Village in *Phrygia* where he lived, durst not enter his house, but compassing it about set it on fire. He perceiving what was done, took some Clothes, and casting them into the fire, which keeping down the flame for some space, he brake out, whereupon the Barbarians fled, not daring to stand to him, but at a distance killed him with Darts, after which his body was burnt (with that matter that was prepared to consume him alive) by the care of his Paramour *Timandra*, the Mother of *Lais* the famous Corinthian Courtesan. Thus he died in the flower of his age, scarce exceeding forty years, a man very beautiful, of most excellent parts, fit for any employment, able to accommodate himself to all, both times, and customs, though never so repugnant, and therein yet esteemed to excell. *Socrates* upon him exercised the true Platonic love, labouring to infuse such virtue into him as might make him truly lovely, but such were his temptations, and inclination, that counterpoising the instructions, nature in this man seemed to try what she could do; it being agreed by all, faith * one who wrote of him, that none was ever more eminent, both for vice and virtue.

7. After these things *Cyrus* made War upon his brother *Artaxerxes*, as hath been said elsewhere, at what time he sent to *Lacedæmon*, demanding a return for his kindnesses shewed to them, who thinking it most just, sent their Admiral to keep in play *Symeon* the Satrapa of *Cilicia*, till he passed that Country. After his overthrow, *Tissaphernes* his greatest Enemy, being a most insolent man before, now grew more haughty (after the King had laid the Province of *Cyrus* to his *Satrapy*) and began to be more troublesome to the Greek Cities in *Asia*. They sent to complain hereof at *Sparta*, which State sent to their relief *Thimbron* with an Army of one thousand new raised Soldiers out of *Laconia*, four thousand Foot of *Peloponnesus*, and three hundred Horse from *Athens*, which the City willingly parted withal, with no good prosperity wished to their persons, for that they had been in the service of the thirty Tyrants. What he did in *Asia*, and how he returned home after *Dercyllidas* was sent to succeed him, and was banished upon the complaint of the Confederates, is related in the Affairs of *Asia*. At the same time as *Dercyllidas* managed the War beyond the Seas, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans* reviving their old grudges and complaints, broke out into another War, which was begun by the *Lacedæmonians* at the instance of the *Ephori*. They sent out *Agis* their King, who led an Army into the Territories of the *Eleans*; but an Earth-quake happening at his first entrance, which was counted ominous, he returned without any thing at all performed. The year after, he undertook another expedition, the *Athenians*, and all the other Confederates, except the *Corinthians* and *Boeotians*, following him, wherein he sorely afflicted all the Country, sparing the City *Elis* itself, and though he retreated, yet the Garrison he left behind him, continuing these depredations all the next Summer, and the Winter following, the next Summer the *Eleans* were constrained to receive such conditions as their Enemies would give them. The Wall about *Patra* was demolished, *Cyllene* relinquished, five Towns delivered into the hands of the *Spartans*, and three to the *Arcadians*; the management of the Affairs of the Temple belonging to *Jupiter Olympus* being only left remaining to them.

8. Not long after these things *Agis* died, having fall'n sick in his return from *Delphos*. He had born to him by his wife *Timæa*, a son called *Leutyphides*, but conceived at that time when *Alcibiades* sojourned at *Sparta*, by whom there were great presumptions that he was begotten. He had not been with his wife of ten months before the Child was born; *Timæa* her self was wont when she would play with it to call it *Alcibiades* more commonly than *Leutyphides*, as was acknowledged by her maids; and neither did *Alcibiades* himself forbear to acknowledge that he had to do with her, saying, it was not out of any carnal affection, but out of a desire that those who should proceed from him might reign at *Lacedæmon*; upon these grounds *Agis* owned not *Leutyphides* for his son, but

A contention betwixt *Leutyphides* and *Agislaus* for the *Spartan Kingdoms*.

Agislaus carried off by the means of *Lysander*.

We is sent into *Asia* by the same means.

is Eclipsed by *Lysander*.

but told the *Ephori* he was none of his, divorcing also his Mother; but when he lay sick, having no Children, and moved by his prayers and tears, he owned him for his son before many witnesses. After his death a great contention ensued about the succession betwixt *Leutyphides* and *Agislaus* brother to *Agis*, a man lame of one foot, but of a most noble and valiant disposition. *Agislaus* was bred after the ordinary strict way, as not having expected the Kingdom being a younger brother, and yet was in great favour with the people, and pressing the illegitimation of his adversary had their ear; but one thing they much stuck at, which was an old Prophecy much urged by *Diophites* their Prophet, that it should go very hard with *Sparta* when it should have a lame King. Yet *Lysander*, who had taken a great affection to him, answered, that by a lame King was not meant lame of a foot, which could be no hindrance to virtue, but one of spurious extraction; and herewith, and by his private interest, procured the sentence to pass for *Agislaus*.

9. *Agislaus* had not been a year in his Office, before that being to sacrifice for his Country according to the custom, the entrails of the beast three times did not permit it, which being viewed by the Prophet, he foretold that a grievous conspiracy was hatched against him, and all Magistrates, both in Town and Country. Five days after this a notable conspiracy indeed was disclosed to the *Ephori* by one of the Complices, the head of which was *Cinadon*. They presently referring it to the *Senate*, it was thought fit that he should be sent out of the City, under pretence of some employment, and that some should go after him to make him reveal his fellows, which accordingly was done, and an ignominious death was executed upon them. After the execution *Herodas* of *Syracuse* came with news out of *Phœnicia*, that a Fleet of three hundred Gallies was prepared by *Tissaphernes*, and the King, but upon what design was not known. The *Lacedæmonians* moved at this, called the Deputies of their Confederates to *Sparta* to consult about it. Now *Lysander* had a great mind to return into *Asia*, desirous to relieve those his friends, who being by him placed in the Government of the Cities, ten in a place, were for their violence and great misdemeanours, either killed, or driven into banishment. He therefore perswaded *Agislaus* to undertake so noble and pious an expedition, and wrote to his friends in *Asia*, to desire of the State that he might be sent. Being perswaded, he offered his service on condition they would grant him thirty Assistants, by whose directions and advice he might manage the War; with two thousand choice men newly to be raised, and six thousand of the Confederates: These were all decreed to him by the dealing of *Lysander*, who procured himself to be sent as chief of the thirty, to which place he might well pretend for the great glory of his achievements, and his friendship to *Agislaus*, whom as he judged he had more obliged by procuring this employment, than by the former courtesy of preferring him to the Kingdom.

10. Having his Army and Provisions in a readiness, he marched to *Aulis*; that thence, after the example of *Agamemnon*, he might pass over into *Asia*; but going about to sacrifice a Doe to the Goddess, with which he thought he would be better pleased than the *Wife* with *Agamemnon* for his daughter, he was hindered by the *Boeotians* from doing that which was contrary to their custom, and was constrained in a great chafe to pass over without the Ceremony, the Omission of which he accounted as a bad presage. When he came to *Ephesus*, it appeared that he only bore the name, and *Lysander* had all the credit and authority, all men making application to him; and observing him as a man of whom they had had former experience to exceed all men in earnestness to gratify his friends, and destroy his Enemies! This much moved *Agislaus*, though a man of a most mild spirit (who was famous for bearing with any thing) and troubled also his own Collegues, so that the King resolving to cut off his authority rejected all the futes he made for any, and plainly shewed that his design was to cross him in all he attempted. *Lysander* hereupon told his friends how the case stood, that they must make no more addresses to himself, and being sensible of the disgrace expostulated with him about it, who let them understand that he could not endure to be overtopped by him; He then desired some employment of him, wherein he might both save his own credit, and do him service, wherein he promised to be faithful. He then sent him to the *Hellepont*, where finding *Spithridates* the *Persian* to be offended by *Pharnabazus*; he brought him over to him with a great Treasure, and two hundred Horse, although hereafter it was found that he took very haughtily the diminishing of his reputation.

A. M. 2508.
B. C. 357.
V. C. 357.
ARTAXERXES.
MARCUS 8.

Sect. 4.

Tithraustes by Gold sent into Greece, corresponds the States to War against Lacedæmon.

11. *Agæslaus* in *Asia* prospered in the War to admiration, gaining great glory for his Valour, Valour, and Courtesie, both at home and abroad; inasmuch that the *Spartans*, in confidence of his abilities, and integrity, committed the Fleet also to his command, judging it most convenient for expedition, and that both the Armies might join the readlier upon occasion, that they should be in the Hands of one man whom they could trust. But in this one thing he is accounted to have erred, in that not having respect to the publick good, he passed by many far more Eminent for prudence and gravity, and pitched upon *Pisander*, his wives Brother (a man very bold, but meanly practised in business) for his Admiral. As he was going towards the Fleet, and *Agæslaus* marching for *Phrygia*, *Tithraustes* (who having cut off the head of *Tissaphernes* had succeeded in his place) considering in how great dangers his Masters affairs stood, sent *Timocrates* a *Rhodian* with much *Persian* Gold into *Greece*, wherewith to corrupt the principal men in the Cities, and procure them to make War against the *Lacedæmonians*. This was effected at *Thebes* and *Argos*; and the *Athenians*, though they had no Gold, yet were very ready to embrace the War, believing that therein they should have the chief Command. Those that were corrupted then grievously inveighing against the *Lacedæmonians*, procured that the chief Cities entered into a Combination against them. The *Thebans* knowing that they would not begin the War except first provoked, took occasion to do it by the *Loerian* *Opanians*, whom they procured to quarrel with the *Phocians*, and their other Neighbourhoods, about some grounds in question amongst them, concluding, that thereupon the *Phocians* would break into *Loeris*. They did so, and did more hurt than they had received; whereupon *Andocides*, who had received much Gold, procured the *Thebans* to assist the *Loerians*. The *Thebans* then invaded *Phocis*, which they wasted, and presently did the *Phocians* send to *Lacedæmon* to desire aid, shewing that they had not been the beginners of the War.

12. The *Lacedæmonians* not unwillingly embraced this occasion of falling out with the *Thebans*, to whom they bore many Grudges. They exacted the tenth part assigned to *Apoko* at *Decelea*, refused to make War against the *Piræus*, persuading also the *Corinthians*, as they judged, to do the same; they remembered also how they had forbidden *Agæslaus* to sacrifice, casting the Sacrifice from off the Altar, and would not follow him into *Asia*. They resolved now that they had no War in *Greece*, and that their Affairs were in so good a condition in *Asia*, to curb their insolence. *Lysander* was then dispatched to *Phocis*, where he should gather the Forces of the Confederates together, and stay for *Pausanias* the King, who was to bring the Forces of *Spuria* and the rest of the Associates to *Haliartus*. He marching into *Boeotia*, drew *Oreobomus* from the League of *Thebes*, and impatient of delay tarried not for *Pausanias*, who hovered about *Tegeæ*, but went with such Forces as he had already to *Haliartus*, which he summoned, but in vain, the *Thebans* which already were in the City hindring the Surrender. Upon refusal he led his men to the Walls, and they of *Thebes* upon notice hereof halted out of their City to help their Friends, and falling upon *Lysander* (whether aware of their coming or not is uncertain) slew him in the place, and routed his Forces, of which were slain one thousand men, and of the *Thebans* three hundred. This was the end of *Lysander*, which he partly brought upon himself by his eagerness to make this Expedition, being in his old age fallen into Melancholly, which rendered him more peevish than usual. He left a great name behind him, but purchased rather by his good Success than Virtue. He would neither spare Cruelty nor Falshood, to compass his designs, taking no estimate of any thing by any balance but that of Profit. He scoffed at such as said, that those who were defended of *Hercules* (amongst which he was reckoned, though not of the Royal Families) ought to manage Wars without deceit, saying, that where the *Lion's Skin* would not serve, the *Foxes* was to be found to it. A Design of his was discovered after his Death, whereby he intended to have taken the Regal Power out of the two Families, and have made them common to all in general. To this purpose a Writing was found containing a Speech he intended to offer to the People, which *Agæslaus* would have published, that might have been seen what kind of Commonwealths man he was; but was diffwaded by *Lacratidas* chief of the *Ephori*, who said, that *Lysander* was not to be digged up again, but rather that Speech to be buried with him. Notwithstanding his Ambition, yet he died poor, which rendered him the more famous, so that to do Honour to his memory, the *Spartans* imposed a mulct upon certain

Sect. 4.

tain Citizens, who being contracted with his Daughters before his death, afterwards when his Poverty appeared, refused to marry them.

13. The *Thebans* having lost so many men in the late Fight, thought they had but small cause to Triumph, counting their loss equal with that of the Enemy. The Day after, when they understood that the *Phocians* and others had retreated, they took more Courage; but again, when they perceived *Pausanias* to draw near, they esteemed themselves in no small danger. Yet the day following the *Athenians* joining themselves to them, and *Pausanias* not moving forwards, they then had no small confidence in the goodness of their Fortune. *Pausanias* being doubtful what to do, called a Council of the Confederates to consult, whether he had best by main Force or by Truce recover the Body of *Lysander*, who for that it lay near the Town Walls, and it was very dangerous to fetch it off by strong Hand, concluded a Truce was to be desired; and the rather, for that the *Corinthians* refused to join with them, and the Enemy had good store of Horle, which they wanted. The *Thebans* refused to give up the dead Bodies, except the *Lacedæmonians* would ingage to depart out of *Boeotia*, and therefore to their great grief they were constrained to do it, and in their Retreat the *Thebans* grown very insolent, killed such as staid behind never so little in the Villages. The Expedition was unfortunate to the *Spartans* in general; but especially to *Pausanias*, who at his return was accused capitally for not meeting *Lysander* in convenient time, according to agreement, for that he had not by Fight but Truce recovered the slain, and dismissed such *Athenians* as had been taken in the *Piræus*; and lastly, had not appeared at his Tryal. Being condemned he fled to *Tegeæ*, where afterwards he fell sick and died.

Pausanias condemned to die.

14. The *Lacedæmonians* awaked by their loss, and now knowing for certain that Money had been sent out of *Asia* to the several Cities, which had moved them to take Arms, they thought themselves in some danger, and recalled *Agæslaus* to defend his Country. He having had success in the War suitable to his Military Skill and Valour, was now gathering of greater Forces, wherewith he intended to march into the higher Countries against the King himself; but notwithstanding this, and that it troubled him to leave *Asia*, yet he resolved to obey, acknowledging in his Letter to the *Ephori*, that then a General truly and justly commands, when he is governed by the Laws and Magistrates, upon which account he said, he would follow the Letter, if not prevent it (seeing they had set him a day, and that he commanded not for himself but the City and Confederates) although he had subdued a great Part of *Asia*, overthrown the *Barbarians*, and had made great preparations for the War in *Ionis*. He left *Exasmus* the *Harmostes* of *Asia* with a Guard of four thousand Soldiers, but making all Provision for his Country, drew over many out of the Cities to the Service. Having passed the *Hellepont* into the *Cherronesus*, he held the same way that *Xerxes* formerly had done, when in the mean time the *Ephori* and *Aristodemus* guardian to *Agæspolis* the young King, with an Army of fifteen thousand men overthrew that of the Leaguers, consisting of twenty thousand (whereof thirteen thousand bore heavy Armour) making great slaughter, though they lost no more than eight of their number. Care was taken that *Agæslaus* should have notice of this success (with the Confederates in *Asia*) who grieved only that *Greece* should destroy so many of its own Worthies. As he passed through *Thrace*, he would not ask any of the *Barbarians* leave to go through their Countries; but only sent to know whether he should pass as a Friend or an Enemy. All friendly received and conducted him, except the *Traller*, who having formerly sold the passage to *Xerxes*, now also demanded of him one hundred Talents, and as many Women. He jeered them, asking why they came not to receive what was demanded? and going forwards made great slaughter of them. The King of *Macedonia*, when he asked the question of him, said he would consider of it; so let him, said he; but in the mean time we will proceed in our journey, which boldness so awed the King, that he suffered him to pass quietly.

15. Having passed through *Thessalie* notwithstanding all opposition, by order of the *Ephori* he invaded *Boeotia*, judging alwaies obedience best, though he could have wished, and had intended first to have been better provided. As he invaded *Boeotia* the Sun was eclipsed (August the twenty fourth according to the Astronomical Table) and he received the news of the overthrow of *Pisander* upon the Coasts of *Asia* by *Pharnabazus*, and *Conon* the *Athenian*, who being for his Skill in Sea-matters in great request with the *Persian*, improved his interest for the restitution of the Fortune of his Country. Upon this report he put

The Sun eclipsed August 24. and Agæslaus invaded Boeotia. Where he overcame a Victory against the Leaguers.

Joseph lib. 4. Plutarch in Agæslaus. Aristodemus. Joseph in Orat. de Iudæis. Agæslaus.

Sect. 4. on a good Countenance, left he should discourage his men, telling them *Peisander* the Admiral was slain, but that his Fleet had obtained the Victory. But now in *Boeotia*, when he was come near to *Coronea*, the Leaguers opposed themselves against him, being the *Boeotians*, *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians*, *Eubœans*, *Enianians*, and both the *Locrians*, with whom was fought such a Battle as had not hapned in that Age. At the first onset *Agesilaus* had the better in one Wing, but the *Thebans* in the other, and being in the Pursuit were forced to retire to help their Friends, where he charging upon the Front of the *Thebans*, and not on the Rear, as he might have done, did great execution and was wounded himself, notwithstanding the Valour of his Guard, consisting of fifty stout young-men, lately sent him from *Sparta* to do him Honour. At length he had the better of it, and dismissed un-hurt eighty of the Enemies, who had taken Sanctuary near hand, after which he went to *Delphos*, and consecrated the tenth of his Spoils, which amounted to no less than one hundred Talents. In the mean time *Gylus* the *Polemarclus* brake out into *Locris*, where the Soldiers being greedy of Plunder, were fallen upon by the Inhabitants, whom though they repelled at first, yet Night coming on they were so intangled, that *Gylus* himself and very many others were slain, and all of them had been loſt, but that the Alarm being taken by the Camp, relief was thence sent to them. After this, the Soldiers were dismissed to their several homes, and *Agesilaus* went by Ship to *Sparta*. Yet notwithstanding the War continued, the *Athenians*, *Boeotians*, *Argives* and their Confederates, making excursions from *Corinth*, which they had made the seat of War; and the *Lacedæmonians* with their Allies from *Sicyon*.

16. The *Corinthians* considering that their Grounds were wasted, and many of them slain, because of their being so near to the Enemy, but their Confederates free from these mischiefs, the most and best of them desired Peace, and began to consider of it amongst themselves. This being understood by the *Argives*, *Boeotians*, *Athenians*, and especially by such amongst themselves as had received the Persian Gold, and caused the War, they fearing *Corinth* would return again to the *Lacedæmonians*, to prevent this, they resolved to Massacre all such as were for the Peace. This they performed on a Festival, when most were got together, sparing none that took Sanctuary in religious places, so that most of the elder sort were killed, and the younger fled out of the City. Many of them, by the intreaty of their Friends, and upon the Oath of the Magistrates, that they should be safe, returned home within a short time; but seeing plainly the City was in the way to Ruine by the tyranny of those that governed, as that for *Corinth* it was to be called *Argos*, the Laws of which City they must be forced to receive; moreover being sensible that they had no more Power at home than meer strangers, some of them resolved it was better, by attempting the freedom of their Country, to die in the Quarrel, if it should fall out, than to live in that slavish Condition. In prosecution hereof they let in *Praxitas* Governour of *Sicyon* for the *Lacedæmonians* within the long Walls, who having no great Force with him, fortified himself as well as he might, which being understood at *Argos*, they flocked out thence to assist their Friends, and the *Lacedæmonians* opposing themselves they came to a Fight, wherein after much difficulty and various Fortune, the *Lacedæmonians* were Conquerors, making great slaughter of their Enemies. This Victory was the more eminent, for that so small a number had vanquished such multitudes, after which they put to the Sword a Garrison of *Boeotians*, which held the Haven called *Locheus*.

17. *Praxitas* pursuing his Victory, brake down part of the Walls to make a passage for his men, and then going on in the way towards *Megara*, took two Towns, wherein he left a Garrison and departed, after which followed only some light bickerings, till at length the *Lacedæmonians* issuing out of *Locheus*, with their Friends besieged *Corinth*, at which time the *Athenians* fearing they might pass the long Walls and invade their Territories, came out of the City with Mafons and Workmen, and repaired that part which was towards them. The *Lacedæmonians* grudging that the *Argives* should flourish at home, and prosper abroad, sent *Agesilaus* with an Army against them, who laying wait all their Territories, brake through to *Corinth*, and took the Walls which the *Athenians* had repaired, his Brother *Telenites* Admiral, taking the Ships and Arcevals upon the Gulf. Returning home, he was not long after sent out again, who when he came to *Corinth*, thought to have surprised it, but the Citizens aware

Agesilaus sent
against the
Argives.

aware of it, called in a Garrison of the *Athenians*, under the command of *Sphicerates*, and thereby prevented him. At this time Ambassadors came to him from several parts, and amongst the rest from *Boeotia*, to know what terms of Peace he would propound; but he carried himself so high, that he would take no notice of them; though *Pharax* interceded out of an inveterate grudge he bore towards the *Thebans*. But before their departure there came news that the party he had left in *Locheus* was defeated by *Sphicerates*, at which unusual message being much affected he leaped out from his Throne, and in all haste went to relieve them, but in his way met with three Horse-men, who acquainted him how late his assistance would be. Hereupon he returned, and the next day sent for the Ambassadors to hear what they had to say; but they something encouraged at what had hapned, and minding to require him for his disrespect, made then no mention of peace, but desired leave to go to *Corinth*.

18. He easily apprehending them, told them they should the next day see their friends in the Town rejoicing, and the defeat of his men, which was the true cause of their desire to go to *Corinth*, and accordingly waſting all about the City, went to the Walls, and having in vain provoked the Inhabitants to fight, marched to the *Locheus* the place of the defeat, after which he dismissed the Ambassadors; not suffering them to go to *Corinth*. His Army now beholding with their eyes the monument of the late mischance, were sorely afflicted, having not at all been accustomed to such a sight, only the Parents, kindred, and relations of the slain, according to the *Laconian* custom seemed to rejoice in the Calamity of their Country. Having re-inforced the Garrison of *Locheus*, he returned home his men, shunning the light and sight of all men, out of shame for what had hapned in this expedition contrary to their former fortune. But *Sphicerates* after his departure, in confidence of his good success proceeded, and reduced such places as had been taken by *Praxitas* and *Agesilaus*. After these things the *Athenians* being put to it by the *Acarnanians*, who endeavoured to wrest from them *Calydone*, a Town formerly belonging to the *Ætolians*, sent to *Lacedæmon*, and expostulated with them for not assisting them, who always were ready to follow them into all places. The State upon this complaint sent *Agesilaus* to aid them, who invading *Acarnania*, wasted the Country, made prey of most of their Carrel, and being opposed by them, was much put to it on the mountainous and precipitous places, by Darts and Arrows; but coming to hand-strokes, they were presently put to flight, and three hundred of them slain. Then consumed he all things with fire and sword, and attempted some Towns by the persuasion of the *Athenians*; but in vain. Now Autumn growing on, he could not be staid by their intreaties to prevent the *Acarnanians* from sowing their Corn, telling them they were not well advised in their request; for his intention being to return the next year, how much more Corn they should have upon the ground, by so much would they be the more desirous of peace.

Agesilaus sent
to relieve the
Locheus.

Agesilaus the
other King
sent against
the *Argives*.

Pharabazus
and *Conon*
their ally
against *Lacedæmon*.

19. And according to his promise, the Winter being over, he returned, at the report whereof the *Athenians* seated in a mid-land Country, and thereupon more obnoxious to damage in their Corn, and in great danger of losing their Towns, made an agreement with the *Athenians*, and entered into a society of War with the *Spartans*. This War being over, the *Lacedæmonians* not thinking it safe to contend with the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, whilst the *Argives* were at their back, they resolved to send their Forces against them. The conduct falling to *Agesilaus*, the other King, he would not undertake it, till he had consulted both the Oracle of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Apollo at Delphos*, concerning the lawfulness of the War, because the *Argives* desired a Truce, but being satisfied therein, he invaded, and wasted their Territories; yet ere long terrified with divers prodigies, he retreated without any considerable thing done. In the mean time *Pharabazus* and *Conon*, having overthrown the *Lacedæmonians* in a Sea-fight at *Chidus*, freed the Greek Cities from the *Lacedæmonian* Governours, which *Conon* suggested to the other as the only way to make them his own, and not to attempt to deprive them of liberty, which would force them to combine against him, and thereby give him work enough. He attempted *Sifnus* and *Abydos*; but *Dercyllidas* having secured them, he lost his labour, and gave order to *Conon* to procure a Navy from the Cities upon the *Hellespont* against the Spring, being much incensed against the *Lacedæmonians*, and resolving to invade their Dominions. At Spring he did so, and having strengthened the Enemies of *Sparta*, as much as possible, he furnished *Conon* with a Fleet, and money to rebuild the long Walls of the *Piræus*, than which *Conon* persuaded him he could not do any thing more

Sect. 4.

fitable to his own interest involved in the damage of the *Lacedæmonians*, and gaining the good will of the *Athenians*. The *Spartans* understanding that their own affairs must necessarily decline as much as those of *Athen* were advanced, (notwithstanding *Telenias* brother to *Agæslaus* had recovered the Sovereignty of the Gulf of *Corinth*) yet thought it necessary as much as in them lay to prevent it.

20. Left *Conon* should again recover the Islands to the *Athenian* state, they thought good to advertise *Teribazus*, another of the *Persian Satrapes*, thereof, hoping either to draw him to their party, or at least to procure that no more furtherance should be afforded to the design of *Conon*. To this purpose they sent *Antalcidas* to him, to lay open these things, and to try what could be done with him about a peace, who according to his instructions, to gain it the more easily, fully left to his disposal the *Greek Cities* in *Asia*, provided those without were but left to their own freedom. *Teribazus* liked well of this, but the *Athenians*, *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, and *Argives*, having also dispatched away their Ambassadors upon report of his employment, refused to assent upon their own private interests. The *Athenians* feared, if the Islands should be left to their own liberty, left they should lose *Lemnus*, *Imbros*, and *Scyros*. The *Thebans*, left they should be compelled to set at liberty the Cities of *Boeotia*, and the *Argives* concluded, that then they must lay aside all thoughts of *Corinth*, which they had conceived great hopes to make their own. Their diffidence hindered *Teribazus* from concluding a peace with the *Lacedæmonians* without the Kings special Warrant; but underhand he supplied them with money to maintain their power at Sea; and committing *Conon* to custody, went to the King to know his pleasure.

Teribazus
sent into
Asia by the
propoals of a
peace to
counter-work
them.

21. The King upon his giving account how affairs stood, sent *Siruthas* to take care of the maritime affairs, who being sensible what damage *Agæslaus* had done his master, was incline towards the *Athenians*, which being understood at *Lacedæmon*, they sent *Thimbro* into *Asia* to keep him in action, who at first forely afflicted the places subject to his command, but at length was slain, and his Forces defeated. At this time certain *Rhodian* being banished by the people who had the power in their own hands, came to *Sparta*, and complained that the *Athenians* had brought the Island under their power by that kind of Government. The *Spartans* understood their interest in so powerful an Island, and sent *Ecdicus* with eight Gallies to revive, if possible, the *Oligarchy* which was agreeable to their own model; and in this Fleet they ordered him to convey *Diphridas* into *Asia*, who was to gather up the Reliques of *Thimbro's* Army, and renew the War against *Siruthas*. He ordered his affairs very well, being a man fitter for the purpose than *Thimbro* was. But *Ecdicus* fearful of the power of the people did nothing at *Rhodes*, into his room *Telenias* was dispatched, and with a Fleet of twenty seven Gallies did that for which he was sent. The *Athenians* hearing of these motions sent out *Thrasybulus* against the *Spartans*, who despairing of *Rhodes* went into the *Hellepont*, where in *Thrace* he reconciled two Princes, *Odryses* and *Scutbes*, and made them friends of the *Athenian* State. Departing thence, he recovered several Cities, and amongst the rest *Byzantium* and *Chalcis*, whence going to the Island *Lesbus* (all the Towns whereof except *Mitylene* were joyned to the *Lacedæmonians*) he had good success, taking several places, and waisting the Territories of the other.

Is slain.

22. From *Lesbus* he failed victoriously unto *Rhodes*, where he obtained money from the Inhabitants of *Apandus*; but his men after the receipt thereof dealing injuriously with them, they issued out in great anger, and killed him in his Tent. This is he, who if virtue be to be valued without fortune, one doubts whether he be not to be preferred before all others, seeing that for faithfulness, constancy, greatness of mind, and love towards his Country, no man is to be preferred before him; and whereas it happened rarely to any to free his Country from the slavery of one man, he did it from the Tyranny of thirty. But whereas no man excelled him in worth, many overtopped him in nobility, and hereupon it fell out, that though in the *Peloponnesian* War he doing many things of himself, *Alciades* did nothing without him, yet the eminency of that man easily swallowed the glory and profit of all achievements. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what he had done, and fearful of what the friendship of *Pharabazus* to the *Athenians* might produce, though they had nothing to say against *Doreyllidas*, yet sent *Anaxibius* out to restore their fortune, who had prevailed with the *Ephors* for this employment, and promised great matters if

Cor. Nep.

Sect. 4.

if he were but assisted with money and shipping. They gave him three Gallies, and pay for one thousand men. He coming to *Abydos* skirmished with *Pharabazus*, and then getting three ships more, infested the *Athenians*. But the *Athenians* being sollicitous for keeping what *Thrasybulus* had recovered, though they had nominated *Argyrius* to his place, yet now sent *Sphierates* with eight Gallies and twelve hundred men, who was lately returned from the *Corinthian* War. He setting upon *Anaxibius* whilst he carelessly went abroad, slew him as he was going to *Abydos*; and with him twelve more Governors of Towns, and thence betook himself into the *Chersonesus*.

Joseph. lib. 5.
p. 114.

23. At this time *Ægina* was withdrawn by *Eteonicus* from the *Athenians*, who thereupon besieged it, but to no effect. At Sea both sides as it were played the Pyrrus with each other for some time: But *Telenias* being made General of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, fell in upon the Haven at *Athen*, where he took some Vessels laden, with the men, and putting the Citizens into a great fright, in his return preyed upon the Coasts, whence he took many Fisher-boats with other booty, the places being not aware of any such things. In the mean while *Antalcidas* the *Spartan* returned with *Teribazus* from the *Persian* King, having concluded a League offensive and defensive with him, in case the *Athenians* and others would not consent to their propoals for a general peace. He coming to Sea took eight *Athenian* Gallies which came from *Thrace*, under the Command of one *Thrasybulus*, and making up the Fleet to the number of eighty sail, with twenty *Syracusan* Gallies; and others which he procured of *Teribazus*, obtained the Sovereignty of the Seas. The *Athenians* were startled herat, fearing the issue of this War might be the same with that of the *Peloponnesian*, especially the *Persian* being now Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Inhabitants of *Ægina* infesting their Borders; upon all which accounts they were very desirous of peace. The *Lacedæmonians* also being much straightened in maintaining Garrisons in so many places, both affected to them, and weary of them, began to have enough of War, having moreover much trouble about *Corinth*. The *Argives* not ignorant that War was decreed against them, and that their old shifts and pretences would stand them in no stead, were also ready to embrace peace. They all then sent their Agents to *Teribazus* to know what was propoed by *Artaxerxes* *Mnemon*.

The parties
desire peace.

24. *Teribazus* shewing them the Kings Seals, read the Contents of the writing, which imported, that he thought it just that the Cities in *Asia*, the Islands *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus*, should be under his Jurisdiction: and all the rest, little and great, should be left to their own freedom, except *Lemnus*, *Imbros*, and *Scyros*, which having been time out of mind subject to the *Athenians*, he thought it fitting they should so continue. And such as would not admit of these conditions, he with the rest of the Confederates would prosecute with War, both at Sea and Land, to the utmost ability. The Agents returning home, all the States embraced the conditions, except the *Thebans*, who were unwilling to set at liberty the Cities of *Boeotia*; but *Agæslaus* making preparations to invade them, they were so far awed thereby as to receive them. He constrained also the *Argives* to leave *Corinth*, from which the Authors of the late Massacre then flying, the Exiles returned home. These things being done, and the League sworn to by all parties, this first peace was made betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* with their followers, after the ending of the *Peloponnesian* War, and casting down of their Walls, being called the peace of *Antalcidas*; for so it was termed, from the procurer, being indeed the shameful betraying of those Cities into the hands of *Artaxerxes*, for which *Agæslaus* had prosecuted the War in *Asia*.

The peace of
Antalcidas.

The *Spartans*
hereupon
grew high.

25. The *Lacedæmonians* were they who had the benefit thereof, being the Protectors and Patrons of it; and grew so high upon the success, that now they resolved to chastize such of the Associates as had in the late War born greater affection to their adversaries than themselves. First they fell upon the *Mantineans* as guilty of this Crime, whom by their King *Agæspolis* (for *Agæslaus*, because of the friendship that passed betwixt his father and them, desired to be excused) they forced first to break down their Walls by turning the River upon them, which ran through the City, and then to divide themselves into Villages. After this they forced the *Philiatians* to receive their Exiles, and made War upon the *Olynthians* in *Thrace*, at the request of the *Acanthians* and *Apollonians*, who accused them of clandestine practices with the *Athenians* and *Thebans*. By these courses they hoped that all the small Towns in Greece, upon occasion, would willingly follow them in their Wars as Authors of their liberty;

A. M. 3518.
Ol. 98. 2a. 2.
v. c. 367.
Arax. lib. 18.

SECT. 4.

The practices
of the Olyn-
thians.

liberty; and the great Cities, having lost their Dependents, would be unable to make opposition. And in particular they had conceived an emulation against *Olynthus*, now grown so mighty, that not only the commanded her neighbour Towns, but was become terrible to places far remote, and to *Sparta* her self: The *Olynthians* had taken a great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella* the *Metropolis* of that Kingdom, and now imitating the old pretence of the *Lacedæmonians* to set at liberty the places over which *Amyntas* did Tyrannic, had almost driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. They of *Acanthus* and *Apollonia* further adding, that either they must War upon *Olynthus*, or become subject to it, and fight shortly in its defence, *Eudemidas* was sent before with two thousand men. He arriving in *Thrace*, fortified the Cities, and recovered *Potidea*, which had associated it self to the *Olynthians*, and managed his Affairs with success answerable to such force. In the meantime his Brother *Phæbidas*, according as he had requested of the *Ephori*, was employed in raising the main Body of the Army, and having completed the levy marched away for *Thrace* to joyn with him.

Cadmus the Ci-
tadel of Thebes
betrayed.

26. At this time the *Thebans* were much divided amongst themselves, being headed by two *Polemarchi*, *Ismenias*, and *Leontidas*. When *Phæbidas* was come on his journey as far as *Thebes*, *Ismenias* out of his hatred to the *Lacedæmonians* would not see him, but his Colleague betrayed *Cadmus* the Citadel of *Thebes* into his Hands, seized on *Ismenias*, and got the Command of the whole City, whereat those of the contrary Faction to the number of four hundred fled to *Athens*. Then another being chosen into the place of *Ismenias*, *Leontidas* went to *Sparta*, where he found the *Ephori* and People much displeased with what *Phæbidas* had done, being both against the League, and without any Commission from them; and such as were Enemies to *Agesilaus*, especially aggravated the matter, labouring to draw him into suspicion about it. He otherwise as great both a Commander and practiser of Justice as any, yet took upon him to defend the Fact, saying, that *Phæbidas* was worthy to be punished if he had done any thing that was hurtful to the Commonwealth; but if it was profitable, then according to the ancient custom he was not bound, in such cases where haste is required, to stay for a Warrant. Following herein his Ambition, or giving way to his Passion (which most shewed it self against the *Thebans*) he not only indemnified *Phæbidas*, but persuaded the City to own what he had done, to keep the Castle, and prefer *Archias* and *Leontidas*, who had betrayed it, to the chief command of *Thebes*. The rest of the *Grecians* were so aggrieved at what was done; but the Confederates durst not contradict it, and each City joyned one Commissioner to three sent from *Sparta*, who all together should take Cognizance of, and judge the cause of *Ismenias*. He was accused before them of having favoured the *Barbarians*, and held intelligence with the *Persian*; that he had received part of the Money sent from him to corrupt the *Grecians*, and together with *Andocides*, had been the great incendiary who kindled and fomented their intestine Broils. He answered severally and apart to all; but being believed to have attempted great and pernicious things, was condemned and put to death. Then was the Power established in *Leontidas* and his Complices, who did more in favour of the *Lacedæmonians* than was desired of them.

Isenias put to
death.Telenias sent
by the Spartans
against the
Olynthians.

27. Things thus prospering, the *Lacedæmonians* more cheerfully pursued the War against *Olynthus*. They sent General thither *Telenias*, who with the help of *Amyntas* the *Macedonian*, and *Dorcas* Prince of *Elimæ*, overthrew the *Olynthians* under their Walls, and waisting their Grounds, for that Summer was ended, withdrew to their winter Quarters. But the next Year when he returned, the *Olynthians* sallied out against him, whom to repel, he sending a party which drove them back beyond a River which ran by the Town, and followed them over, they then thinking they had his men at an advantage, turned back upon them, and slew to the number of one hundred. He being in a great chafe hereat, went into the rescue with all his Forces, and following them within bow-shot from the Walls, his men were fore galled by those that stood on the Turrets, and forced to give back, and then being hotly charged he lost his Life, with many others, so that the rest clearly put to the rout, and shifting for themselves to several places, the strength of this Army was broken, which defeat *Xenophon* chargeth upon the Passion of *Telenias*, shewing how dangerous it is in the Leader of an Army. The *Lacedæmonians* having notice of what had happened, dispatched away *Agesipolis* their King with all convenient speed into *Thrace*, who upon better advantages invading the *Olynthians*, took *Torone* one of their confederate Towns,

Xenoph. at
Pella, Platarch.
Agesilaus.Olynthus taken
by Olynthians.The Philistans
subdued by
Agesilaus.Victis recover-
ed by the
Exiles.

Is slain.

Archias sent
after him, dis-
cuss of a Pea-
cer.

SECT. 4.

and harrazed the Country, but at Mid-summer by extremity of heat got a Fever, of which he died the seventh day, being much lamented by *Agesilaus* his Colleague, for their long familiarity, though emulated by him. Being put into Honey and brought home, there he was interred with Royal Rites, and *Polysides* was sent to command the Army, who besieging the *Olynthians*, at length forced them by Famine to yield on these terms: To have the same Friends and Enemies with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to follow them as Associates whithersoever they should lead them in their Wars.

28. In the mean time the *Philistans* grown confident upon the absence of *Agesipolis*, began to act very insolently and unjustly against the Exiles which of late they were made to re-admit. The Exiles complained of them at *Lacedæmon*, and they thereupon in their absence put a Molt upon them, which understanding, they still continued and pray'd justice from that State. At length the *Ephori* resolved upon War, and *Agesilaus* was sent against the *Philistans*, who thereupon offering largely to do all things fitting, he refused them, laying, he must have Deeds and not Words, to which now without further confirmation he could give no credit. They asking what he would demand, he required their Castle to be delivered up to him, which being utterly refused, he besieged the City. They held out longer than he expected, because the Magistrate suffered them not to eat above half of the ordinary proportion, and by means of one *Delphion*, who with three hundred assistants, imprisoned such as spoke of a Surrender. But at length consumed with Famine, they desired a Truce, to send Commissioners to *Sparta* to treat of Peace. *Agesilaus* stomached that they should pass him by, and therefore sending his Friends to the City, he obtained that the matter should be referred back to him. He ordered that fifty should be chosen of the Exiles, and as many others, who should determine which Citizens should be suffered to live, and which put to death, and that then Power should be given them to make Laws for the Government of the City. Whilst these things should be done he left a Garrison in the Town, and so departed, having spent twenty Months in this business.

29. All things thus falling out to the *Spartans* according to their wish, they judged their Empire sufficiently established; but another event (as *Xenophon* gravely discommends of divine Vengeance) taught the contrary, it being clear, both from the Histories of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that God suffereth not to escape unpunished wicked and ungodly Actions. They had sworn not long before to leave the Cities to their own liberty, and yet they kept in their Hands the Citadel at *Thebes*, and therefore being formerly invincible, were now sufficiently plagued by those alone whom they had injured. There was one *Phillidas* Secretary to the present *Polemarchi* of *Thebes*, who being not at all suspected by his Masters, went to *Athens* where the Exiles lay, and there entered into a Conspiracy with *Mello* one of them, for the killing of the *Polemarchi*, and recovery of their Countries liberty. *Mello* and six others being let in by *Phillidas*, were in womens apparel brought in to the *Polemarchi* as Courtezans, whilst they were drinking and celebrating the Feast of *Venus* at the end of their Office, whom they stabbed with Daggers hid under their Clothes; after which they did as much to *Leontides* the chief revoler, as he lay in his Bed, *Mello* being easily admitted to him without suspicion. Then went they to the common Prison, and killing the Keeper set at liberty their Friends, when now they called the People together, and exhorted them to stand in defence of their native liberty. They presently besieged the Castle, wherein the *Lacedæmonian* Governour seeing the alacrity of the assailants, was forced to yield upon this condition, to go out with his Army, and for that was put to death at his return to *Sparta*. The *Thebans* then slew such as they could come by, who sided with *Leontides*, and, too rigorously, executed the same punishment to their Children.

30. The *Ephori* solicited by the Exiles that fled to *Sparta*, and moved by the authority of *Agesilaus* (who pretended a sufficient quarrel, for that *Archias* and *Leontides* were slain) sent *Cleombrotus* their King against the *Thebans* now in the depth of Winter. He in his passage slew those whom *Phillidas* had let out of Prison, to the number of one hundred and fifty, who kept watch upon the Mountains, but did nothing farther considerable, only he left *Sphodrias* Governour of *Thebe* to raise new Forces, and be a refuge to the discontented party amongst the *Thebans*, and so returned. Yet herewith were the *Athenians* exceedingly affrighted, inasmuch that one they put to death, who had conspired with the *Theban* Exiles, and condemned another who fled upon it. The *Thebans* also despaired of being

Xenophat prius.
Diodorus ad
olym. 100.
ca. 3.
Platarch &
Cass. Nep.
in Pelopon.Xenoph. &
Platarchi

Secd. 4.

Sphodrias in-
vades Attica
by the cunning
of some The-
bans.Agefilas moved
by his son
Archidamus,
procureth him
indemnity,
whence the
Athenians
joyn with the
Thebans.Agefilas un-
derstaketh an-
other fruitless
Expedition
against the
Bacians.

being able to grapple with the *Lacedemonians*, and therefore betook themselves to a politic device, which was invented by *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* principal of the late Conspirators. A Merchant was sent to *Sphodrias*, then lying at *Thespe*, a rash and ambitious man, to persuade him to fall upon the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, as a work very grateful to his superiours, for thereby he should cut off the *Athenian* power at Sea, and he might be sure the *Thebans* would not assist them being already too much incensed. He pricked forwards by these conceits, invading *Attica* as far as *Eleusine*; but there his Design being known, and his Soldiers unwilling to proceed any further, as not sufficiently prepared for such an enterprize, he was forced to return.

31. The *Athenians* cast into Prison the *Spartan* Ambassadors as conscious of such an unlawful act; but they utterly renounced the least knowledge of it, and promising *Sphodrias* should answer it with his Life, they were content to expect the Justice of the State upon him. The *Ephori* called him to account indeed, and yet though he appeared not, was he acquitted, to the great admiration of all men, especially because of the Author of his acquitment, which was *Agefilas*. For *Agefilas*, though at first he refused several times to hear any thing in his behalf; yet *Cleonymus* the Son of *Sphodrias* beloved by *Archidamus*, made such means to him, that at length being very indulgent to his Children, he excused the matter, and saying, he held *Sphodrias* to be an honest man, and that the Commonwealth stood in need of such Soldiers, he got him acquitted, to his great dishonour. The *Athenians* hereupon out of indignation joyned themselves to the *Thebans*, and the *Bacians* and they sent to the Cities under the command of *Sparta*, to draw them to their party, which they effected with most, they groaning under the Yoke of *Lacedemon*. They appointed a Common-Council to be held at *Athens*, for carrying on the War, made up of one out of every confederate City, by which coule and other ways of self-denial, the *Athenians* recovered much Authority, having constituted their Captains, *Timotheus* the Son of *Conon*, *Chabrias*, and *Callistratus*.

32. The *Lacedemonians* to counterwork them, took off their severity from their Subjects which had not yet revolted, whereby they kept them fast to them, and renewing military Discipline, sent *Agefilas* into *Beotia* with a great Army; for *Cleombrotus* liked not the cause so well as to ingage in it, and thereupon he was forced to lay aside his excuse of superannuation (being above forty years older than one of ripe age) and submitted to the employment. The *Thebans* opposing themselves against him with the *Athensians* and others, took an Hill, where by direction of *Chabrias*, they received him carefully, with their Shields let down by their Knees, and their Lances advanced, which Courage of theirs as it seemed made him to retreat, and so having done great damage to their Country, and lost many of his men, he returned, leaving the Horse still to make excursions, under the command of *Phæbidas*. Several Skirmishes then hapned after his departure, in one of which *Phæbidas* himself was slain, with three hundred of his Followers. This made the *Thebans* take more Courage, and many then revolted to them. The *Spartans* sent a party to reinforce the Garrison of *Thespe*, and in the beginning of Spring prevailed with *Agefilas* to undertake another Expedition, which was performed to little purpose. He broke a Vein in his sound Thigh, and the Blood caused such an Inflammation, that though opening another at his Ankle gave him some ease, yet at his return he was forced to keep his Bed for a long time, the Blood at the Orifice having ran Night and Day, till at length he swooned, which stopped the Flux. The Year after *Cleombrotus* was again sent out; but the *Thebans* and *Athenians* disputing the passage with him in his way, after he had lost forty men he returned. By these Conflicts the *Thebans* were so exercised, that they became excellent Soldiers, as *Analcidas* said jeeringly to *Agefilas* at his return, that he was very well rewarded by them, whom without either will or knowledge he had taught to fight.

33. The Confederates being met at *Lacedemon*, accused themselves of idleness, for that they had not stroven with the *Athenians* at Sea, and being now confident they could starve them in the City, they rigged a Fleet of seventy Ships for that purpose. And hereby they for some time as it were besieged *Athens*, so that the Corn-Ships durst not approach, till *Chabrias* overthrew them in Fight, and brought in plenty of Provisions. The *Lacedemonians* preparing to send new Forces into *Beotia*, the *Thebans* desired of their Friends at *Athens* to invade *Peloponnesus* by Sea, to divert them, which they readily did, under the conduct of *Timotheus*, the *Thebans* at the same time taking several Towns upon their Borders. The *Spar-*

Xenoph. lib. 6.
Platæa.Diodorus ad
Oly. 101. ann. 1.
Xenoph.
Platæa.

Sect. 4.

Xenoph. lib. 6.
Diodorus.The Lacedæ-
monian boats.The Thebans
left out of the
general peace.The peace con-
tinued but a
short time.Platæa and
Thespe demo-
lished.

tans sent out one *Nicolaus* to Sea against *Timotheus*, who not staying for six Gallies of *Ambracia*, which he expected, with fifty five Sail set upon the *Athenian* Fleet consisting of sixty, and was worsted. Hereupon *Timotheus* erected a Trophy, but *Nicolaus* getting the six Ships of *Ambracia*, went and offered Battle again, and *Timotheus* not stirring erected another Trophy as a Conquerour. But *Timotheus* mending his Ships, made up his Fleet above seventy Vessels, and prevailed at Sea. The *Thebans* having got all the *Beotian* Cities into their power invaded *Phocia*, to the Succour of which *Cleombrotus* was sent from *Sparta*, and there the Associates both of the one side and the other met; but the *Athenians* thinking now that the *Thebans* became too potent by their assistance, were desirous of a Peace. The *Thebans* with five hundred men went against *Orchomenus*, held by a Garrison of the *Lacedemonians*, which falling out against them, a hot dispute ensued, wherein, although the *Spartans* were double the number, yet they were beaten, which thing had not happened in former Ages. This added courage to the *Thebans*, and their military Glory daily increasing, it now became evident that they strove for the Sovereignty of *Greece*. With this Year *Hermæas* of *Methymna* concluded his History of *Sicily*, which consisted of ten, or, according to some, of twelve Books.

34. The next being the second of the one hundred and first Olympiad, the thirtieth of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Hippodamus* being *Archon*, *Artaxerxes* having a design to make War upon *Egypt*, and to use the *Gracians* therein, sent to persuade them to agreement. They being weary of War consented to it, all the Cities being to be set at liberty, and the Garrisons drawn out; only the *Thebans* refusing to quit the Cities of *Beotia* were not comprised in the League, being very confident in their good Fortune, and much encouraged by several excellent good Soldiers amongst them, the principal of which were *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, who from a poor Philosopher became the most renowned for martial affairs of all *Greece*. This change produced great Commotions in the several Cities, but especially in those of *Peloponnesus*, which by the *Lacedemonians* had been subjected to *Oligarchy*, and now having the popular Government restored, knew not how to use it moderately, but by unjust Decrees oppressed many worthy men, driving some into Exile, and selling their Goods. Great stirs especially hapned amongst the *Corinthians*, *Megarians*, and *Phlians*, whilst those that were unjustly banished endeavoured by Force or Policy to restore themselves. Those that were for *Democracy* were maintained by the *Athenians*, and the *Spartans* assisting the *Oligarchical* faction, the Peace was but for a small time observed by these two States, whilst both favoured such as bare most affection to their form of Government, and so they renewed the War: Such was the fruit of Antimarchical Government, viz. Nothing but Sedition, Confusion, and disorder.

35. They (a) contested first about the *Zacynthians*, and afterwards in *Corcyra*, where the *Spartans* besieging the City, the Inhabitants almost all famished, yet sallied out, and killing *Mimippus* their General, with many others, the rest hearing of the coming of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian* with a great Fleet, with much Plunder as they had got, disgracefully raised their Siege and departed. At this time the *Platæans* having a design to commit themselves to the Protection and Alliance of *Athens*, the *Thebans* thereupon demolished the Town, and not long after did the same by *Thespe*. The ruins of *Platæa* is by (b) *Pausanias* referred to the next Year when *Alteus* was *Archon*, in which also (c) being the fourth of the one hundred and first Olympiad (d) such Earth quakes, and Inundations of the Sea in *Peloponnesus*, that *Helice* and *Buræ*, two Towns of the *Athensians*, were together with the Inhabitants swallowed up. Hereof *Diodorus* assigneth several causes, laying the stress upon an injury formerly offered by them to *Nephele*, in refusing to lend the *Ionians* their Statues, to which they should have sacrificed. Five days before the ruins of these Cities, all the Mice, Weasils, Serpents, and such like Creatures came out of *Helice* in great numbers, and took the way which leads to *Coria*. The Inhabitants admiring so strange a Sight, had the next Night their Thoughts diverted by the Earth-quake, which made way for that Inundation wherein they perished, and with them ten Ships of the *Lacedemonians* then lying in the Haven.

36. The next Year being the first of the one hundred and second Olympiad, wherein *Damon* the *Thuriar* got the prize, *Acisthenes* being *Archon*, *Artaxerxes* sent his Ambassadors into *Greece* again to persuade the States to an agreement. The *Athenians* were now grievously displeased with the *Thebans* for destroying *Platæa* and

(a) Xenophoni.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 101.
ann. 3.(b) In *Beotia*.
(c) Diodorus ad
Olymp. 101.
ann. 4.
Strabo lib. 9.
p. 385.
Pausan. in
*Achaïcis*Allians still.
Ann. lib. 1. c.
cap. 19.Diodorus ad
Olymp. 102.
ann. 1.

SECT. 4.

Cleombrotus the
Spartan King
invadeth Boe-
tia.

Thebes, two Cities which had so well deserved of *Greece* in the Median War and thereupon would no more join with them. They sent Ambassadors to *Lacedaemon* about a Peace, who used such Rhetorick to that State, specially *Callistratus*, that they brought the *Spartans* to assent upon these Terms: that the Cities should be set at liberty, the *Arms* disbanded, and whosoever would not acquiesce in these conditions, it should be lawful for any of the Confederates, if they pleased (not being constrained to it) to help the distressed. All others except the *Thebans* subscribed the League, for they were unwilling as before to quit the Cities of *Boeotia*. Hereupon the *Spartans* jealous of them, resolved to make War in the behalf of all *Greece*, and gave order to *Cleombrotus* their King (who now lay in *Phocis*, expecting what they would command him) to invade *Boeotia*. The *Lacedaemonians* having great Forces of their own besides their Allies, and none being willing to assist the *Thebans*, every one gave them for lost, who yet upon *Cleombrotus* his Summons refused to set free the Cities of *Boeotia*, except the *Spartans* would restore *Meffene*, and permit the *Laconians* to enjoy their liberty. In sum, they desired they would no more meddle with what they did in *Boeotia*, than they were concerned in any thing done in *Laconia*.

37. They created *Ephaminondas* General, of whose rare skill and valour they had had abundant proof, joining with him the other *Boeotarchs*. He levying twelve thousand men marched away, and possessed himself of the Straights of *Coronea*, which *Cleombrotus* hearing, marched through *Phocis* another way, and came in to *Boeotia* by the Sea's side. Advancing to *Leutira*, he there rested himself, which the *Boeotians* understanding, passed over the Mountains, and came near to him, but seeing such Multitudes overspread the Plain, were not a little discouraged. The *Boeotarchs* then deliberating what to do, were divided in their opinions, three being for fighting, amongst whom was *Ephaminondas*, and as many for departing; but whilst they were still in doubt came in the seventh, and through the persuasion of *Ephaminondas* cast the balance on his side. *Plutarch* saith, that *Pelopidas* first approved of his advice, being Captain of the Sacred Company which was made up (as is most probable amongst many opinions) of intimate Friends and Lovers, who fighting earnestly for one another, when in danger, did great harm thereby to the Enemy. Whilst *Ephaminondas* was several ways encouraging his men to the fight, came in *Fisfor* the *Phaeacian*, the most eminent leading man of *Thebes*, with one thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, in them to help the *Thebans*, but with intention to take up the quarrel; and he persuaded both parties to accept of a Truce.

38. *Cleombrotus* was then departing out of *Boeotia*, when a new Army met him from *Sparta*, under the Command of *Archidamus*; for the *Lacedaemonians* seeing the courage and resolution of the *Thebans*, whereas otherwise they could not do it, resolved to oppress them by their numbers. The General then thinking it disgraceful at all to fear the *Theban* Valour, marched back to *Leutira* without any regard of the Truce, where they found the *Boeotians* ready to receive them. *Cleombrotus* and *Archidamus* (both descended from *Hercules*) lead the Wings of their Battel. *Ephaminondas* gave leave to all that would to depart, which was accepted by the *Thebians* and others, who bore no good will to the *Thebans*. His prime men he placed in one Wing, and the other by themselves, whom he ordered to give back, as though they fled. Making then an oblique battle, he with the stoutest men began the Fight, and whilst the other retired from the Enemy he followed him close, who now brake order to get into it. The success remained doubtful as long as *Cleombrotus* lived; but he being slain whilst he most valiantly demeaned himself, a great and bloody contest happened about his Body, which at length his men recovered, and gave back in order, and by degrees. But *Ephaminondas* still pressing upon them, and doing great execution, at length they fled, having no body to govern them. About four thousand of them were slain, and three hundred of the other party. This Battel happened in the thirty fourth year after the end of the Peloponnesian War, the second of the one hundred and second Olympiad, the thirty fourth of *Artaxerxes* *Mnemom*, *Pharsides* being *Archon*. A. M. 3634.

39. The Message of this overthrow came to *Sparta* the last day of their Gynick Solemnities, wherewith, though the *Ephori* were so affected, as those that saw now a conclusion of that Principality they had almost enjoyed five hundred years, yet suffered they not the exercises to be broken off; but sending the names of the slain to their relations, finished the Festival. The day after when it was known who were slain, and who escaped, one might see the Parents and Kindred of the dead

Xenoph.
at
Pella.

Diodorus
at
Lib. 2.

Xenoph. *Plu-*
tarch. in *Pelo-*
pida.
Paulin. in
Boeotia.

ab' Esqu-
el. *Plutarch*
mice *si* *Exa-*
menonides
per Synop-
tem *Plutarch*
lib. 2.

SECT. 4.

The behaviour
of the Spartans
after the battel
of Leutira.

Archidamus
invadeth Boe-
tia.

A Truce is
procured by
Fisfor Prince
of Thebes, who
is presently
after murder-
ed by his bro-
thers.

to meet together in the Forum with cheerful looks and minds, shaking one another by the hands; but on the other side the friends of such as were living, as in some solemn time of mourning to keep themselves at home, or if they came abroad, to signify their sadness in their habit, speech and countenance: and this was especially remarkable amongst the women. But when their associates had revolved, and *Ephaminondas* was thought to be about to invade *Peloponnesus*, they then called to mind the Oracles, concerning what should happen to them under a Lame King; yet reverencing the valour, power, and glory of *Agellans*, they not only retained him in his several places of King and General, but made use of him as a Physician in this sad distemper. Now whereas by the Laws of *Sparta*, such as had fled from a battel were not only made incapable of Magistracy, and of marriage with others, who thereupon were noted with ignominy, but were to be stricken by every one that met them, walking in a dejected posture, in Fools Coats, with their beards half shaved; there being many and powerful who fled from *Leutira*; left any inconvenience might follow upon their discontent, *Agellans* procured that the Law for his time should be silent, and (without repealing) obtain its antient vigour for the time to come. Then to recreate the minds of the Soldiers he lead them out into *Arcadia*, where industriously abstaining from fight, he took a little Town of the *Manians*, and made excursions in their Territories, to give his Citizens a little hope, and shew that the fortune of *Sparta* was not altogether desperate.

40. The *Ephori* made new Levies, lifting those now that were above sixty, the *Tegatans*, *Manians*, *Corinthians*, *Philiatians*, *Achaens*, and other Cities sent the numbers, the Conduct of all which was committed to *Archidamus*, because his father was not yet recovered. The *Thebans* presently after the victory sent a Messenger Crowded to *Athens*, to let them know their success, and demanded aid; but the *Athenians* being not a little troubled at what had happened gave him no audience. Then sent they to *Fisfor* the *Phaeacian* Prince of *Thebes*, who though he was otherwise employed with the *Phocians*, yet came, and when *Archidamus* had now invaded *Boeotia*, procured a Truce betwixt them, and thereupon the *Spartan* Army returned home. This by *Xenophon* is related as done after the battel at *Leutira*, and because he maketh no mention of any Truce made by *Fisfor* betwixt them, before the fight, we may suspect a mistake in the time, either of him, or *Diodorus*, who related the story as before. *Fisfor* returning home was murdered by seven young men, having great designs in his head, after he had, partly by persuasion, and partly by awe, caused all *Thebes* to receive him as General, the *Lacedaemonians* having refused to send them aid to defend themselves from his power. After his death his two brothers *Polydorus* and *Polyphron*, Authors of his death, were made Generals, of whom the former was slain within a while by the later, who turning his Principality into Tyranny, held it but one year, being then slain by his brother *Alexander*, under pretence of revenging the death of *Polydorus*, and overthrowing the Tyranny. But he proved ten times more Tyrannical, burying men alive, covering them in beasts skins, and so setting them before the Dogs to be devoured, and killing others with Darts, to make himself sport. At length having a plot against his Wives brothers, he was slain by them by her means, and *Tiphobus* the eldest of all the brothers succeeded, who continued in the Government when *Xenophon* wrote his History.

41. The *Athenians* considering that the *Lacedaemonians* still expected they should follow them in the Wars as formerly and would compel them thereto if they could, thought it best for saving their credit to revive the peace formerly made with *Artaxerxes*. They therefore sent fifty men about it, to the Cities, to take an Oath of them to this purpose: That they would observe the Truce established by the King, and confirmed by the *Athenians* and their Associates; and if any injury should be offered to any that took the Oath, to assist them with their full power. All the States willingly admitted of it, and received the Oath, except the *Eleans*, who after the example of the *Thebans*, pretended that the *Margarians*, *Selluntians*, and *Triphylians* ought not to be set at liberty, because they belonged unto them. All Cities both little and great being by virtue of this peace to be set at liberty, the *Manians* taking occasion thereat, made a Decree to build their City again, and to fence it with walls, which formerly had been demolished by the *Lacedaemonians*. They were aggrieved that this should be done without their consent, and sent *Agellans* to them to stop their proceedings; but the Magistrates refused to call the people together to give him audience, though a friend upon his fathers account, telling him what was once decreed by the people could not be altered.

Sect. 4.

A Sedition at
Tegea.

Some of the *Arcadians* sent and promised them assistance, and the *Eleans* helped them with thirty Talents of Silver. At this time the Inhabitants of *Tegea* fell out amongst themselves, whilst some would have all the *Arcadians* meet together and choose some one man to be their Prince, but others were for living under their own Laws only, and the maintenance of their liberty. The last of the first had the better of it; but by the help of the *Manineans*, at length the other prevailed, and killing some, drove the rest of their Enemies to *Lacedæmon*, to the number of eighty.

Alas! Diodorus
vult.

42. The *Lacedæmonians* thought they were bound by Oath to revenge the cause of the Exiles upon the *Manineans*, who by falling on them had broken theirs, and gave order to *Agesilaus* to invade them. They by the advice of their friends the *Arcadians* contained themselves within their walls newly built, and suffered him to spoil their Country, which doing with great caution and wariness, yet without any loss of honour, he returned home. At this time it must be, according to * *Perseus* (who placeth it in the same year with the battle at *Leuctra*) that by the persuasion of *Epaminondas* the *Arcadians* built them one City to inhabit (destroying there many little Towns) which thence had the name of *Megalopolis*. The fame of *Plato* being now spread abroad, the *Thebans* and *Arcadians* sent him to desire his help, not only for the instruction of their youth, and to teach Philosophy, but also to prescribe them Laws for their Commonwealth. At first he intended to go, but asking the Ambassadors how their Superiours stood affected to an equal distribution of goods and honours, and hearing they were utterly averse to such a constitution, he thereupon refused to go to them. At this same time also *Epaminondas* sent into *Sicily*, Italy, as far as the *Islands Euxerites*, and all over where the old *Messinians* dwelt, to invite them home into their ancient Country, which was restored to them, and called after the old name *Messene*. Which restoration hapned two hundred and ninety eight years (reckoned from the first of the twenty eighth *Olympiad*) after the taking of *Tra*, and their banishment; in the third year of the hundred and second *Olympiad*, *Dysicemus* being *Archon*. During all this time of their Exile they preserved entirely their ancient Rites, and the Dorick dialect unchanged, which in our Age (saith *Paulanias*) by them, and only by them, is also preserved uncorrupt and natural.

* in *Arcadibus*
* *Alas* var. *hij*.
lib. cap. 42.Paulanias in
historical.Angelopolis
built.The *Messinians*
recalled and
re-established.

43. The same year hapned such a Sedition and Maffacre at *Argos*, as could never be paralleld in *Greece*. That City was then Governed in a Democratical way; but the Orators so stirred up the People against the Nobility, that some being accused, for fear conspired against the Popular Government, to prevent their own ruine. Being hereupon suspected and examined, some fearing to be tortured made away themselves, and one in the midst of his pains accused thirty of the most eminent in the City. The common sort giving credit to this accusation, put all those to death unheard, and confiscated their goods, and then many others being accused who were wealthy, they put them all to death, and in this manner made an end of sixteen hundred. The Orators themselves now were afraid, left in this so general a Maffacre they themselves also might unexpectedly miscarry, and therefore ceased from their calumniations; which being understood by the multitude, as though they now forsook them, they put as many of them to death as they could find in the City, the vengeance of God thus repaying them.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 101.
cap. 3.An unparalleled
Sedition at
Argos: the fruit
of Antimora-
tical Gov-
ernment.

44. The next year, the *Lacedæmonians* sent one thousand of their Citizens, and five hundred *Argives* and *Boeotian* Exiles, under the command of *Polytropus* into *Arcadia*, who there fortified *Orchomenus*, but meeting with *Lycomedes* the *Maninean*, General of the *Arcadians*, he was slain in battle with two hundred men. The *Arcadians* after this desiring help of the *Athenians* in vain, procured it of the *Boeotians*, who dispatched into *Peloponnesus* *Epaminondas* and *Gelopidas*, to whom the other *Boeotarchs* of their own accord left the command of the Army. When they were come into *Arcadia*, all the Confederates made up the number of fifty thousand men; but yet the *Thebans* were very unwilling to invade *Laconia*. They considered that the Countrey was well fortified, and that the *Lacedæmonians* terrible every where would fight more desperately at their own doors. But the other pressing them much to it, and some bringing word how the borders were desolate of defence, and offering to conduct them into it, at length they invaded it in four several bodies, and bearing down all opposition, met together at *Sallasia*, whence they marched for *Sparta* it self, burning and consuming all things in their passage. Six hundred years had the *Doves* now inhabited *Lac-*

Item ad ant. 4
*Xenoph.**Epaminondas*
invadeth *Lac-*
onia.

Sect. 4.

Plutarch &
Corn. Nepos in
Agesilaus.

nia, and for all this time not an Enemy had dared to appear in it, so that this unusual fight caused great tumults in the City, the women having never before seen as much as the smoke of War, nor the men able to endure a Siege. *Agesilaus* contained them within, bestowing them as he found convenient in several places, for the defence of the City, which had no other walls than the bodies of it's Inhabitants. He was much moved at the arrogance of the Enemy, who challenged him by name, as the cause of these diffentions, to come out and fight; yet so contained himself, as taking great pains for the preservation of his Country, he shewed clearly, that if he had not been, the City could not have continued.

45. The *Boeotians* laboured to provoke the *Spartans* to fight, bidding them either do it, or confess themselves to be inferior to their Enemies; to which they answered, that when they saw occasion, they would not fear to try a battle with them. They left then the City, and making great waste of all *Laconia*, returned into *Arcadia*. The *Spartans* in the time of this their extremity, had promised liberty to such of their Slaves as would fight for them, and sent to *Athenes* to procure assistance from that State, which the Ambassadors procured to be decreed, especially by this motive, that the *Lacedæmonians* had saved that City, at the end of the *Peloponnesian* War, when the *Thebans* were earnest for its utter destruction. They made choice of *Sphierates* for the General in this Expedition, who otherwise a man of excellent conduct, yet is judged by *Xenophon* to have been far overleer in the management of this employment. For having loitered at *Corinth*, and the *Thebans* being about to return home, he ought to have fortified *Cenchreae*, where they had the most convenient passage, and when he sent to spie whether they had passed *Oenus*, he sent both all his own and the *Corinthian* Horse, whereas few had been sufficient to spie, and better for a speedy retreat, and hereby he lost no fewer than twenty men, and the *Thebans* returned without any great molestation. The *Lacedæmonians* having got four thousand Auxiliaries, besides one thousand Slaves newly manumitted, and many men out of the neighbouring Towns, thought themselves then able to try a battle, yet convenient for them first to send to the *Thebans* about a peace. They offered it might one these terms; that *Messene* should be restored by them, and the *Laconians* rising up to their liberty. Most inclined to receive these terms, till *Archidamus* left up, said, that peace was not to be received upon such unequal conditions by them, who were wont to give and not to receive it; that *Messene* was justly destroyed three hundred years before, and could not be restored, but to the great distress and damage of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Sphierates sent
to assist the
Spartans.His conduct
is censured by
Xenophon.

46. But *Epaminondas* having to his great honour restored *Messene* fully (the grounds being divided, and all things done) after eighty five days spent in this Expedition, returned home, and being in his way molested by *Sphierates*, pursued him to the walls of *Athens*. But there was a Law at *Thebes*, which made it capital for any one to retain the chief command longer than was in that case provided by the constitutions of the City, new Magistrates being to be chosen the beginning of the new month *Bacsius*. This *Epaminondas* knowing to have been made for the good of the City, would not keep it to the damage thereof, but continued his command four months longer than his Commission warranted. After his return, he and his Colleagues were accused, and he permitted them to lay all the blame upon himself. They being hereby freed, no man expected any defence from him, as having nothing to say for himself. He appearing, denied nothing that his adversaries objected, confessed what his Colleagues said to be true, and refused not to undergo what the Law inflicted, only he made one request to them: that this might be written upon his Tomb: *Epaminondas was punished with death by the Thebans, because he constrained them at Leuctra to vanquish the Lacedæmonians, whom, before he was General, none of the Boeotians durst once look in the face, and for that in one battle he not only saved the Thebans from ruine, but also restored liberty to all Greece; and brought matters to that pass, that the Thebans fell upon Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians had enough to do to preserve themselves; and left not off till Messene being restored, he besieged their City.* Having said this, the People affected with joy set up a laughter, and none of the Judges dared to pass sentence.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 101.
cap. 4.Plutarch in *Pi-*
lippi & Corn.
Nepos in *Epami-*
ondas.*Alas* var.
hist. lib. 13.
cap. 42.Paulanias in
Boeotia.

47. In the same year, according to *Diodorus*, but the next, according to *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas* was sent again into *Peloponnesus* to the assistance of the *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Eleans*, who afresh had made War upon the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* had lately established a League betwixt them-

Xenoph. lib. 9.
Diodorus.

Sect. 4.

Epaminondas
again invades
Peloponnesus.

selfes on these Terms: That each should command the Army five days in their course, which before was solely left to the Spartans. The Athenians hearing of the coming of Epaminondas, sent Chabrias with an Army to stop his passage. He coming to Corinth, with the Lacedæmonians and other Allies, made up an Army of twenty thousand, and then all joining together fortified the passage into Peloponnesus, making a Ditch and a Wall across the Isthmus from Cenchrea to Læneus. But Epaminondas observing at what place the Guards were weakest, there with some difficulty brake through, harazed the Country, had Sicyon and other places delivered up to him, but coming to Corinth was gallantly repulsed by Chabrias, who falling out of the City, and getting advantageous ground, not only sustained his charge, but did good execution upon the Assailants. At this time two thousand Gaules and Spaniards were sent by Dionysius Tyrant of Sicilie to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, who arriving at Corinth, the Grecians to try their Valour led them out against the Enemy. They behaved themselves very well, did good service against the Boeotians, many of whom and their Allies they slew, for which receiving great commendations and rewards besides, they returned in the latter end of Summer into Sicilie.

The Arcadians
fall out with
the Thebans.

48. The Thebans being returned home, the Athenians conceived indignation against them, through the complaints of Lycomedes the Mantinean, who urged it was an unworthy thing for the Arcadians, being more noble (as the only ancient Inhabitants of their Country) and more deserving, to be commanded by the other, and follow them in the War. Being much puffed up with such conceits, the Thebans began to be alienated from them, and the Eleans bore them Malice, because they could not obtain of them the Towns which the Lacedæmonians had taken from them. Things being at this pass, came Phyliscus of Hydus, sent from Arioberxanes the Persian Satraps, with much Money, to persuade the States to Peace. The Thebans yet would not come to any conclusion, alleging that Messene ought to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Spartans, with which he being offended, not enduring that old pretences should be again revived, he left two thousand men already paid to the aid of the Lacedæmonians, and returned into Asia. The Arcadians having chosen Lycomedes their General, sent him into Laconia with an Army, where he took by storm Pallene, and therein put to the Sword three hundred of the Lacedæmonian Garrison Soldiers. To return the like unto them the year following (the first of the one hundred and third Olympiad, wherein Pythostratus the Athenian was Victor) Archidamus was sent into Arcadia with the Confederates, and a new supply of men sent from Dionysius. He took Caryæ, and put all therein to the Sword, and going on in his attempts, Cissidas the General of the Sicilian Forces, pretending he had staid his full time set him by Dionysius, would needs be gone; but in his way was circumvented by the Messenians, and was forced to crave aid of Archidamus.

Megalopolis
now built ac-
cording to Di-
odorus.

49. He hasted to relieve him, and in his march the Arcadians and Argives opposed themselves, whom charging with great resolution, he got a most famous Victory, killing ten thousand of his Enemies without the loss of one man; so that as the Priests of Dodona had sung (that it should be a Fight without Tears to the Lacedæmonians) yet the Message being come to Sparta, Agesilaus, the Senators, and the Ephors, are all laid to have wept for joy. As this success revived the Spirits of the Spartans, which had been almost extinct by the Battle at Leuctra, so, as Diodorus telleth us, the Arcadians now fearing their inroads, for their better security built them one great City, twenty of the Median and Parthian Villages being taken in for the site thereof, though Paulanias will have Megalopolis built two years before. The Thebans and Eleans only rejoiced in the misfortune of their Friends the Arcadians, as tending to the humbling of them. The Thebans casting much in their Heads how to obtain the principality of all Greece, resolved upon sending an Ambassage to the Persian King to contract a straight League and Alliance with him, and assembling the Confederates they pretended a necessity thereof, because Euclytes the Lacedæmonian was now with the King in behalf of that State. They sent Pelopidas, with others for the Arcadians, Eleans, and Argives: The Athenians also understanding hereof sent Timagoras and Leon. Pelopidas being very famous even in Asia for his Valour, by his demeanour got all the favour from the rest. He urged the King with the merits of the Thebans, who had never of all Greece born Arms against him, or his Ancestors, either of old in the Median War, or of late in assistance to Agesilaus, and he extolled their Valour, shewing that the reason why the Arcadians were of late overthrown by the Lacedæmonians,

Pelopidas sent
by the Thebans
to the Persian
King.

Sect. 4.

Gereeth much
credit by his
Ambassie.

was because of their absence. For the truth hereof he appealed to Timagoras the Athenian, whom being at odds with his Collegue, he drew off to his party: He obtained of Ariæxes what he demanded, viz. that Messene should be exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians should abstain from the Sea, and all the other Cities be left to their own Laws: Lastly, that the Thebans should be esteemed the near Friends and Allies of the Empire.

50. This employment got Pelopidas abundance of Credit (who not long after was slain in a victorious Battle, fought in the behalf of the Thebians against Alexander the Tyrant) but Timagoras returning home received a great present from the Persian, and being accused by his Collegue of siding with Pelopidas was put to death. The Thebans, though they had got what they desired of the King, yet their design came to nothing, for the commissioners of the Cities first refused to take the Oath of this new League, and then most of the Cities themselves after the example of Corinth, the answer of which was, that there was no need of this new Engagement. This Plot then of Pelopidas having not taken good effect, Epaminondas thought of another to reduce the Arcadians and Allies to Obedience; and that was, first by subduing the Acheans, to which purpose he went again into Peloponnesus. He easily effected this, and receiving an engagement from them to continue faithful to the Thebans, returned, for which being much blamed by the Arcadians, and the rest of that faction, Governours were sent from Thebes into the several Cities, who bringing in the popular Government, thereupon drove away many of the principal men, who uniting themselves, seized again upon their several Cities, and then stood no more Neuters, but openly declared for the Lacedæmonians. So this second device of the Thebans came to nothing, and the Arcadians were pressed both by the Lacedæmonians and Acheans. At this time Euphron the Sicyonian, a man of great power in his Country, persuaded the People to bring in the popular Government, which done, and he with others being chosen Prætors, he murdered some of his Collegues, expelled the rest, and openly established a Tyranny. The Associates he put off by doing them pleasures, through which the Argives being encouraged, together with him fell upon the Phlians, and brought them to great straits, because of their faithfulness to the Lacedæmonians, where in they excelled beyond Precedent, no adversity nor any advantage being able to affright or allure them from it, as is largely discoursed by Xenophon. The Athenians sent Chares with relief to them, who overcame the Argives in two fights, and restrained their violent attempts against them.

Sins about Si-
cyon.

51. But Aræas the Symphalian, General of the Arcadians, judging things not to be at Sicyon as they should, seized upon the Castle there, and forced Euphron to leave the Town, and gave up the Haven to the Lacedæmonians. Yet a Sedition following in the Town he took occasion thereat, and repossessed himself, joining with the people against the Nobility, but the Castle being held by a Garrison of Thebans, he thought there was no long continuing without their leave, and so taking money with him, went to Thebes, to procure the good will of the people there. Thither several of his adversaries followed him, to withstand his design, and finding that he was upon the Magistrates and Senate, to hinder the progress of the business, killed him in the Castle, at such time as the Senate was sitting there. One of them taking all the fault upon himself, made such a discourse in his own defence, by telling what the Thebans themselves had lately done in the like case, and by other arguments, that Euphron was pronounced justly slain, and he was absolved. Yet being carried to Sicyon he was honorably buried in the Forum, and worshipped by the people as one of their greatest Benefactors. The Phlians now had by the assistance of Chares taken Thymia, which was fortified against them by the Sicyonians, but their Exiles had seized upon Oropus; the Sicyonians and Arcadians recovered the Haven at Sicyon, and no body assisted the Athenians at Oropus, but all forsook them, so that it was committed to the trust of the Thebans: till the controversy about it should be decided. Lycomedes seeing them dissatisfied with their Allies, drew the Athenians to enter into society with the Arcadians. The Conditions were, that the Athenians, in case Arcadia was invaded, should send Succours of Horse, without being constrained to invade Laconia.

The Athenians
enter into so-
ciety with the
Arcadians.And consult
how to make
matters
of easier.

52. The Athenians as soon as this was done, cast in their Heads how they might make Corinth their own, through the persuasion of Demetion; which being known there, their Soldiers were dismissed, and the Alliance broken betwixt them.

Xenoph. at the
Dionysius at
Olymp. 103.
chap. 2.

SECT. 4.

This made the *Corinthians*, who now had gotten so new and potent Enemies, look about them for their own security; and to this end levying all the force they could, they made also their peace with *Thebes*, in which they would have the *Lacedæmonians* concluded, saying, they were constrained to this accommodation; but the *Lacedæmonians* giving them, and all other their Confederates leave to provide for themselves (which was accepted by the *Philistians* and others) said they would persist in the War, and commit the Issue to God, being resolved never to consent that *Messene*, which they had received from their Ancestors, should be taken from them. The condition of this Peace was only that each City should enjoy its own; for the *Corinthians* flatly refused to enter into a society of Arms, because they would not offend those that had well deserved of them, but presently a contention was revived betwixt the *Philistians* and *Argives* about *Thymia*, which was seized on, and held by the latter, notwithstanding all that could be objected. At the same time were twelve ships, under the Command of *Timocrates*, sent to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Dionysius* the younger (who now had succeeded his dead father) which they used in the forming of *Schafia*, and then the Fleet returned back into *Sicily*. At this time *Artaxerxes* sent once more to mediate about a peace, which was submitted to by the Cities, and so the *Læonian*, or (as it is also called) the *Boeotian* War ended, after it had continued above five years.

Intercession procured another peace.

53. But in the very next year such sparks were kindled, (first betwixt the *Eleans* and *Arcadians*) as brake out at length into a mighty flame. *Lasion* a Castle of *Triphylia* first belonged to the *Eleans*, but being in the possession now of them, and another while of the *Arcadians*, continual controversies were moved about it. The latter now having it in their hands, the *Eleans*, by means of the *Arcadian* Exiles with them, seized upon it. This being taken in great disdain by the *Arcadians*, they procured help from *Athens*, and recovered it by force; after which they overthrew the *Eleans*, and waisted their Territories to the City Gates. This put them upon craving aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and desiring them to invade *Arcadia*, who accordingly sent *Archidamus* the year after the first action at *Lasion*. He took *Cromnus*, and therein leaving a Garrison returned; but after his departure the *Arcadians* recovering the place, and going into *Elis*, gave the management of the solemnities of the one hundred and fourth *Olympiad* now drawing on, to the *Pileans*, who by old and fabulous arguments pretended it once to have belonged unto them. For this purpose they seized on *Olympia* before-hand, and going on when the time was come in the management of the exercises, the *Eleans* with all their strength fell in upon them, and with incredible boldness so laid about them, that they put the *Arcadians* to flight, and though they could not keep the place, yet with great honour retreated to their City, having never been at all accounted of for valour. This *Olympiad*, because the *Pileans* managed it by force, was not registered in the *Annals* of the *Eleans*, neither is certain who overcame in the course, *Phocides* the *Athenian* being named by *Diodorus*, but *Eubotus* the *Cyrenæan* by *Pausanias*, in the second of his *Eliacs*.

The Pileans put in possession of Olympia are slain upon by the Elans at the time of the solemnities.

54. At this time *Epaminondas* labouring all manner of ways to get the Sovereignty of Greece for his Country-men; perwaded them as a means hereto first to obtain the Dominion of the Seas. He shewed it was an easie thing for those who were strongest at land, to obtain by instancing in the *Lacedæmonians*, who though in the War with *Xerxes* they furnished out but ten ships for two hundred of the *Athenians*, yet for their power on land were obeyed by them. By this, and other arguments, he got them to ordain that one hundred Gallies should be provided, and that the *Rhodians*, *Chians*, and *Byzantians* should be invited to joyn with them in these preparations. He himself going with a little Force to these Cities, induced them to side with the *Thebans*, and so terrified *Laches* the *Athenian*, who in deavoured to cross his design, that though he commanded a strong Fleet, yet did he quit these parts. During his absence, some of the *Theban* Exiles having a great desire to change the Government into an *Aristocracy*, drew into their plot three hundred horse-men of the *Orchomenians*, who when they were about to execute their design, it was revealed by some principal contrivers to the *Boeotarche*. The *Thebans* had conceived a grudge against the *Orchomenians* of a very long date, ever since that City having paid Tribute to them formerly, was exempted from it by *Hercules*. Having now then an opportunity to vent their malice, they first put to death the three hundred horse-men, then taking the Town, they put to the sword all the men, sold the Woman and Children, and so utterly destroyed *Orchomenus*. This cruelty was utterly detested by *Epaminondas*, who said, if he had been

Epaminondas perwaded the Rhodians to look after Sea matters.

The Thebans destroy Orchomenus.

been present, he would have in no case suffered such wickedness to be committed by the *Thebans*.

55. The *Arcadians* having the *Olympian* Temple in their power, the Magistrates converted the money thereof to the paying of their *Epariti*, being the strength of their Army. This the *Mantineans* first protested against as Sacrilege, and sent the money which was due from them for the payment of the Soldiers, which being taken as an affront from the other, they called the *Mantinean* Magistrates before the Council of the ten thousand, who refusing to appear, they went to fetch them by force, but being repulsed, at length others in the Council appeared for them, being of their opinion, that the money was not to be touched, which would brand them for ever with a note of infamy. This was decreed by the Council, which the great ones seeing, and apprehending in what danger they were, sent to the *Thebans* to tell them, that except they would come in time *Arcadia* would wholly revolt to the *Lacedæmonians*. The most sober men amongst the *Arcadians* hereupon perwaded the Council to send to the *Thebans*, to protest against the coming down of their Army un-sent for; and by restoring to the *Eleans* the Temple, to make peace with them. All took the oath of the League, and amongst the rest the Governour of *Tegea*, who lay in Garrison with three hundred *Thebans*; but the great ones who feared to be called to account for the money, prevailed with him to lay hold upon the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadians*, who at *Tegea* were making merry for the peace. But the *Mantineans* making demand of their Citizens, promising if they had done amiss they should appear before the Council, the *Theban* General was at a stand, knowing not what to do, and at length dismissed the prisoners, purging himself by saying, he heard the *Lacedæmonians* were about to invade *Arcadia*, and that some of the *Arcadians* had designed to betray *Tegea* into their hands.

Sins betwixt the Arcadians and Mantineans.

56. Though they believed him not, as knowing the contrary, yet they dismissed him, but sent to *Thebes* to accuse him as worthy of death, for attempting a matter so contrary to the good understanding betwixt the States. But *Epaminondas* excused him, laying the blame upon the *Arcadians*, who having drawn the *Thebans* into the War, would offer to make peace without their consent, and thereby were guilty of Treachery: and he plainly declared, that the *Thebans* would march into *Arcadia*, and there assist their Friends. The *Mantineans* and others understanding this, sent to *Athens* and *Sparta* to desire aid, laying open the design of the *Thebans* plainly to be this: To weaken *Peloponnesus*, and bring it all into subjection to themselves. They jealous of this, entered into a League with them, wherein it was provided, that each State should have the command over the Army in their own dominions. Whilst this was a doing, *Epaminondas* marched from *Thebes*, leading with him, besides the *Boeotians*, some *Thessalian* Horse, and Soldiers out of *Eubœa*. When he came to *Nemea* there he staid a little, having a great desire to meet with the *Athenians*; but understanding that they passed by Sea into *Peloponnesus*, he arose and moved towards *Tegea*. Having notice in his way that *Agellæus* with the whole power of *Lacedæmon* was come into *Arcadia*, and that the City must needs thereupon be desolate; he marched in all haste thither, and had become absolute Master of it, but that by meer divine Providence (as *Xenophon* himself acknowledgeth) a certain *Græcian* gave notice of his intention to *Agellæus*, who sent word in all haste to *Sparta*, willing them to stand upon their guard, with promise to be with them as speedily as possible.

Epaminondas again invades Peloponnesus.

See upon Sparta and returneth to Mantinea.

His Horse put to flight.

Agellæus and Polybius.

57. *Archidamus* his son being there left, set the old men and boys upon the Houses to annoy the *Thebans* with stones, and disposed so of those that were fit to fight, in the several places of the City, that though *Epaminondas* had continued his march all night, yet found he that his design was betrayed, and such was the opposition he found, that although he chose the steepest descent into the Town, to have the upper ground, yet was he repelled, the *Lacedæmonians* losing the most in their too long pursuits. Then understanding the *Lacedæmonian* and *Arcadian* Forces to be all coming to relieve *Sparta*, he thought it not wisdom to hazard a battle with them all; but judging that *Mantineans* would be left naked, and at this time of the year the Inhabitants would be much abroad in the fields about their Corn and their Cattel at pasture, he thought it fit to try if he could surprise them all, and sent before the Horse for that purpose. At this time it happened well for the *Mantineans*, that six thousand *Athenians* under the command of *Hagelochus* were come through the *Isthmus* into the City, who upon their desire, notwithstanding they should have to do with such Horse as exceeded theirs

Sect. 4.

This case how
it flood in re-
ference to his
reign or stay.

theirs in number, and the best esteemed of in all Greece, resolved to do their utmost in their behalf. In the engagement they had the better of it, and thereby preserved all that the *Mantineans* had without their walls. *Epaminondas* after this thinking with himself that he must be gone within a few days, the term of his commission being almost expired, was full of various thoughts. If he should leave those, for the aid of whom he was sent, to be besieged by the Enemy, he saw he should lose the honour he formerly had obtained, especially seeing he had been repulsed at *Sparta* by so small a number, and now also had miscarried at *Mantineæ*: and he considered that by this Expedition of which himself was author, he had given occasion to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Acheans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, to enter into a straight League of offence and defence. From these reasons he concluded he could not in honour depart without a battle, in which if he overcame, he should make amends for all, and if he should die, such a death could not but be glorious, which should be undergone in an endeavour to make his Country Mistress of *Peloponnesus*.

58. Ere long the Armies of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Mantineans* appeared, confisting with their allies, of twenty thousand Foot, and about two thousand Horse. To the *Boeotians* were assistants the *Tegæans*, and such other *Arcadians* as were most powerful and wealthy, the *Argives*, *Eubœans*, the *Thessalian* Horse which the *Thebans* brought, the *Messenians*, *Sicyonians*, and other *Peloponnesians*; the number of all which amounted to thirty thousand Foot, and little fewer than three thousand Horse. This is much admired by *Xenophon*, that *Epaminondas* should so discipline his Soldiers, that neither night nor day they should shun any labour, refuse to undergo any danger, to be contented with any kind of provision, and very ready to obey all orders. When he had ranged his men in order of battle, he led them not straight on against the Enemy, but fetching a compass towards the Mountains of *Tegææ*, and made as though he would there pitch his Tents. This rendered the Enemy secure, which he well understanding, formed his Battalia like a wedge, thereby to break them sooner, and led with speed against them, who now were all to seek, and in a confusion, some hasting to bridle their Horses, others to buckle on their harness, and all in a condition rather to suffer than act any thing. And left the *Athenians* should relieve their Companions from the left wing, he placed a Party of Horse and Foot in the hills to keep them in awe, by being continually ready to fall upon their rear.

The battle at
Mantineæ
wherein Epami-
ondas was
mortally
wounded.

59. His expectation was not crossed, for on what part he fell he carried all before him, the Enemy not daring to stand; but rushing more violently amongst them, the *Lacedæmonians* taking notice of him, flocked to him, and laid at him again with Darts, some of which declining, and fencing himself from others, those that stuck in his body he took thence and retorted. Whilst he heroically thus contended for the Victory, he received a wound from one *Anticletes* a *Spartan*, who gave him so mortal a stroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the iron and a piece of the troncion in his breast. By the vehemency of the wound he sank down, and then ensued a most bitter contest about him: but the *Thebans* inflamed with wrathful indignation at this sad mischance, with great slaughter compelled their Enemies to give back; but knew not how to improve the Victory. For neither Foot nor Horse pursued them flying, but continued still in the same place, and at length went off carelessly, inasmuch that many of the Foot came into the hands of the *Athenians*. Which so falling out, another thing hapned than men generally had expected. For almost all Greece being here gathered together, one State against another, in two factions, every one supposed, that when they should once come to fight, they that overcame would obtain the Dominion over the rest who should be forced to submit to their yoke: But God so poised the affairs, saith *Xenophon*, that both sides, as if they had overcome, erected a Trophy, not being hindered by each other. Both sides also as Conquerours gave up the slain, and as Conquered received their dead by composition. And whereas both sides said they had the better of it, neither obtained thereby either Country, City, or Dominion, other than they before enjoyed; but a greater disturbance thereupon followed in Greece. So much for these matters saith our Author; as for what is behind, perhaps some other will take care to commit them to writing, and so he endeth his History with this battle; though he lived almost three years after it, as we have it from *Laertius*. *Anaximenes* also of *Lampacæ*, who began his History with the beginning of the gods and mankind (and therein in twelve Books almost comprehended all the affairs of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*),

Whereas with
it endeth his
History.
As also *Asci-
nus* and
Philistinus.

Sect. 4.

Vide Diodorus
de Sylla.
Justin lib. 6.

Valerius Max.
lib. 3. cap. 2.
ext. exemp. 5.

Asian. cons. hist.
lib. 5. cap. 3.

Pausan. in
Arcadia.

Cicero. Epist.
lib. 5. cap. 12.

Barbarians,) finisheth it with the Battle at *Mantineæ*, and the death of *Epaminondas*. So did *Philistus* his History which he wrote of *Dionysius* the younger in two Books.

60. *Epaminondas* being carried alive into his Tent, the Physicians affirmed that as soon as the Dart should be drawn out of his body he would die. He then called for *Diaphantus* to declare him General of the Army; but it being answered he was slain, he bade them fend for *Iolaidas*, but it being answered that he was dead also, he advised the *Thebans* to make peace, whilst with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the Office of a General. Understanding of his approaching end, he inquired of his Armour-bearer if his Shield was safe, (which to have lost was a great dishonour) It being answered it was, he asked which side had the Victory; answer being made the *Boeotians*, then said he, *It's time for me to die*, and comforting his friends who mourned that he should die childless with this answer, that he left behind him two daughters, the eldest of *Leuttra* and *Mantineæ*, which should propagate his fame to all posterity he thereupon caused the Dart to be drawn out, and so expired. This was the end of the worthiest Soldier that ever Greece brought forth, and hardly to be paralleld in any other Country, all the Virtues which in others were but singular having concentrated and united themselves in him. In strength both of body and mind; in Eloquence, Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Magnanimity, and Sincerity, he excelled all men, and so far in Military skill, the art of a General, and in valour, that he could not adequately be called a Valiant, Politick, Wary, Bountiful, Industrious, or Prudent Captain; all these Titles and many more being due unto him. His modesty was incredible, shewing it self especially in this, that after the Victory of *Leuttra*, and many other rare achievements, he refused not to go in the Expedition into *Thessaly*, in quality of a private Soldier. He was grave, yet affable and courteous, as a means to all those virtues, having great insight into all parts of Philosophy and Learning, being therein instructed by *Lycis* the *Tarentine*, a *Pythagorean*. But * enough will be said in his commendation, if this be added, that the City *Thebes* before the birth and after the death of *Epaminondas* was ever subject to the command of others; but as long as he had to do in the management of the affairs thereof, was the head of all Greece, from which may be gathered, that this man was of more consequence than the whole City.

Epaminondas
his character.

61. For with *Epaminondas* all the strength of the *Theban* Commonwealth was extinct, as if he had not only died, but all the rest of the Citizens with him, who as before him they did nothing memorable, so now after were famous for nothing but their overthrows and disasters. After this battle of *Mantineæ*, all the *Græcians* being tired out with War, entered into a League offensive and defensive together, out of which *Agellus* would have excluded the *Messenians*. But *Artaxerxes* stood for them, as having Territories as large and fruitful as the *Laconians*, whereupon the *Lacedæmonians* burning with an implacable grudge against them, would not subscribe, and alone by themselves refused to be comprehended in the League, hoping still to recover *Messenia*. This reflected something upon *Agellus*, who out of an insatiable thirst after War, had by his utmost endeavour hindered the union of Greece, and the burying of publick quarrels. And he seemed to increase the infamy, by undertaking an Expedition shortly after to *Aegypt*, though it was by his service in his decrepit old age, to get some money for the supply of the now very poor and exhausted State. For it appeared a thing unlearnly, for the best man in Greece, and one who had filled the world with his fame, to go serve a mean man, and a Traytor, and venture his life, credit and all, for a little gain, when because of his old age, he had refused the Office of General at home, and in his own Country, though for the liberty of Greece. But he thought nothing too much wherein he might serve the Commonwealth, and in this respect undervalued his own honour, and having served in *Aegypt* in a condition far unworthy of him, after he had received two hundred and thirty talents of Silver as a reward from *Neitanebus*, died in his return, when he had lived eighty four and reigned forty one years. A most excellent Captain, in whom Nature inwardly made amends for that wherein outwardly he had been deficient, most ambitious of glory, and yet of exceeding great humility, which he shewed in his house, and in his constant conversation. Though his justice was overruled by his passion in the business of the *Theban* War, yet generally he left it most sacred, and as a punishment

Justin.

Diodorus.

Corn. Nepos.
Plutarch in
Agellus.

Agellus his
mind.

His death.

Sect. 4.

for his default therein, that great Glory whereby he even reigned over Greece till then, was afterwards (together with the splendor of the Lacedæmonian greatness) much eclipsed by the rising Fortune of Epaminondas.

62. *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, and *Agæslaus* of *Sparta*, died both in the same year, and the next after the death of *Epaminondas*. And the same year the Peace of Greece was again broken by some *Acadians*, who having been translated out of the neighbouring places into *Megalopolis*, took occasion at some words of the League (which gave leave to all to return home) to quit the City and return to their old Habitations. The other *Megalopolitans* endeavoured to reduce them by force, and thence infused a great controversy, they calling in to their help the *Mantineans* and the rest all of the *Acadians* and *Eleans*. The *Megalopolitans* that sent to the *Athenians* for aid, who sent them three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, under the command of *Pammenes*. He with this Force took some of the Towns, and terrified others into composition, and so reduced them all to *Megalopolis*. The Year following *Alexander* the *Phærean* Tyrant subdued several of the *Cyclades* and took thence abundance of Captives. The *Athenian* Garrison commanded by *Leosthenes* opposed him in *Peparethus*, whereupon he attacked the *Athenian* Gallies, and took them, together with one belonging to *Peparethus*, and six hundred Prisoners. The *Athenians* enraged hereat, condemned *Leosthenes*, and sent *Chares* with a Fleet into those parts, who spending his time in scaring the Enemies, but oppressing the Confederates, thereby contracted an ill name. For going to *Coreyra* he there caused such a Sedition, as could not be ended but in the ruin of many, and committed other things which much tended to the disgrace of those that sent him. With this Year *Diodorus* concludeth his fifteenth Book, having, according to his promise, related such things as hapned before the Reign of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, and such, as together with other affairs of the *Greeks* related by others, shew that peace, security, and order, were things little akin to Antimonarchical Government.

Learned Men during this period.

Hippocrates.

63. Of Learned Men Contemporary with this Period, in the first place is to be remembered *Hippocrates* native of the Island *Cos*, Prince of all Physicians. He was the Son of *Heraclides* and *Phenarete*, the twentieth in descent from *Hercules*, and the nineteenth from *Æsculapius*. Some have written that he was born in the first Year of the eightieth Olympiad. But a certain passage mentioned in his life of his curing *Perdiccas* of an *Erotick* Fever, argueth him at this time to have been famous. This *Perdiccas* King of *Macedonia* (who having reigned twenty eight Years according to *Enschinus*, or according to others fifty three, died about the third of the ninety third Olympiad) fell in love with *Phila* his Father *Alexander's* Concubine, but Modesty forced him to conceal his Grief, till he fell into a Consumption and languished. *Hippocrates* by the motion of his Eyes found out the cause of the Distemper, and told *Phila* it was in her power to save the King's life, whereupon he was willing though with the impairment of her own credit to redeem it. The like Story is told of *Erasistratus* the Physician, who discovered that *Antiochus* the Son of *Selenus* was in love with his Fathers Concubine, which *Galen** mentioneth, adding that he had made the same discovery in a certain Woman.

64. *Hippocrates* grew so famous in his Art, that *Artaxerxes Longimanus* hearing of him, sent for him, with large offers to come and cure his Army, then seized on by the Plague. But he said it was not fit for him to touch any *Persian* Gold, or cure the *Barbarians* who were Enemies to the *Greeks*. The Letters of intercourse betwixt the *Persians* and him, are amongst others yet extant. Having lived as some said eighty five Years, but as others ninety, or one hundred and four, or one hundred and nine, he died amongst the *Larissæans*, in the first of the ninety fourth Olympiad. He left two Sons, *Theſsalus* and *Draco*; but the Fruit of his Brain hath been far more effectual for the propagating of his name to all posterity, wherein he hath not only been a benefactor to the mystery of Medicine by his writings, but also by his religious care of the Integrity of those who should profess it. For he framed an Oath to be taken by all that entered into his School, which for his honour, and the shame of those who have more reason to be convinced of their Duty, together with the information of the ignorant, it is convenient to exemplify.

His Oath.

65. I swear by *Apollo* the Physician, and *Æsculapius*, and *Hygia*; and call all the Gods and Goddesses to witness, that to the utmost of my strength and judgment I shall observe what now I swear and covenant by writing. Namely that I will esteem as my Parents my Master who taught me this Art, and thankfully communicate to, and supply him with all things necessary both for sustenance and convenience, as also

Diodorus ad Olym. 104. c. 3.

Sextus.

Lib. mel. 18. m. 1. v. 1. 1. 1.

Sect. 4.

account of his Issue at mine own breshren, and if they desire to learn the Art, teach them without any Wages or Contract. That I will communicate the Precepts, and what I have heard, and the whole discipline to mine own Children, to his who taught me, and my Scholars who have given their Names and Faith in this Oath, and none else whatsoever. That I shall also to my utmost Power and Judgment prescribe an wholesome course to the Sick, and defend them from all harm and Injury. Neither through the procurement of any will I give, or cause to be given, any deadly Medicament. Neither in like manner will I procure any Woman to miscarry of her burthen; but preserve my Life and Age always chaste and pure from all Wickedness. Neither will I cut any of the Stone, but leave this Work to be done by those Chirurgians who are skilful in it. If I come into any House I will do it for the Health of the Sick, banishing all suspicion of injury, or Corruption, especially as to the sibblings of Women both towards Women and Men, free Persons and Slaves. Whatsoever things I shall see or hear, either in administering Physick or otherwise in common intercourse, which I think ought not to be told abroad, I will conceal them. Now if I shall religiously observe this Oath, and in no case break it, let me live in great esteem always an happy Life amongst all Men, and reap ample Fruit from mine Art. But if I break it and forswear myself, may the contrary happen to me. Much skill in Physick therefore corrupteth not the conversation; for though a little Philology may occasion Atheism, yet a great deal is an Antidote against it, not suffering a man to rest in second causes; but discovering a necessity of looking higher. But more concerning this, as also to the praise of this excellent person, may be said in a particular account of the original, cause, professors, succession, progress and matter of the art of Medicine.

66. Besides *Hippocrates*, there lived at this time (a) *Democritus* of *Adera* the Philosopher, who died in the same Year, and was well known to him, having always laughed at the folly of men. Four Years after, (b) *Socrates* the *Athenian*, the Father of *Ethicks*, was made drink Poyson for speaking against plurality of Gods and the Superstition of his Country-men; *Anaxus* having first procured *Aristophanes* the Poet, and then *Melitus* to accuse him. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of what they had done, in way of mourning forbade all publick Exercises, and then animadverting upon his accusers, condemned *Melitus* to death, and the rest to Exile. (c) *Plato* at this time being twenty eight years old, and having heard *Socrates* eight Years, went to *Megara* to learn the Mathematics of *Euclid*, who now also flourished. The Year after, (d) *Sophocles* died; six years after, *Euripides* the Prince of Tragick Poets. At this time also flourished (e) *Ctesias* the Physician often mentioned before, who concluded his History in the third year of the ninety sixth Olympiad, (f) *Aristotle* Father of *Peripatetick* Philosophy was born at *Stagira* a City of *Macedonia*, in the first year of the ninety ninth Olympiad. In the third year after, (g) *Demosthenes* the famous Orator. (h) *Eudoxus* of *Cnidus*, a famous Astrologer and Geometrician, flourished about the one hundred and third Olympiad, who (i) found out the supposed motion of the Stars from West to East, unknown to the *Greeks* in the time of *Democritus*. *Zeno* the *Citician*, Father of the *Stoicks*, was born in the third year of the one hundred and fourth Olympiad. And we must not forget *Thucydides*, nor *Xenophon* the Scholar of *Socrates*, and equal to *Plato*, with whom he exercised some emulation. He was a great Philosopher; the greatest master of eloquence in his time, inasmuch that for the sweetness of his stile he got the name of *Attick Muse*; and so great a Soldier, that his retreat with the *Greeks* out of *Persia* after the death of *Cyrus*, to one who duly weigheth all circumstances, will appear to have surpassed the exploits of *Alexander* the Great.

(a) *Anaxymas*.

(b) *Diodorus*, *Larissæus*.

(c) *Lantius*.

(d) *Suidas*.

(e) *Diodorus*, *Larissæus*.

(f) *Anonyman*.

(g) *Larissæus*.

(h) *Suidas*, *quæst. l. 7. c. 3.*

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

From the beginning of the Reign of Philip King of Macedonia, to the Monarchy of Alexander his Son.

Containing the space of thirtyone Years.

1. **M**acedonia having been formerly called *Emathonia* from *Emathon* a certain King, and afterwards *Macedonia* from *Macedon* the Son of *Offris*, or as others say of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, was bounded on the North and Northwest by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*, on the South and Southwest by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and on the East with the *Ægean* Sea.

2. The people were first called *Pelasgi*, faith *Fustin*, and the Country *Boætia*. In *Pæonia*, which afterwards became part of *Macedonia*, *Telegonus* reigned, the father of *Abriopæus* an eminent Warrior and friend to *Priamus* in the siege of *Troy*. On another side *Eurypus* reigned. But *Caranus* an *Argive*, the sixteenth in descent from *Hercules*, some five years after the fall of *Sardanapalus*, by the command of an Oracle led a Colony into these parts, and having killed himself by force reigned twenty eight years. *Cæmus* succeeded him and reigned twelve, then *Tyrinus* twenty eight. *Perdiccas* a Prince much renowned fifty one, after him *Argæus* twenty eight, *Philip* the first as many, *Eurypus* twenty six, in whose infancy the *Illyrians* invading his Kingdom, his subjects carried him in his Cradle into the field, thinking he being present could not but be victorious, or that his people durst not forsake him, who was unable to defend himself. *Alcetas* after him reigned twenty nine years, *Amynas* the first fifty years, to whom *Darius Hyllaspis* sent for earth and water as tokens of subjection. *Alexander* his son who slew the Ambassadors sent to his father, reigned forty three years, and by marrying his sister *Gygæa* to *Bubares* the *Persian*, grew into such grace with *Xerxes*, that he obtained all the Region between *Olympus* and *Hermus* to be united to his Kingdom, and yet during the War held secret intelligence with the *Græcians*, discovering to them all his intents and purposes. He left three Sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*, the eldest of which succeeded him, whose story is sometimes by pieces related by *Thucydides*. *Perdiccas* left behind him *Perdiccas* and *Archelaus* his base son. *Perdiccas* was drowned in a Well by *Archelaus* his Guardian at seven years of age, the murderer to excuse himself alledging to his mother that he fell in by chance as he hastily followed a Goose that way.

3. *Archelaus* having dispatched his brother out of the way, did the same by *Alcetas* his Uncle, and *Alexander* his Cousin, son to *Alcetas*; and yet though he came in this way, is said to have done many things to the advantage of the Nation, which is usual with Usurpers. He fought by all means to draw *Socrates* to him, and greatly loved and honoured *Euripides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*, *Archelaus* succeeded him, and reigned seven years, some confounding father and son together, and making this, who reigned but seven years, to have succeeded *Perdiccas*. *Archelaus* at the end of seven years was slain in hunting, either by chance or on purpose by *Craterus*, called by *Ælian* an *Crætean*, who relateth the cause to have been for that having married his daughter to him, he took her away and gave her to another. *Craterus* had enjoyed the Kingdom scarce two or three days when he was also slain by others. *Orestes* then a Child succeeded, who was served by his Guardian as his father had served his Pupil, being killed by *Æropus* one of the blood Royal, who held the Kingdom six years: the same who at first denied passage to *Ægeus* when he returned out of *Asia*. He left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* when

when he had reigned one year was slain by *Perdiccas* the son of *Tharcleus* or of *Philip*, who being son of *Perdiccas*, and Grand-son to *Alexander* the Rich, was preferred when *Archelaus* the Baldard slew his brother *Perdiccas*, his Uncle *Arctæus*, and *Alexander* his Cousin German.

4. (a) *Amynas* was by the *Illyrians* driven out of his Kingdom, but restored by the *Thessalians*, held it (though very unquietly) twenty four years. Some wrote how after his expulsion *Argæus* obtained the Kingdom for two years, till again he recovered it. (b) When he was overcome by the *Illyrians*, having little hope to recover his Kingdom, he gave the *Olynthians* a great part of the grounds adjacent; but after his restitution required it again. They refused to restore what was freely given them. He hereupon gathered an Army, and sent to the *Lacedæmonians* for aid, who sent *Phebidæ* to him with ten thousand men at such time as he surprised *Cadmeæ*, the Citadel of *Thebes*, having sent before his brother, but the *Olynthians* had taken much of his Kingdom, and made themselves Masters of *Pella* the Metropolis of *Macedon*. He had issue by his wife *Eurydice*, three sons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; besides one daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had also by his second wife *Gygæa* three sons, *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Memæus*, afterwards slain by their brother *Philip*. *Alexander* reigned not much above one year, in which time he was invaded by *Pausanias* the son of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, who declared his fidelity in this as well as other things, towards the Children of *Amynas*, that *Eurydice* flying to him with her two Children, *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, he defended, and sustained her. Against him *Ptolemy Morites* made War, and both called *Pelopidas* the *Theban* to judge between them, who having decided the controversy (as *Plutarch* faith) took *Philip* the Kings brother, and thirty other of the sons of the chief Nobility, as Hostages to *Thebes*. But within a year after *Ptolemy* murdered him, not being his base brother as some suppose, faith *Scaliger*. *Fustin* telleth us he was slain at the procurement of his mother *Eurydice*, who having agreed to marry her son-in-law (which must be this *Ptolemy Morites*, and thence cometh he to be called the brother of *Alexander*) Consulted in her husbands life time how she might kill him, and transfer the Kingdom to the Adulterer, which being betrayed by their daughter, *Amynas* for his Childrens sake would not use any leverity towards her, little thinking she would really accomplish her wicked design upon any of them at length.

5. *Ptolemy Morites* held the Kingdom of *Macedonia* for three years, and then was slain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*, who succeeded him and reigned five. He was then slain in battle against the *Illyrians* according to *Diodorus*; but *Fustin* faith he perished by the wicked practices of his mother, as *Alexander* did. *Perdiccas* left behind him a young son, of whom *Philip* his brother was constituted Guardian in the second year of *Ochus* King of *Persia*, in the first year of the one hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, *Callimedes* being *Archon*. *Plutarch* maketh *Philip* to have been carried as an Hostage to *Thebes* by *Pelopidas*. *Diodorus* writeth that his father gave him as an Hostage to the *Illyrians*, and that they committed him to the *Thebans* to be kept, who delivered him to the custody of *Polymnis* the father of *Epaminondas*, with whom he was brought up, though *Plutarch* faith he lived with *Pammenes*, and thence became an emulator of *Epaminondas*. *Fustin* faith he was twice given as an Hostage by his brother; once to the *Illyrians*, and another time to the *Thebans*, which mightily conduced to his education; for being three years at *Thebes*, he laid the foundation thereof in a City full of ancient levery, and in the house of *Epaminondas* a great Scholar and General. If he there continued but three years, he seemeth to have returned home at the beginning of the reign of his brother *Perdiccas*, but *Diodorus* faith, it was after his death that he made an escape from *Thebes*. At first, as it seemeth from *Fustin*, he bore but the Office of a Tutor, or Guardian to his Nephew; but afterwards great Wars hapning, in which the expectation of the Child could nothing avail, he was constrained to take upon him the Dignity of King by the people.

6. For the *Macedonians* having lately received an overthrow from the *Illyrians*, were much dejected thereat. The *Pæones* their neighbours made incursions, and the *Illyrians* prepared for another terrible invasion. The King of *Thrace* was minded to set up *Pausanias*, and the *Athenians* *Argæus* (both sons of the late Usurper *Æropus*) having sent *Mantias* with three thousand men, and a fleet readily furnished for that purpose. But *Philip* seeming nothing to be discouraged at these things, by his good language wherein (he was very able) and his

courteous

Sect. 5.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 56.
ann. 3.

(2) Idem ad
ann. 4.
(3) Ad Olymp.
59. ann. 2.
Xenoph.

Diod. ad Olymp.
103. ann. 4.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 105.
ann. 1.
Ælian. 364-5.
Olymp. 105.
ann. 1.
P. C. 394.
Orib. 2.

Amynas.

Alexander.

Ptolemy Morites.

Philip educated
by Thebes.

First Guardian
of his Nephew.

Then King.

Fustin in Cræ-
tia. Fustin. 1.
Pellius lib. 1.
Solinus cap. 15.

Ælian. Pel-
tic lib. 5.

Plut. Ralium
lib. 4. cap. 1.

P. C. 394.
Orib. 2.

Sect. 5.

He Conquer-
ed all Cities.

courteous deportment, bare up the Spirits of his People. He amended military Discipline, and instituted the Macedonian Phalange. Understanding the Athenians to have a great desire to recover *Amphipolis*, and to have *Argæus* established King, he left that City to its own Liberty. The *Peonians* and the King of *Thrace* he bought off with money, and overthrew *Argæus* at *Methone* assisted by *Manti-* as the *Athenian*, by which Victory he mightily encouraged his men.

7. The year after he made Peace with the *Athenians*, who readily accepted of it, because he was content to quit *Amphipolis*, giving him great commendations also for his clemency, in that he had suffered the Remainers of their Army at *Methone* to depart with their Lives and Liberty into *Attica* when he had them at his mercy. Being thus freed from the *Athenian* War, hearing that *Agis* King of the *Peonians* was dead, he invaded, and brought them into Subjection to himself. Then entered he the Country of the *Illyrians* with about ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, whose King *Bardylis* sent to treat with him, offering that each should retain such places as they already held; but he returned answer, that though he was also desirous of Peace, yet would he admit of no terms, except the *Illyrians* would quit all the Cities which belonged to his Kingdom. *Bardylis* then met him with a strong Army, and a great and bloody Battle was with great animosity on both sides fought, wherein at length *Philip* had the Victory, and the *Illyrians* having lost above seven thousand men, were forced to relinquish all places belonging to *Macedonia*.

8. After he had brought under all the *Illyrians* as far as the Lake *Lychnitis*, and made an honourable Peace with them, he returned into *Macedonia* with great Fame. The year after, for that the Inhabitants of *Amphipolis* had several ways provoked him, and ministered occasion of Quarrels, he went against them with a great Force, and having cast down the Wall with his battering Rams, entered the City, whence banishing all his Enemies he granted indemnity to the rest. This place being very conveniently fitted for his occasions in *Thrace*, much conducted to the progress of his affairs. For hereupon he presently took *Pydna*, and to ingratiate himself with the *Olynthians* (the friendship of whom was very necessary for such as would grow great) having taken *Potidea*, he gave up *Pydna* with the Grounds belonging to it into their hands. Then going to *Crenida*, he enlarged this Town with an accession of new Inhabitants, and called it after himself *Philippi*. Here were rich Mines of Gold, which having been formerly neglected he now so far advanced as to bring him in yearly a Revenue of one thousand Talents, which mightily tended to the advancement of his Affairs, and the Majesty of his Kingdom, for now stamped he that piece of Golden Coin, called the *Philippick*, raised great Forces, and afterwards with Bribes drew many *Græcians* to betray their Country. But he proceeded in his Affairs with more confidence and freedom, for that now the *Athenians* were busied in the Social War begun this year, and thereupon could not take such care as was necessary, for the preservation of *Amphipolis*.

9. The Social War, which continued three years, had its original from the revolt of the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantians*, from the State of *Athens*. The *Athenians* sent against them two Generals, *Chares* and *Chabrias*, who when they came to *Chios*, found there Succors sent from other Cities; and from *Mausolus* the Prince of *Caria*. They fell upon the City; *Chares* by Land, and *Chabrias* by Sea, but the later whilst too boldly he ventured by himself into the Haven, was slain, and then the rest retreated without any thing done. One * in his Life telleth us, that in this Expedition he was a private man, but excelling the Commanders in Military Skill and Fame, was more regarded by the Soldiers; which thing proved his destruction. For endeavouring first of all to enter the Haven, when he had broken in none followed him, so that being compassed with Enemies his Gally was sunk, out of which casting himself, he might easily, as the rest did, have swum to his Friends and escaped; but preferring an honourable death before an ignominious Life, fighting alone was slain, in all Fights having been daring, though otherwise he was accounted slow and heavy.

10. The year following, for any thing we understand, was spent altogether, or for the most part, in preparations on both sides to decide the controversy in a Sea fight. The *Athenians* having dispatched before under the Command of *Chares* a Fleet of sixty Ships, sent other sixty after, which they committed to the trust of *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus*, two of the most noble in the City, who were to join with *Chares*, and in equal Authority to manage the War. On the other part the Confederates with one hundred Gallies waisted the Islands *Imbros* and *Lemnos*, and coming

Credite changed into Philippi.

The Social War.

Diodorus at Olymp. 109. sec. 2.

* Cren. Neph.

Sect. 5.

In this Time: this & Philip's state.

coming into *Samus*, after they had harassed the Country, besieged the City both by Sea and Land, and making depredations upon many other Islands under the jurisdiction of *Athens*, got much money thereby. But the *Athenian* Generals uniting their Forces resolved to besiege *Byzantium*, which the Confederates understanding, raised the Siege at *Samus* to come and relieve it. They were about to join in Battle, when suddenly arose a mighty Tempest, which made *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* decline the Fight, but *Chares* would not acquiesce in their opinion, but went to *Athens* and accused them to the People, as wilfully having neglected a good opportunity of doing their Country Service, which so incensed the heady Multitude, that they condemned them in many Talents. *Corn. Nepos* relateth, that *Menestheus* the Son of *Iphicrates*, and Son-in-Law to *Timotheus*, was sent as General, and they two as his Advisers. That the action was about *Samus* whereas *Chares* miscarried, and whereupon he accused them to the People. That *Iphicrates* being quitted, *Timotheus* was fined ten Talents, which he being unable to pay departed to *Chelus*, where dying, the Multitude repented of their rash Judgment, and remitting nine parts of the Fine, caused his Son *Conon* to pay the other, towards repairing of the Wall. So that the Walls which *Conon* the Grandfather built with Spoils, *Conon* the Grand-son was forced to repair at his own cost and disgrace of his Family. This was the last Age of the famous *Athenian* Captains, which concluded with the lives of *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, those that followed being not at all worthy the reckoning.

11. *Chares* having got all the Power into his own Hands, assisted *Pharnabazus* the *Persian* Satrap, who had revolted from his Prince, and was so rewarded for his Service after the Victory, that he was enabled to pay his Army. This was very acceptable to the *Athenians* at first; but when the King had once sent to expostulate the matter with them, and a rumour was abroad that he intended with three hundred Ships to assist the Enemies in the Social War, they were far otherwise affected, inasmuch that they resolved to make Peace with the Revolters, which was easily done, they being no less desirous of it. *Philip* having the year before married *Olympias* the daughter of *Neoptolemus* late King of the *Molossians*, and Niece (not Sister as *Plutarch* hath it) to *Armbas* or *Arribas* the present, was much envied for his good success by the three Kings of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and *Peonians*. Since they had been overthrown and subdued by him, they had no strength severally to encourage them to a Revolt; yet joining their Forces together they were confident of good Success. But before they had completed their Army, and whilst they were as yet incompassed, he set upon them suddenly, and easily reduced them to obedience.

12. The same year being the first of the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, the sixth of *Artaxerxes Oihus*, *Elphinices* being *Arcon*, *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* and *Olympias* was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*, in the Attick month *Boedromion*, if that be true which *Aristobolus* relateth in *Arianus*, that being thirty two years and eight months old at his death, he died on the last day, but one, of the month *Thargelion*. If this be true, (and *Aristobolus*, if any, might have occasion to know it) then could it not be on the sixth day of the month *Hecatombæon*, as *Ochsi*, 6. *Plutarch* relateth, whose error (into which others also fell) arose from thence, because antiently the *Macedonian* month *Lous* fell in with the Attick *Hecatombæon*. The same Author telleth us in the life of *Alexander*, that *Philip* received at the same time three several messages: One, that the *Illyrians* had received a great overthrow from *Parmentio* his General: Another that he had got the Prize at *Olympia* with his swift-footed Horse: And the third concerning the Birth of *Alexander*; and this was a little after he had taken *Potidaea*. But *Potidaea* was taken two years before, as appeareth not only from *Diodorus*, but also from *Demosthenes*; and strange it is, that *Philip* should not know of his Sons Birth a good while before he could have intelligence of the *Olympian* Solemnities, concerning which Judgment was given on the sixteenth day of the month: So that the relation of *Trogus* is more true, that he received two messages at the same time: viz. one of his Victory over the *Illyrians*, and another of his Prize at *Olympia*. The same day that *Alexander* was born, was the (a) Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* set on fire by (b) one who desired by such an act to be rendered famous to all posterity, as he confessed upon the Rack. But the Council of *Asia* decreed that none should dare to name him; and for any thing we certainly know, his name is buried in Oblivion, or at least, there is uncertainty in it; for though *Theopompus* in his History recorded it, and some (c) tell us it was *Hierostatus*; yet by another he is called *Lygdamis*. (d) This being destroyed by this

In this Time: this & Philip's state.

Diodorus:

A. M. 3549. Ol. 106. an. 1. P. C. 348. as Ochsi, 6. Philippi 5.

Vide differant in Annot. Viet. Tychsen. p. 271.

Fulsius lib. 12. cap. 16. (a) Plutarch in Alexander. (b) Vid. Macrob. l. 6. c. 14. ext. (c) Vid. lib. 1. 2. c. 6. (d) Strabo l. 14. p. 640. Strabo cap. 40. (e) Strabo lib. 14. means

Bbb

Sect. 5.

means a more excellent Structure was raised, the women contributing their Ornaments, and the men their Goods; to this purpose money being also made of the old Pillars. *Timæus* as (e) one, or *Hegesias* the *Magnesian* as (f) another, said the reason of the burning to have been, because *Diana* that night being busied in Midwives work at the travel of *Olympias*, had no leisure to look to her Temple, which *Iest Plutarch* counteth so frigid, as to have been able to have quenched the Flame. Perhaps both conceits put together might have done it.

13. The year after wherein *Callistratus* was *Archon*, began the *Phocian* or *Sacred War* (as it was called) in *Greece*, which arose upon this occasion. The *Lacedæmonians* after their overthrow in the Battle of *Leutifra*, had been fined much money by the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, to the use of the *Thebans*, for seizing upon *Cadmea* their Citadel, which was exacted of them. The *Phocians* also having plowed up a great piece of the Ground belonging to the Temple at *Delphos* and called *Cyrreæa*, were also fined by the same Common-council of *Greece*, many Talents. This Decree being confirmed by all the *Gracians*, and about to be executed by seizing on their Grounds, *Philomelus* a man of principal note amongst them told them the Decree was unjust, and perwaded them by force to rescind it, for that they had advantage enough so to do, because the Oracle it self was once in their possession, and tuition, citing to that purpose two Verses out of the second Book of the *Iliads* of *Homer*. He perwaded them therefore to get it again into their Hands, promising, if they would give him power, to do it, and all other things for their profit and honour. They made him General, with full power according to his desire, who straight went to *Sparta*, where he pressed also the injustice of the *Amphyctiones* toward that State about their Fine, and shewing how it also concerned them to have the Sentence of the Council nulled, he perwaded *Archidamus* the King to join with him. He supplied him with money, wherewith raising Soldiers he invaded the Temple, and beating back the *Locrians* that came to oppose him, with great Slaughter, pulled the Decrees of the Council from the Pillars, and brake in pieces the Tables wherein were registred the Names of the condemned. He caused it to be told abroad, that he neither intended to rob the Temple, nor to have any other dishonest intention; but the *Beotians* not believing him, in their general Council decreed, that the Temple was to be recovered, and gave order for Levies for the same purpose. *Philomelus* in the mean time fortified the place, and made all possible provision for defence. He invaded the *Locrians*, who killing some of his men, refused to restore the Bodies, alleging the Law, that all sacrilegious persons ought to be cast out unburied: but he on purpose engaged with them in another Skirmish, and with some of theirs redeemed them formerly denied. Then forced he the Prophets to ascend the *Tripods* to give him advice concerning the War. She out of fear, told him he might do whatsoever he pleased.

14. The Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, and the Oracle at *Delphos*, one of the two chief Cities of *Phocia* (*Elatea* being reckoned with it) till made a Commonwealth of it self by the *Lacedæmonians*, was of ancient Original, as appeareth by the (a) Poets making *Agamemnon* before his Expedition to *Troy*, to have received answer from it. The place thereof was accounted the middle of all *Greece*, and also the navel of the whole World, a Fable being invented (related by *Pindar*) that two Eagles (some say Crows) being sent out, the one from the East, and the other from the West by *Jupiter*, met here. The (b) Original of the Oracle is to be fetched from Goats, which feeding about that Cave or Hole (where afterwards the Temple was built) were fawn to skip and utter Voices unusual to others and themselves at other times, which the Herdsman perceiving, went thither himself, and was affected in like manner, withal foretelling things to come. This being blazed abroad, and many who flocked thither experiencing the same thing themselves, it came to be judged an Oracle. For a time one gave answer to another indifferently; but many were transported with the fury, and leaping down into the Hole were utterly lost, so that it was judged best, to set apart one woman, who should attend constantly, and a certain Engine to be made, wherein standing safely over the place, she might give out the Oracle. This Engine having three feet, came thence to be called *Tripods*; the woman was named *Pythia*, from asking, faith *Strabo*, and the first of all others was called *Phemonoe*. Virgins at first were only designated to this work, till one of them being ravished by *Echecrates* the *Thessalian*, women of about fifty years, but in the habit of Virgins were only allowed of. The Temple in more ancient times

(f) Cicero, L. 2 de Divinat. 2.
2 de Natur. Dæmon.
(f) Plutarch.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 106.
an. 2.

A.M. 3610.
Ol. 106. an. 2.
P.C. 399.
Odis. 7.
Philippi, 6.

The Council of Amphyctiones decreeth War against the Phocians.

Philomelus slain.

Onomarchus succeedeth him.

was very famous for the Oracle; for the sitting of the *Amphyctiones*, the *Pythian Games*, and the riches thereof; but in the time of *Strabo* it was decayed in reputation, being nothing so much accounted of, which we may gather from its poverty, seeing by gifts it was not able to recover the wealth taken out of it in after times, as it did that which it enjoyed in the time of *Flomer*, having been rifled before it was recruited again by the present of *Cæsar*, his Father *Alyattes*, the *Iranians*, *Sicilians*, and others.

15. *Philomelus* sent to *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and the other eminent Cities of *Greece*, to excuse himself, professing he only intended the recovery of the Temple into the possession of his Country-men, and not with any desire or design to pillage the treasures, adding, that he should be always ready to account for the money or gifts belonging thereto. He desired that if any out of ill will to the *Phocians* bare Arms against them, that they would enter into a League with them, or at least to forbear all Hostility. The messengers effectually soliciting according to their instructions, brought the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to enter into society, and to promise aid; but the *Beotians*, with the *Locrians* and some others, thought the contrary, and resolved that the Temple was to be rescued. *Philomelus* seeing what kind of a brute he must undergo, laboured always to strengthen himself for which purpose abtaining yet from the Treasures of the Temple, he took a great summe of money from the Citizens of *Delphi*, wherewith he hired Soldiers. Having got together a considerable force, he took the field, and overthrew the *Locrians* who made head against him. They then sent their demand to be just, desirous to shew their Devotion, and conceiving it to concern them that the Decrees of the *Amphyctiones* should not be nulled, sent to the *Thessalians*, and the rest of the *Amphyctiones* to join with them in this War against the *Phocians*. The Council meeting together, then Decreed, that War was to be made upon them, which caused great motions and factions throughout all *Greece*.

16. Some thought Religion bound them to relieve the God, and punish the *Phocians* as sacrilegious persons; but others inclined to defend them, according to their particular interests. The *Beotians*, *Locrians*, *Perthebeans*, *Dorians*, *Dolopians*, *Athamians*, *Acheans*, they of *Phthiotis*, the *Megnetes*, *Ænians*, and some others were for rescuing the Temple. With the *Phocians* stood the *Athenians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and some others of *Peloponnesus*, whereof the *Lacedæmonians* were now more than before concerned, for not having paid their Fine imposed on them by the *Amphyctiones* within the time limited, at the last sitting they were Fined one thousand Talents more. This made them desire that the Decrees of the Council should be invalid, as well as the *Phocians*, and being unwilling to contract the Odium of making War in their own name upon that account, they were glad to do it as it were in the name of the other, endeavouring withal to get the Temple into their own hands. *Philomelus*, when there came certain intelligence that the *Thebans* would invade them with a strong Army, to furnish himself with mercenaries, seized upon the Treasury of the Temple: then offering half as much more wages as formerly, he had multitudes offered themselves to the service. With ten thousand he invaded the *Locrians*, who being allied with the *Beotians* opposed him, and having the worst of it, afterwards taking some of his men as they were gathering forage, put them to death as sacrilegious persons condemned by the *Amphyctiones*. This the *Phocians* complaining of, procured of their General, that to stop such proceedings for the time to come, he should punish such prisoners as he took in the same kind. After this the Armies removed into other parts of the Country, where engaging in Woody and difficult places of passage, the *Phocians* were overmatched by the number of their Enemies, and being put to flight, *Philomelus*, after he had omitted nothing worthy of a Captain, for fear he should come into the power of his Enemies, leaped down a Rock, and perished with the fall. With *Diodorus* consenteth (a) *Pausanias* as to the kind of his death, though (b) *Justin* writeth him to have been slain in the beginning of the fight.

17. *Onomarchus* his Colleague taking upon him the Office of General after his death, gathering up the reliques of the Army, therewith retreated home, and the *Beotians* rejoicing they had wrought the destruction of so infamous a man, returned into their own Country, hoping his hap would deter others from the like Enterprize. But the *Phocians* (being perwaded by *Onomarchus*, who himself had also been Fined by the *Amphyctiones*, and therefore for his own ends stirred them

(a) in Phocia.
(b) lib. 2.

Diodorus ad an. 4.

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up

Sect. 5.

up to continue the War) resolved to perfect if possible what was begun, and to that purpose created him General. He as his Predecessor had done, with large pay allured many unto him, corrupted the *Theffalians* to quit the society of the *Bæotians*, and invading the Territories of the Enemy took *Thronium*, forced the *Amphilians* to submit, and waited the grounds of the *Dorians*; he took *Orchomenus* in *Boeotia*; but besieging *Cheronea* was worsted by the *Thebans*, and forced to retreat. At this time the *Thebans*, though deserted by the *Theffalians*, sent over forces into *Asia* to *Artabazus*, who had revolted from the King, and now began to decline after *Chares* the *Athenian* had left him. The War was renewed betwixt the *Argives* and the *Lacedæmonians* who had the better in a battle fought at *Ormea*. *Chares* going into the *Hellepont* took *Sestus*, and *Kersobleptes* the son of *Cotys* King of the *Thracians*, bearing ill will to *Philip* of *Macedonia*, drew all the Cities of the *Cherronensis* to the party of the *Athenians*, except *Cardia*, into which the people were about to fend Colonies. *Philip* considering that the *Mathymneans* suffered his Enemies to use their City seated in *Magnesia* for a refuge, and as a place convenient for carrying on the War, besieged it. They held out against him for some time, and in the siege he lost one of his Eyes with a stroke of an Arrow; but at length they desired to be dismissed with one fure of Apparel apiece, and this being granted, he destroyed the City, and divided the grounds amongst the *Macedonians*.

Philip besieged *Mathymna*, a Town situate in *Magnesia*.

It is twice defeated by *Onomarchus*.

Who gareth *Cheronea*, but is again utterly defeated by *Philip*, and is hanged.

18. After this he was called into *Theffaly* by the Inhabitants against *Lycophron* Tyrant of the *Phereans*, who in like manner desired aid of the *Phocians*, *Phaylus* the brother of *Onomarchus* was sent to assist him with seven thousand men. Him *Philip* worsted, and expelled out of *Theffaly*. *Onomarchus* then, who had already attained the Dominion of all that Countrey in his mind, with all his strength marched to the aid of *Lycophron*, and overmarching *Philip*, and the *Theffalians*, in number of men, overthrew them twice with great slaughter, and sorely distressed *Philip*, inasmuch that hardly containing his Soldiers in obedience, he presently retreated into *Macedonia*. *Onomarchus* improving the credit this victory had got him, overthrew the *Bæotians*, and got *Cheronea*. *Philip* recruited himself, and returned into *Theffaly* against the Tyrant, who being straightwinded sent again to *Onomarchus*, promising if his affairs succeeded, to do his work in the Cities of *Theffaly*. *Onomarchus* with twenty thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse was ready at his call, but engaging in battle with *Philip*, and the *Theffalians*, was utterly defeated by the power and courage of the *Theffalian* Horse, and fled again with such as could get away towards the Sea. It hapned that *Chares* the *Athenian* hovering then about the Coasts with a fleet, saved many that took the Sea, and fswom to his ships. But of the *Phocians* and their assistants six thousand were slain, and as many taken, amongst whom was *Onomarchus*, whom *Philip* caused to be hanged, and the rest to be drowned in the Sea as sacrilegious persons. This battle hapned in the year wherein *Manfulus* the famous Prince of *Caria* died, and *Clearchus* the Tyrant of *Heraclæa* a City in *Pontus*, was slain, to whom succeeded his son *Timotheus*, and reigned fifteen years. *Clearchus* having obtained the Tyranny, and his designs prospering imitated in all things *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, and inflamed his fellow Citizens very magnificently twelve years.

Phaylus succeeded *Onomarchus*.

And death of a Confumption.

19. The year after, being the first of the one hundred and seventh Olympiad, wherein *Smierinus* of *Tarentum* was Victor, and *Aristodemus* Archon, *Phaylus* was made General in the room of *Onomarchus* his brother. He having plenty of money, therewith not only allured obscure men, but the principal Cities of Greece to join with him in the War. The *Lacedæmonians* sent him one thousand Foot, the *Acheans* two thousand, and the *Athenians* five thousand, besides four hundred Horse. *Lycophron* and *Pitholaus* the *Pherean* Tyrants, after the death of *Onomarchus* being destitute of succour, were forced to quit their power by *Philip* and gathering together two thousand men, lead them to the service of *Phaylus*. With such forces and those of his own he invaded *Bæotia*, but was worsted several times, first at *Orchomenus* where he lost many men, then at the River *Cephissus*, and again at *Cheronea*. After this he invaded the *Loerians*, called *Epicnemidii*, several of whose Towns he took, and received some loss from the *Bæotians*, who invading *Phocis* he came suddenly upon them and revenged himself. But having conflicted long with a Confumption, not long after in great pain, as his impyety (saith *Diodorus*) had deserved, he ended his life. He left for his Successor *Phalacchus* the son of *Onomarchus*, who being but young, he joynd as Counsellour to him, one *Maasas* his familiar friend. The *Bæotians* falling by night

Philip slain. lib. 16.

Diodorus ad Olymp. 107. ann. 1.

Sect. 5.

night upon them, slew two hundred of the *Phocians* with their Captain *Maasas*, and within a while in a fight at *Cheronea*, *Phalacchus* himself was also worsted, and many of his followers were slain. *Philip* of *Macedonia* having restored the *Theffalians* to liberty by taking away the yoke of the *Pherean* Tyrants (which bound them ever after very fast to him and his son) went towards the *Pile*, or *Streights*, to make War upon the *Phocians*; but the *Athenians* hindring his passage, thence he returned with great honour into his own Kingdom.

Stris betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and *Megapolitans*.

20. Whilst the things were doing, the *Lacedæmonians* being at Enmity with the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, sent *Archidamus* their King to invade them, who being too weak for them of themselves, desired aid of their friends. The *Argives*, *Sicyonians*, and *Messenians* helped them with their whole strength, and the *Thebans* sent them four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse. The *Lacedæmonians* had three thousand Foot from the *Phocians*, and one hundred and fifty Horse from *Lycophron* and *Pitholaus*, by the assistance of which forces they took *Ormea*, a City of *Argolis*, before their Enemies could come to relieve it. The *Thebans* afterwards coming down, a battle was fought with equal success, after which the *Argives* departed to their several homes, and the *Lacedæmonians* invading *Arcadia*, took and plundered *Elifus*, and returned unto *Sparta*. After some time the *Thebans* had the better of it at *Telphussa*, and after that in two battels more, wherein they killed many of their Enemies; but then again the *Lacedæmonians* by a notable victory recovered their credit, and the Armies returning home, a Truce was made betwixt them and the *Megapolitans*. This was done whilst *Phalacchus* in *Boeotia* took *Cheronea*, and presently lost it again to the *Thebans*, who then with a numerous Army entered, and wasted *Phocis*, and then having taken some inconsiderable places with much booty they returned into *Boeotia*.

Idem ad ann. 5.

21. The next year the *Thebans* being spent with the *Phocian* War, sent to *Ochus* the *Persian* King to desire a supply of money from him; who without any difficulty, or delay, bestowed on them three hundred Talents. No memorable thing passed betwixt the *Phocians* and them this year, which was spent in skirmishes and mutual depredation. Two years after (a) *Philip* cast out again *Pitholaus* the Tyrant, who had seized upon *Phera*, and setting upon the Cities of *Thrace* which belonged to *Chalcis*, took by storm the Castle *Zeira*, which he demolished, and forced other Towns to submit to his yoke, (b) though upon the desire of the *Chalcidians*, *Charidemus* had been sent from the *Athenians* to help them, then lying in the *Hellepont*. The (c) year following wherein was solemnized the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, whereof *Polyces* the *Cyrenæan* was Victor, having great designs in his mind, he hastened to get into his hands the Cities of the *Hellepont*, and without any strokes got *Micylerne* and *Torone* by treachery to be delivered up to him. Now he quarrelled with the *Olynthians* (because his affairs were improved by success) whom before he courted as fearing their power, which had been ever too much for his predecessors. 'Tis said he pretended a quarrel because they received his two half brothers, whom after he had taken in the Town he murdered; all things being lawful to him now that might any way serve his turn, all his affections and passions being swallowed up in his ambition, which made him not stick to break faith himself, and by his Gold to attempt others to do it. He thought it to no purpose to practise the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had first inclosed all their power within the Walls, and therefore he first overthrew them in two battels, and then besieged the City, which attempting with many assaults and great loss of men, at length it was betrayed into his hands by *Euthycrates* and *Lathenes* the chief Magistrates, whom he had corrupted with money. He sackt it, and fold the Inhabitants with the rest of the plunder, whereby he much enriched himself, and was enabled to buy in Cities which he daily did, having been advised by the Oracle at the beginning of his undertaking, to make his assaults with silver spears; inasmuch that he boasted that his Kingdom was more increased by Gold than Arms.

(c) *Him* ad ann. 4.

(b) *Acagapha* Olympiad. (c) *Diodorus* ad Olymp. 108. ann. 1. *Tuplin* lib. 8.

Philip gareth *Olynthus*.

The *Athenians* began to look to themselves.

22. The *Athenians* being sensible of his incroachments, jealous of his growing power, and warily providing for the liberty of Greece, supplied, as they might, such as he fell upon with war, and now sent up and down to the Cities to desire them to value their liberty, and punish capitally such as were treacherous amongst them, promising them their alliance and utmost assistance, in this work. And now at length by the special advice of *Demophanes* (the greatest Wit and Orator of Greece) they openly declared themselves his Enemies; and undertook the quarrel. But so far were the spirits of the *Greeks* degenerated, that this endeavour

Diodorus lib. 16.

Seçt. 5. endeavour of theirs could not counterwork the efficacy of his Gold, so that having a mind to take a Town that was strongly fortified, and one of the place telling him it could not be done, he asked him if he thought it not possible for his Gold to get over the walls. He had in all the Cities up and down his instruments and secret workers, who fought for a little gain to undermine the fortune of their own Country. After the taking of *Olynthus*, he celebrated the *Olympick Games*, and feasted all Comers; and entertaining them with great magnificence, by this cunning engaged many to betray their Faith.

23. The following year the *Beotians* and *Phocians* mutually preyed upon each other, and several skirmishes hapned betwixt them, which produced no great lofs on either side. But *Phalaecus* the *Phocian* General, being accused to have stolen the sacred money, was put out of his place, and three Generals substituted in his room, *Democrates*, *Callias*, and *Sophanes*, who were to make inquiry about the money which was stolen, and call the Trustees who had the management thereof, to account. The Chief of the Trustees was *Philo*, who being not able to give an account, was racked, and confessed many of his fellow thieves. They had taken out of the Temple four thousand Talents of gold after the rate of silver, and above fix thousand Talents of silver of such presents as *Craesus* and others had sent: and there wanted not some who affirmed as much to have been rifled out of this Temple, as *Alexander* afterwards found in the treasures of the *Persians*. *Phalaecus* was about to search in the pavement for treasure, hinted at by *Homer*; but when the Soldiers came to dig near to the *Tripps*, such Earthquakes hapned, as deterred them from proceeding any further. The *Phocians* afflicted with these riches carried on the War, and by this time had got into their hand three strong places in *Beotia*; *Orchomenus*, *Cheronea*, and *Corsus*. The *Beotians* being much pressed herewith, having lost very many men, and wanting money, sent Ambassadors to the King of *Macedonia* for aid. *Philip* was very glad to find them in so weak a condition, desiring to abate that Spirit which they had got at the battle at *Leuctra*, yet he sent them a considerable number of men, because he would not seem to be wanting to so religious a cause, as vindicating the right of the Oracle. At this time the *Phocians* building a Castle near *Abe*, were fallen upon by the *Beotians*, and shifting for themselves into the neighbouring Towns, five hundred of them stepped by into a Chappel of *Apollo* near *Abe*. Fire being left in their Tents, seized upon some Straw there, whence a great flame arising, caught hold at length of the Chappel, and therein burnt alive those that had fled thither, for an example (as *Diodorus* accounteth it) to all sacrilegious persons.

24. *Philip* being now employed in the War of *Thrace*, which was to the great damage of the *Athenians*, to lull them asleep, promised he would enter into a straight league and alliance with them, and pretending fair things, so corrupted some of the chief Orators, (a) (*Æschines* accuseth *Demosthenes*, and (b) *Demosthenes* layeth the load upon *Æschines*) that a peace was made up which continued five years. (c) *Demosthenes* advised them to send away their Ambassadors to *Philip* with all speed, to ratifie the League, lest he delaying the matter according to his custom, should still proceed to incommode their affairs. Accordingly five Ambassadors were dispatched away, whereof one was *Æschines*; but coming into *Macedonia*, they were there forced to stay till *Philip* had settled all things in *Thrace*, according to his own pleasure, and passed through the *Pyle* or Straights into *Phocis*. The *Athenians* hearing of his coming, notwithstanding the place, were in great fear, and caused all their goods to be brought into the City. The *Thessalians* and *Beotians* earnestly now desired of him that he would undertake the conduct of all Greece against the *Phocians*; and on the other side the Ambassadors of the *Phocians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, earnestly exhorted him from the War. He hearing both sides, being accustomed to double dealing, promised them he would do as all had desired, and so making them secure hereby, seized upon the Straights of *Thermopylæ*.

25. The *Phocians* having sent to *Lacedæmon* for aid, procured one thousand Foot-men of heavy Armour, which were commanded by *Archidamus*. *Philip* in conjunction with the *Thessalians* with a strong Army went down into *Loricis*, where finding *Phalaecus* restored to his Generalship, he hastened to decide the controversy by action, but the other lying at *Nice*, and perceiving himself too weak to fight, sent to treat with him, and they agreed that he should have freedom to depart with his men whither he pleased. Faith being given and received, he departed

He enteth
the Phocians
War.

departed with his Mercenaries to the number of eight thousand into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Phocians* being thus deserted, were forced to yield. So the War was ended by *Philip* without a stroke, in the tenth year after the beginning thereof, in the third year of the hundred and eighth *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus*, when *Archias* was Archon: but as * *Pausanias* writeth, in the first of this *Olympiad*, and in the government of *Theophilus*.

26. *Philip* calling a Council of the *Beotians* and *Thessalians*, it was resolved to remit the matter of the *Phocians* wholly to the judgment and sentence of the *Amphyctiones*. They decreed that *Philip* as a reward for his good service should be intitled in the number of themselves, and have the double voice which the *Phocians* formerly had. That the *Phocians* should be debarred from the Temple. That they should have neither Horse nor Arms till such time as they had repayed the money which they had stolen from *Apollo*. All their Exiles and as many as were guilty of Sacrilege in their own persons should be accounted peculiar, and it might be lawful to take them out of any place. All their Cities were to be levelled with the ground, and they reduced into Villages, not exceeding the number of fifty little Families apiece, and distant a furlong one from another. They were to pay to the Temple a yearly tribute of sixty Talents, till the money stolen was made up. But from this punishment, *Pausanias* telleth us the *Abeans* were excepted, who alone had not contaminated themselves. The Council then took order for restoring of the Oracle, and for the establishment of peace in Greece; and *Philip* having confirmed their Decrees, embracing them all with singular kindness, returned into his own Kingdom, flourishing with great glory both upon the account of Piety and Martial matters. This Expedition made not a little for the enlargement of his Empire, and the improvement of his design already laid, to procure himself to be chosen Captain General of Greece, and to make War upon the *Persians*.

27. Two years after, and in the seventeenth of his reign, he invaded the *Illyrians* his old Enemies with a potent Army, took therein many Towns, wasted the Country, and with rich booty returned into *Macedonia*. Then went he into *Thessaly*, where casting out the Tyrants out of the Cities, he much won upon the People, having a design hereby to make use of their favour, as a decoy to bring in the affections of the rest. And it failed not; for their neighbours led by their example, very readily entered into League with him. The year after he prosecuted this design to a further advantage, for *Kersobleptes* the King of the *Thracians* much distressing the Greek Cities in *Thrace*, he exhorted them to joyn together, and with a strong force going against him overthrew the *Thracians* in several battles, and forced them to pay the tenths of their Lands to the Kingdom of *Macedonia*. He built Forts in such places as were convenient for the bridling of their power, whereby the Cities being delivered now from their fear, most gladly imbraced his alliance and society. The year after this, *Arymbas* King of the *Molossians* died, who left a Son named *Bacides*, the Father of *Pyrrius*, but *Philip* deprived him of the Kingdom, and gave it to *Alexander* the brother of his wife *Olympias*. * Another faith, that he deprived *Arymbas* yet alive, and expelling him the Kingdom settled *Alexander* therein.

28. The next Expedition *Philip* undertook, was against *Perinthus* a strong City, situate upon the shore of the *Propontis*, the Inhabitants whereof in favour of the *Athenians* crossed his designs. With his utmost might, he fell upon it, continuing the storm without intermission, by fresh men sent in the place of the dead or wounded: he built Towers higher than theirs, and with battering rams and mines brake down a part of the wall. But the defendants being relieved from *Byzantium*, manfully resisted, and built a stronger wall in the room of that which was thrown down. By this means the Siege being drawn out in length, and great talk being in Asia of the power of the *Macedonian*, *Ochus* the *Persian* King being now jealous of his power, thought it wisdom to ballance him, and for that purpose gave order to his *Satrapæ* upon the Sea Coasts to assist the *Perinthians*. They uniting their Forces together; gave them their utmost assistance, which with the natural strength of the place enabled them to stand it out. For it was seated upon the cliff of a Peninsula about a furlong in length, the houses were thick and high, rising one rank above another, according to the ascent of the hill, so that the whole Town represented the form of a Theatre. Hereby, though the wall was battered down, yet stopping the ends of the streets, their defence was little diminished, which *Philip* perceiving, and how all things necessary for the War were abundantly supplied from

The *Beotians*
cruel and of
Philip.

A remarkable
accident.

Philip lulleth
the *Athenians*
asleep.

The *Phocians*
how punished
by the *Amphy-*
ctiones.

Philip over-
throweth the
Thracians.

Betheged *Pe-*
rinthians.

Seçt. 5.
* in *Pausanias*.

Diodorus ibid.

Pausan. at *Æ-*
li.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 106.
an. 3.

Idem ad an. 2.

Idem ad an. 3.

* *Justin* 7.
c. 8.

Diodorus ad
an. 4.

Sect. 5.

Marcheth
thence to
Brazilium.

from *Byzantium*, he left a strong party under expert Captains to carry on the Siege, and with the rest of the Army halted against that City, the inhabitants whereof having sent their men and arms to the *Perinthians*, were thereby much straightened.

29. By this time the grudges betwixt *Philip* and the *Athenians* were so heightened, that now the Peace was held as broken on both sides. *Phocius* the *Athenian* was sent against *Citarchus* the Tyrant of *Eretria*, who was made by *Philip*, and cast him out, being by (a) *Plutarch* called *Plutarch*. (b) They sent Aid also to the *Byzantians*, at the persuasion of (c) *Demosthenes*, contained in the fourth Oration of his *Philippics*. With them joined the *Chians*, *Coans*, *Rhodians*, and other *Greeks*, who so terrified *Philip*, as he was glad for the present to yield to necessity, and made a Peace with them. For *Demosthenes* having persuaded his Citizens forgetting all committed in the Social War, to send relief to the *Byzantians* and *Perinthians*, and he himself being sent Ambassador to the Cities, wrought so effectually with them, that besides their ordinary Militia, they raised fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, and liberally contributed Money for their pay; at which time the Associates desiring that the sum of the Tax might be set, *Crobylus* the Orator said, that War had no set rate of allowance. At this time (d) *Atas* King of *Syria* being invaded by the *Africans*, sent to *Philip* for aid, promising him succession in his Kingdom; which being sent when as the *Africans* retreated, he also sent back the *Macedonians*, and recalled his Promise concerning the succession. *Philip* hereupon demanded money to pay the men, but he also refusing it upon pretence of Poverty, raised his Siege from *Byzantium* to go against him, and sent Messengers before to let the *Syrians* know he had vowed to let up to *Heracles* a Statue upon the Bank of *Ister*, and to desire peaceable access and recess for that purpose. He answered, that if he pleased to fend the Statue it should be erected, but refused to give leave for him to enter his Borders with an Army, saying, that if he set it up by force, he would pull it down after his departure, and turn the Brass thereof into Heads of Arrows. *Philip* entering *Syria*, a Battel was fought, wherein he overcame them by Craft, who in courage exceeded, and took twenty thousand women and children, with multitudes of Cattel, but neither Gold nor Silver. Twenty thousand Mares of the choicest were sent into *Macedonia* to breed, As *Philip* returned, the *Triballs* opposed themselves, refusing to give him passage except he would part with some of his Booty. He, disliking the thing, forced his passage, but received such a wound in his Thigh, that through it his Horse was killed under him, and being taken up for dead, so little care was had for the Prey, that it was left. *Iocrates* the Orator taking occasion at this disaster, fought by his second Epistle to draw his mind to a peaceable inclination; but to no purpose.

At his return
wounded and
distressed by
the *Triballi*.

30. Two years after, having drawn off of the *Gracians* into Society with him, he longed after the Empire of all *Greece*, in his way to which the *Athenians* only seemed the main Obstacle. He resolved now to daunt them, and obtain his purpose, and for that end seized first upon *Elatea* a City of *Phocis*, and calling his Forces thither resolved speedily to make War upon them, hoping his work would be the less, because he should take them altogether unprepared, and secure upon the account of the Peace. The *Athenians* exceedingly struck hereat for some time stood mute, after they were met together, being come of their own accord, for that the Magistrates caused an Alarm to be sounded all the night after they received the news. At length all their Eyes were turned upon *Demofthenes*, who perswaded them to send to the *Boeotians* to desire their assistance in the vindication of the liberty of *Greece*, and being sent himself by his Oratory perswaded them to it, though they held themselves upon the account of the *Phocian* War obliged to *Philip*. The *Athenians* were encouraged by this accession of the *Boeotians*, which doubled their force, and dispatched their Army under the conduct of *Chares* and *Lyzicles* towards *Cheronea* in *Beotia*, all of flourishing age willingly giving their Names to the expedition, and the *Boeotians* admiring their readiness hastened also themselves, and joining to them expected the coming of the Enemy. He sent his Ambassadors to the Council, one whereof was *Python* an eloquent man, to withdraw them from the *Athenians*, but prevailing not, he notwithstanding resolved to fight them both, and with an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse invaded *Beotia*. He overmatched his Enemies as well in skill as numbers, all the *Athenian* Captains of note being now dead, and *Chares* Chief, who was nothing better for conduct than an ordinary Soldier. A cruel and bloody

Idris (d) *Justiz* l. 9.

Diodorus ad
Olymp. 110
ann. 3.
Plutarch. in
Demosthen.

CHAP II.

He obtaineth
a Victory over
the Athenians,
&c. at Chero-
nisi.

Fight was fought with great animosity on both sides, and with equal success, till Alexander, Philip's Son, first made his Enemies give ground in his wing, and then his Father had the same success in the other, and obtained the Victory. Of the Athenians above one thousand fell, two thousand were taken, and of the Boeotians a great number. Demosthenes being in the Battel made his actions far disagreeable to his words, and cowardly with the first caving away his Arms (though good Fortune was engraven upon his Shield) ran away.

31. Together with this Battel was loft the liberty of *Greece*, and in effect the antient *Glaity* thereof here had its Period, being never able to recover its Power, but first enflav'd by one, and then by another for ever after. (a) *Iſocrates* the *Athenienſis* Orator was ſo fenſible of the advantage *Philip* had got, that being ignorant how he would improve the opportunity, and reſolv'd not to ſee *Athenſes* beſieged the fourth time, he killed himſelf by abſtaining from all ſuſtenance four days, aged ninety eight years. (b) Preſently after the Victory, *Philip* carouzed for joy, and walking amongſt the Captives upbraided the badneſs of their condition, when *Demades* the *Athenian* Orator took him flout, asking him, if he who had obtained the Fortune of *Agamemnon* ſhamed not to act the part of *Therſites*? with the wit of which caviſigation he was ſo ſtruck, that he caſt off his former countenance, embrac'd the Author of it with ſingular kindneſs, with him gave liberty to all the *Athenian* Priſoners, and forgetting his pride, made a League and Alliance with that Commonwealth. (c) He is alſo reported to have appointed a Boy every morning to beat this into his Ear, that *He was a man*. He was a great Maſter of his affections indeed. He was never paſſionate to his diſadvantage, and upon this account, to procure that with more eaſe which he had long deſign'd, he might thus gratifie the *Athenians*, whoſe intereſt in the other Eſtates being the ſame with the common of all *Greece*, he might be unwilling to force them to the utmoſt. But he plac'd a Garrifon of his own in *Thebes* and *Fuſtin* writhe, how he fold for Slaves all the Priſoners of that City, and the Bodies of ſuch as had been ſlain, to their Friends for burial: that of the chiefſt of the Citizens he made him put to death, and confiscated the Goods of the reſt, being ſufficiently ſenſible of their ingratitude. After the Fight, when the *Athenians* fortified their City as expecting a Siege, (d) *Demophilus* at his own charge re-edified part of the Wall, for which Service *Crepſion* thought he was to be honour'd with a Garland at the publick meeting of *Greece*; but *Aſchines* contend'd it was againſt the Law: and fo his Oration againſt *Crepſion* concerning the Crown, or Garland, was written this year, *Charonides* (or *Choronadas*) being *Archon*, the third of the one hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, and the ſift of the reign of *Arſes* the *Perſian* King.

23 (c) *Philip* his successe having utterly broken the courage of the principal Cities of *Greece*, now gave out that he would undertake a War against the *Perſians* for the general commodity of all the eſtates, and thereby, - and with his great courtſhip, gained much upon ſome forts of People. At length he called them together at *Corinth*, and largely diſcourſing of the War, ſhewed the certain hope of ſucceſs, and earneſtly exhorted them to undertake it; to which all either out of Love or Fear aſſented. He was choſen Captain General for the expedition, allowance of men and money were appointed to the ſeveral Cities, the *Lacedæmonians* alone ſcorned both him, and the conditions of his Peace, as accounting that Slavery, and not Peace, which was impoſed by the Conquerour. The Auxiliaries of *Greece* amounted to two hundred thouſand Foot, and fifteen thouſand Horſe, over and above the Forces of *Macedonia*, and the barbarous Nations thereto adjoining. While he thus proſpered in his affairs abroad, (c) great differences aroſe in his own Houſe by his putting away *Olympias* upon pretence of incontinency, and marrying *Cleopatra* the Niſce of *Attalus*. *Olympias* a Woman of an high Spirit, and melancholick Nature, took it exceedingly to heart, and incenſed all the could her Son *Alexander*, who at the Wedding hearing *Attalus* in his Cups to exhort the *Macedonians* to pray for a lawful Heir of the Kingdom from *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, calling him naughty fellow, aſked him if he counted him a Baſtard, and therewith threw a Cup at him. *Philip* thereupon with his drawn Sword made at *Alexander*, but to the good of both, being light headed with Wine, and mad with Anger, ſtumbled and fell. After this *Alexander* carried his Mother into *Epirus*, and went himſelf into *Illyrium*, whence his Father ſhortly recalled him by the procurement of *Demetrius the Corinthian*. Nor long after *Pexodarus* the Governour of *Caria* ſent to offer his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage to *Aridæus* the baſe Son of *Philip*.

Sect. 5.

A. M. 3667.
Ol. 110. ann. 3
V. C. 416.
Arfis. I.
Philippi 23.

(c) Plutarch in
vitis Rhetorica
& Dionysius in
Isocrate.

d (b) *Diodora*:

(c) *Alian.*
Var. *Hist.*
lib. 8. cap. 10

n (d) Plutarch.
in Demosthenes.

11- (a) *Diodorus*

ns (b) *Insulin*
lib. 9.

as (c) Plutarch.
Q. in Alexandri

C c e

whence

Sect. 5.

whence great talk being raised that Philip did it on purpose to devolve the Crown upon *Aleutus*, *Alexander* sent one *Theſſalus* a Player to *Pexodorus*, to persuade him to neglect a Bastard and a Fool, and transfer his affinity upon himself, which was very well liked by *Pexodorus*. Philip finelling out the matter, checked *Alexander* grievously, as degenerate, and unworthy of the hope of a Kingdom, being ambitious to become son-in-law to a *Carian*, who was no better than a Slave to a barbarian King.

He is flabbed.

33. The next Spring having enquired of the Oracle concerning the success of the Persian War (which gave him answer as ambiguous, and to the same purpose as formerly to *Cæſar*) he sent three Captains over into *Aſia* under pretence of setting the Greek Cities at liberty; *Aitalus*, *Parmentio*, and *Amyntas*. He himself, whilst his Forces were gathering together, made a magnificent Sacrifice to the Gods, and celebrated the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra* with her Uncle *Alexander* of *Epirus*, to which he invited all that would, and gave large entertainment, being willing to shew to the Græcians how thankfulness he took their making him General of all Greece. Feasting and Mufick there was in abundance, and the Feast being done for that day (but all the Solemnity to be renewed on the next) whilst it was yet night all the People ran together into the Theatre. Thither were carried twelve Images of his Gods in solemn procession, and his own next after in a Divine habit, as arrogating to himself a place in the Council of the Gods. Then followed he himself apparelled in a white Robe in the midst of the two *Alexanders*, his Son, and Son-in-law. As he thus proceeded in the ruff of his Pride, the People sending up loud acclamations to the Skies, and Echoing his Felicity, one *Pausanias* met him in the straightest place of his passage, and stabbed him into the Side, the wound being so mortal that he fell down dead. This *Pausanias* having been invited to a Feast by *Aitalus*, had been carnally abused by him after he was drunk, and then prostituted to the filthy lust of base Fellows, for which having complained to the King, partly because of their affinity, and because *Philip* intended to use him in the War, he could have no satisfaction, and for this cause took this revenge upon his unjust Judge; yet *Alexander* objected to *Darius* that his Father was made away by his procurement.

A. M. 3669.
Ol. 110 ann. 4.
P. C. 417.
Philip 24.

His great achievement.

34. The murderer having mounted on Horse-back had got away whilst the Tumult was about the Body, but that by *Perdiccas* and others. This end had *Philip* after he had reigned twenty four years, and lived forty six, to which *Olympus* is reported by some to have contributed, by encouraging *Pausanias* to commit the fact, and neither know they how to clear *Alexander* of the matter. She put a Golden Crown upon *Pausanias* his Head as he hung on the Cross, and a few days after burnt his Body upon the Reliques of her Husband, built him a Monument in the same place, and caused a yearly peroration to be made to him. After this having killed *Cleopatra*'s young Son in her Bosom, she then hanged her, or as one saith, fried them both to death in a brazen Vessel, and consecrated the Sword wherewith *Philip* was slain, to *Apollo*, under the name of *Myrtalis*, by which she was called when young. The foundation of a great Empire was laid by *Philip*, and a great pattern left unto his Son, which to make, was far more hard than what with greater Glory was achieved by *Alexander*. The recovery of *Macedon* when there were two Competitors that had such assistants, was a work of much prudence and dexterity. The regaining of the neighbouring Kings, and the State of *Olynthus*, were such things as would have seemed too difficult for many ages to his predecessors. The matters achieved by him required both *Mars* and *Mercury* for assistants, and therein he bred for many choice Commanders, as for their Skill and Valour being worthy to wear Crowns; He seemed most to deserve that Glory which his Son by the influence of his abilities afterwards attained.

Avariciously succeth him.

35. *Alexander* his Son succeeded him, aged about twenty years, in the first of the one hundred and eleventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Cleomantes* was Victor, *Pithodorus* being *Archon*, in the first of the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, and the year of the World 3669. being by the Father's side defended of *Hercules*, and the mother's from *Achilles*, neither of which lines he disgraced by the course of his Fortunes. Of a great and lofty Spirit he was from a Child, easy to be persuaded, but hard to be compelled. His Father apprehending his wit, procured *Ariftole* to be his School-master, offering him very large rewards, whose Native City

Diodorus lib. 17.
Plutarch in Alexander.

He begetteth his reign well.

His difficulties in Greece.

Which he overcomes.

City *Stagaira* being before by him demolished, he re-edified for his sake. By such a Master he was not only instructed in morality, but had some insight into the more abstruse Sciences, and seemed to have some skill in Physick, being wont to give directions to his Friends about their health. Being sixteen years old, *Philip* undertaking an expedition against the *Byzantians*, left him his Deputy in *Macedonia*, where improving his time, he subdued the *Medæans* who had revolted, and taking that City, planted it with new Inhabitants, and called it after himself *Alexandropolis*. At the Battle of *Chæronæa* he behaved himself very stoutly, which with other his good parts drew great love upon him from his Father (inasmuch that he willingly suffered the *Macedonians* to call him King, and himself General) but *Philip*'s mind towards his latter end being withdrawn from his Mother and fastened upon *Cleopatra*, thereupon ensued great dissatisfaction on both sides, whilst his mother stirred him to great indignation, inasmuch as he escaped not suspicion of being privy to her designs against his Father's life.

Sect. 5.

Dion. lib. 17.
Diodorus ed. Olymp. 111. ann. 2.

36. Yet began he his Reign with Justice against such as had an hand in the murder, killing them upon his Grave, and blamed his mother that in his absence she had dealt so cruelly with *Cleopatra*. Then celebrating the Funerals of his Father with royal Rites and Ceremonies, he began to take care of his public affairs, and being contemned for his youth and little experience, above expectation explicated himself out of all difficulties, by imitating his Father's courtesie, and overcoming many by the invincibleness of his Spirit, which through the course of his life bore down all opposition. He renewed the discipline of War, and gained the affections of the Army, knowing also that *Aitalus* upon the account of his Niece *Cleopatra*, lay at all advantages to do him mischief, he sent *Hecæatus* with a band of men, with order to attack him and send him over alive if possible, or else to kill him one way or other, which was at length effected. In the mean time *Demosthenes* having had secret intelligence of *Philip*'s death, went to the people, and pretending to have dreamt it, stirred up the *Athenians* all ways possible to condemn the youth of *Alexander*, and not to suffer him to obtain the Principality of Greece, and to this purpose they sent unto *Aitalus*, and entered into conspiracy with him, how they might best effect it. The *Abolians* intended to restore the Exiles of the *Aarnians* banished by *Philip*. The *Ambraciots* expelled the Garrison there, and the *Thebans* decreed to do the same by that in *Cadmea*. As the *Aradians* had refused to consent that the Father should be General of Greece, so were they now nothing better inclined towards the Son, and the rest of the *Peioponnesians*, as the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians* were ready to do any thing for the asserting of their own Liberty and Power. The Nations about *Macedonia* began to stir, being altogether inclining to renounce their obedience.

37. *Alexander* as an earnest of his future success easily removed those obstacles, overpowering some by entreaty and good words, others by awe, and some by force of Arms. He first obtained of the *Theſſians* by a publick Decree to be owned as his Father's Successor in the Generalship, and then easily bringing the neighbouring People to do the same, passing the *Pyle*, he called the Council of the *Amphyctiones*, and procured by their suffrages to be elected the Captain General of all Greece. Having done this, to bring over the rest by fear, he led down his Army into *Boeotia*, where pitching his Tents by *Cadmea* he affrighted the *Thebans* and the *Athenians* also so much, that their getting in all their Goodsto the City, and fortifying it as well as they might, sent to beg his Pardon, that they had owned him no sooner. One of the Ambassadors was *Demosthenes*, who came not with the rest to *Alexander*, but returned back when he was on his way, either for that he stood in fear of him for the Orations made against his Father, or because he would not crack his Credit with the Persian King, from whom *Aschines* accused him to have received much money. He answered the Ambassadors to their satisfaction, and then sent for the Deputies of the Estates to meet him at *Corinth*, where speaking very courteously to them, he was again declared General against the Persian, and aid decreed to him for carrying on the War; after which he returned into *Macedonia*. Whilst he here was in the *Isthmus*, many Philopoles came to salute him; * only *Diogenes* the *Sinopian* made no reckoning of him. The King understanding this, went to visit him then at *Athens*, and finding him suning himself in his Tub, saluted him kindly, and desired him, to ask any thing of him whatsoever he pleased. He only desired him to stand out of the Sun, which

* Diogenes Laertius & Plutarch, lib. 11.

Sect. 5:

greatness of mind *Alexander* so much admired, that when his followers laughed and jeered at the man, he answered, that *if he were not Alexander, he would be Diogenes.*

38. In the beginning of the Spring he made an Expedition into *Thrace*, where he subdued several People, and afterwards prospered in the same manner in *Paonia* and *Syria*. In the mean time came intelligence, that many of the *Greeks* had a design to revolt, and not a few Cities, amongst which *Thebes* was most eminent, and had renounced his authority. Hereupon he returned into *Macedonia*, the *Thebans* in the mean while besieging his Garrison in *Cadmea*, which, being supplied with Arms by *Demosthenes*, they fell upon and slew many. They implored the assistance of the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Arcadians*, and *Athenians*. The *Athenians* were perwaded by *Demosthenes* to send them aid, who reigning in the Assemblies by the Power of his Tongue, wrote also to the Kings Captains in *Asia*, thence to oppose *Alexander*, whom he called a boy and a fool. But *Alexander* marching with speed into *Boeotia*, the Valour of the *Athenians* well abated, and *Demosthenes* himself grew very cool. The *Thebans* uncertain what their Allies would do, and surpris'd with the Kings coming, called a Council of Officers to consult what should be done, where it was resolv'd to fight for their liberty, and this was confirmed by the People, which with great alacrity prepared for resistance, though they might have had good Terms of *Alexander*. Who delayed also to do any thing, that they might have time to advise, for his mind being fully intent upon the *Persian* War, he would gladly have been rid of all trouble on this side of the Seas. But when he saw their wilfulness, he fully resolv'd to make this City a Terror to the rest. Yet he first offered indemnity to all such as would come over to him, which they to cross, out of emulation, caused to be proclaimed from an high Tower, that if there were any who had a desire to joy'n with the great King and the *Thebans* in vindicating the liberty of *Greece*, and suppressing the Tyrant thereof, they should repair unto them.

39. Then fell he with all his might and skill upon the City, which they as stoutly defended, knowing else what would follow, and encouraging themselves with their former success at *Leuctra* and *Mantineia*, they made resistance to the wonder and discouragement of their Enemies; till at length *Alexander* perceiving a little Door to be left unguarded, sent *Perdiccas* thither with a party, who breaking into the City made way for the rest of the *Macedonians*. Now were the *Thebans* on one side by them, and the other by the Garrison in *Cadmea* (which like a Tempest fell upon them) cut in pieces, the Law of War not being allowed them, because of that Proclamation they had made from the Tower. The *Greeks* also that served under *Alexander*, as the *Phocians*, *Thebians*, *Platæans*, *Orchomenians*, and others, bearing them malice, spared them no more, so that great slaughter was made, they fighting it out to the last, having no other regard to their lives than this, to sell them at as dear a rate as possible. There were slain six thousand (*Ælian* * by some mistake hath ninty thousand) and thirty thousand were taken Captives.

Alexander having buried all his Slain (to the number of five hundred) assembled a Council of the *Greeks*, to which he referred what should be done with the *Thebans*. There their Enemies urged against them, that they had conspired with the *Barbarians* against the *Græcians*, in the time of *Xerxes*, had fought amongst other Allies of *Persia* against *Greece*, and since that being acknowledged and rewarded by his Successors as well deserving of them. By these things they so incensed the Council, as to decree the City to be levelled with the Ground, the Captives to be kill'd, and such as had fled to be sought for and brought to punishment. The King acquiescing in this severe Sentence, executed it accordingly, selling all he had taken, except the Priests and those that had entertained his Father when he was young, and their kindred, with the posterity of *Pindar* the Poet, whose House alone he left standing. This Famous City then was demolished the last day of the *Eleusian* Solemnities then celebrated by the *Athenians*, the twentieth day of the month *Boedromion*, after it had continued in a fæder condition almost eight hundred years.

40. *Alexander* publishing an Edict, whereby all *Græcians* were forbidden to receive the *Theban* Exiles, the *Athenians* alone refused to obey it, setting open their Gates to them, being then celebrating the mysteries of *Ceres*. Hereat he was enraged, and when they had sent to deprecate his indignation the second time, forgave them only on this condition: to give up to him the ten (*Plutarch* nameth but eight) Orators who had stirred them up against him, and the principal whereof

The Athenians receive the Theban Exiles which maketh a quarrel between him and them.

whereof were *Demosthenes* and *Lycurgus*. The People hereupon not knowing how to demean themselves, *Phocion* the Good, who went ever cross to *Demosthenes* in managing State Affairs, made a Speech, wherein he would have persuaded the Orators to kill themselves like good Citizens, rather than to bring their Country into danger; but the People ill respecting this, expelled him in a tumult. At length *Demades* the Orator being hired by *Demosthenes* for five Talents, persuaded the People to mercy, and so framed an answer to the King, that it should signify their readiness to punish them if they should find them worthy thereof. They sent him then to *Alexander*, with order, not only to take up this matter, but also to intercede for the *Theban* Exiles, and obtain leave for them to receive them. This he did by the power of his persuasions, faith *Diodorus*, although *Plutarch* faith it was done by *Phocion*, who after *Alexander* had cast away from him the former Decree, and rejected the Messengers, was kindly received by him, after the King had understood that his Father respected him. He not only admitted of his request but his counsel also: that if he loved an idle life he should lay aside all thoughts of War, but if he thirsted after glory he should transfer his Armies from the *Greeks* to the *Barbarians*. *Justin* writeth, that he gave them leave to keep their Orators, but forced them to banish their Captains, who going over to *Darius* much incommodated his affairs beyond the Seas. *Arrianus* only mentioneth *Charidemus* to have fled to the *Persians*.

41. *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia* with his Army, where consulting about the *Persian* War, *Antipater* and *Parmenio* his choicest Warriours advised him first to marry, and beget Children, and then to undertake the Expedition after he was provided of Heirs. But he being of a most quick and active spirit, and impatient of delay, would not hear of any such thing, seeing as he said, he was now created General of *Greece*, and had such Forces left him by his Father. After then he had by proposing the commodities of such an undertaking, inflamed the minds of his Soldiers with a desire thereof, he sacrificed to his gods, and solemnized the plays to *Jupiter*, formerly instituted by *Archelaus* his Predecessor. The solemnity continued nine days, one being allotted to each of the Muses, during which in his Royal Pavilion which had twenty beds to eat on, he feasted the Officers of his Army, and the Ambassadors of the Cities. In the Spring, all things being now ready, he marched with his Forces towards the *Hellefont*. They who account the least, faith *Plutarch*, reckon thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, and who the most thirty four thousand of them and four thousand of these. For the maintenance of such an Army *Aristobolus* wrote that he had no more than seventy Talents. *Davis* said he had provision but for thirty days, and *Onesicritus* delivered, that he owed besides this two hundred Talents. And though he was thus slenderly furnished, yet before his journey making inspection into the estates of his friends, to one he assigned a Village, to another a piece of ground, to this a certain rent, and to that the Customs of such a Port. When he had almost distributed all he had, *Perdiccas* asked him what he left for himself, and he answered *Hope*; then replied the other, That shall be common to us with thee, and refused to receive any thing, which was followed by many; but such as would he willingly gratified, and thereby passed away most of the Revenues of *Macedonia*. He passed over his men in sixty ships to *Troas*, and first of all cast his Spear upon the shore, and skipping out, as it were, took possession of *Asia*, in the second year of his reign, and the second of *Darius Codrmanus*, the third of the one hundred and eleventh *Olympiad*, *Evagetus* being *Archon*, and in the third month before his leaving of the Office, and the succession of *Crisicles*, under whose Government *Diodorus* placeth this Expedition, A. M. 3670.

42. To *Antipater* he committed the Government of his affairs in *Europe*, with whom he left twelve thousand Foot, and eleven thousand and five hundred Horse, as *Diadorus* hath it, if * fifteen hundred be not rather to be read. The *Lacedæmonians* after his departure grudged his success, and lay watching for an advantage how to begin a War, and if possible divert the course of his good fortune, which after the battle of *Abela* they supposed to be fitly presented. For the issue of that battle being reported in *Greece*, many of the Cities who were jealous of his power resolv'd to contend for their ancient liberty, before the strength of the *Persians* should be utterly spent, which they might have to their assistance. They were encouraged to revolt from tumults now raised in *Thrace*. For *Mennon* being sent General thither, having Soldiers at his devotion, stirred up the *Barbarians* to rebel

But the Thebans fall upon his Garrison in Cadmea.

Whereupon he besiegeth Thebes.

He taketh

And demolisheth it.

Diadorus & Plutarch.

in Phocion.

He persuades over into Asia.

* Verisimile. 13. cap. 7.

A. M. 3671. Ol. 111. an. 3. P. C. 420. Darius Codrmanus. 3. Alexand. 3.

as it is being except in Diadorus & Olymp. 111. ca. 3.

Sect. 5.

The Lacedæmonians make flurs in his absence.

But are vanquished by Antipater his Lieutenant.

And fend to him into Asia to beg pardon.

rebel, and got together a great Army. Antipater hereupon was forced to march against him and leave Macedonia; the absence of whom the Lacedæmonians thinking a sufficient occasion of working some notable feat, excited the Grecians to agree together with united Force to recover their Liberty. The Athenians conceiving themselves engaged to Alexander, who had respected them above all others, refused to stir, but most of the Peloponnesians, and some others, gave their Names willingly, and raised amongst them twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, which were commanded by Agis the Spartan King. Antipater hearing this composed the matters of Thrace as he might, and with an Army of forty thousand men raised out of the Confederates of Greece marched against them, and joyning Battel, after much opposition slew five thousand and three hundred with the loss of three thousand and five hundred of his own men; Agis himself fighting most valiantly, after he had received many wounds was to be carried out of the Fight and so to be conveyed home. But being incompassed with Enemies, and seeing there was no hope to escape, he bade his men shift for themselves, and reserve their lives for the future service of their Country: he on his knees received his Enemies as well as he could, till having first killed some of them, at length he was slain, after he had been King nine years.

43. Antipater having obtained this Victory, was willing to put an end to the War out of fear of Envy, by seeming to proceed further than the modesty of a Subject should require. For he knew the high Spirit of Alexander, who rejoiced in the Victory, but not in him being Victor, which he not obscurely grudged at, thinking so much to be detracted from his own Glory as was added to that of another. The Lacedæmonians therefore being constrained to fend to him, he remitted them for answer to the Council of Greece, which having heard what could be said on both sides, referred the whole matter to the Cognizance of Alexander. They then gave up to Antipater fifty Hostages, and sent into Asia to Alexander to beg Pardon. Most of such learned men as were eminent during this Period have already, upon occasion, been spoken of.

CHAP. III.

The Affairs of Sicilie during this Empire.

S E C T. I.

The first Names and Inhabitants of this Island, with a relation of such things as preceded the Persian Empire.

The old Inhabitants of Sicilie.

1. SICILIE is an Island of the Mediterranean Sea, lying over against Italy at five miles distance, from which it is thought to have been severed by some Earth-quake, or the violence of the Sea, being joynd formerly by an Isthmus, or neck of Land, to the Continent. It was first, from the Triangular Figure, called Trinacria, then Sicania, and afterwards obtained the name of Sicilie. The most antient Inhabitants were Cyclopes, or Gyants with one only Eye in their foreheads (as the Poets fancied) and the Læstrygones of the same Original. After them succeeded the Sicani, by some said to be indigene, or naturals of the place, but by others a People of Iberia, or Spain, and so named from Sicannus, a River

in

Sect. 1.

A. M. 2821.

Lib. 6. ad init.

A. M. 3271.
P. C. 209.
Abasys 10.

in that Country, whence they were expelled by the Ligyes, and coming into the Island Trinacria changed its name into Sicania. After these, the Sicili a people of Italie (so named faith Thucydides from Italus a King of Arcadia) being expelled by the Opici, passed into this Island, and overthrowing the Sicani seized upon the best parts of it, and gave it the name of Sicilie, almost three hundred years before the Greeks found it out. When Ilum was taken, some Trojans fled by Ship from the Abheans into this Country, and fixing themselves near to the Sicani, were called Elymi; whose principal Seats were Erysa and Egeſta. To these were added some of the Phœnicians, of those who in their return from Troy being driven by Tempest into Libya, or Africk, thence passed into Sicilie. The Phœnicians also inhabited all over the Island in the Maritime parts, and the little Islands near adjoining, for the benefit of Traffick with the Siculi. But after that many Greeks arrived, they removed, and joynd themselves to the Elymi, and inhabited Motya, Soluns, and Panormus; because thence was but a little passage unto Carthage. So many Barbarians, and after this manner, inhabited Sicilie faith Thucydides, with whom in the main of their relations, consent Diodorus, Strabo, Dionysius of Halycarnassus, Paulanius, Constantinus Porphyrogeneta and others.

Greek Colonies.

3. The first Greeks that came into Sicilie (as Thucydides proceedeth) were some from Chalcis in Eubœa, who under conduct of Theocles planted Naxos. The year following Archias the Corinthian, descended from Hecætes, drove the Siculi from that place where stood the City afterward called Syracusa. About the same time Lamis brought a Colony from Megara; which he first placed upon the River Pantacius, in a place called Trotilus. In the forty fifth year after Syracusa began to be inhabited, Antiphanus from Rhodes, and Eurymus out of Crete, with their several Colonies planted Gela, so named from the River by which it stood, the Inhabitants whereof one hundred and eight years after erected the great and magnificent City Agrigentum, or Agragas, so called also from a River of the same name. Zancle was first inhabited by some Pyrates of Cambr, a City belonging to Chalcis; but afterwards by a multitude that came promiscuously from Chalcis and other parts of Eubœa, under the Conduct of Perieres of Cumæ, and Caratenes of Chalcis, and were hence cast out again by the Samians and other Ionians, who fled from the Medes into Sicilie. Zancle was so named by the Siculi, from a Sicle, in their language Zancle, which it resembled. Not long after Anaxilas Tyrant of Rhegium banishing the Samians, filled it with a mixt multitude, and called it Messina, after the name of his own Country. Himera was planted by the Zancleans, and many Chalcidians amongst them, with whom also joynd certain Syracusians being expelled by the contrary faction, and called Myletide. Their language was mixed betwixt the Chalcidian and Dorick Tongues. These were the Colonies which from several parts of Greece planted Sicilie. As for other Towns that were Colonies of these Colonies, they shall be told whose they were upon occasion.

Gyants in Sicilia.

4. That Gyants inhabited Sicilie (although to some it hath seemed no other than the invention of Poets, who usually speak monstrously of antient things) the discovery of the last age hath made most manifest; at what time were in several places of the Island found the Bones of such kind of men, and the perfect proportion of one or more within the Earth, which upon touch mouldred all into dust. Chworius in his Description of Sicilie, and Fazellus, herein give abundant satisfaction, which might be further strengthened from what the discoverers of America relate concerning men of such stature; but that the Testimony of Scripture alone sufficeth to make evident the being of Gyants. That they were Indigene, or first Inhabitants of Sicilie, is probable, and the very same with the Læstrygones. As for the Sicani, no credit is to be given to the Testimony of Thucydides in this point that they came out of Spain, for that Diodorus being this Country-man, and certainly rather more concerned in the delivery of the Antiquities of it, than other Nations, averreth the most accurate Historians to have affirmed them Indigene, which Timæus, who lived under Agathocles the Tyrant, did fully demonstrate. Thucydides, who first obtruded this Fable upon the Greeks, confesseth that they themselves were of a contrary opinion, and though they in a matter concerning their Honour might not be heard, yet this may satisfy, that in Spain there is no such River to be found as ever had the name of Sicannus, which some of those who follow the opinion of Thucydides change into Sicoris (at this day Segre) and others speak of a City called Stania; and one Sicannus Captain of the Colony,

all

Sect. 1.

all which are as true as any. Neither could these *Sicani* be driven from their seats by the *Ligures*, whose habitation was not in *Spain* beyond the *Pyrenean* Hills, but in *Gaul* near the River *Rhodanus* and the *Alps*. Lastly, that difficult journey which those obscure people must have taken by Land (for the use of shipping was much later in *Spain*) through the Countreys of the *Tyrrhenians*, *Umbri*, *Ligures*, *Aufone*, *Opici*, *Oenotrians*, and other fierce and warlike Nations, after the passage of the *Pyreneans*, *Alps*, and *Gaul*, may justly induce us to give credit rather to the opinion of *Diodorus*, and of *Demetrius Calatianus* a most ancient Writer; who, as the *Scholast* of *Theocritus* telleth us, derived the *Sicani* from the *Cyclopes* or *Gyants*.

5. That the *Siculi* came out of *Italy* several grave Authors relate, as amongst others *Diodorus* and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* from the credit of *Hellanicus* the *Lebanian*, *Philistus*, and *Antiochus*, both of *Syracuse*; but they do diversely relate the story, that it appeareth to be no other than dubious, and so intricate as nothing certainly can be pitched on. In *Thucydides* the *Opici*, in *Antiochus* the *Oenotrians* and *Opici* drove out the *Siculi*: But in *Hellanicus* instead of *Siculi* the *Elymi* and *Aufone* were expelled, with *Siculus* their King, by the *Oenotrians* and *Asparges*. Again, according to the mind of *Philistus*, neither any *Siculi*, *Aufone*, nor *Elymi* transported themselves out of *Italy*; but the *Ligures* under conduct of *Siculus*. *Solinus* and *Martianus* make this *Siculus* the Son of *Neptune*, *Iphodorus* the brother of *Italus*, *Servius* Captain of the *Sicani*, and *Antiochus* will have him a *Roman* Exile, whom *Morges* the Successor of *Italus* entertained. Further, *Dionysius* writeth, that the *Siculi* were Native Inhabitants of *Latium*, and thence beaten by the *Aborigines*, which is plainly out of the road of history, the *Siculi* never having been masters of *Rome*. It would be too tedious to recite the several opinions concerning the time when the *Siculi* should make their passage out of *Italy* into this Island. And what *Thucydides* bringeth for a confirmation of his opinion, viz. that in his time some of the *Siculi* remained in *Italy*, cannot but be false, no foot-steps of them being to be found out in that Countrey by the discovery of any Geography; so that others, on the contrary, grant that the whole Nation passed over. These arguments drawn from the uncertainty of reports constrain us rather to acquiesce in the opinion of *Bochartus*, who concludeth that no other stranger came from other parts to inhabit *Sicily*, but all were *Indigenae*, except the *Greeks* and *Phenicians*, the *Siculi* and *Sicani* not being distinguished in Nation but only in place. From the *Phenicians* (who especially lived about the Promontory of *Lilybaeum*, though they were dispersed throughout the Maritime Coasts) he sheweth the Island it self, and every notable Town and River to have been named, in the first book of that admirable work intituled *Canaan*.

Cecilius.

Dedalus.

6. *Sicily*, saith *Justin* out of *Trogus*, was from the beginning the Countrey *Lit. 4.* of the *Cyclopes*, which being extinct *Cocalus* made himself King of the Island. To him fled *Dedalus* for protection, from the presence of *Minos* King of *Creta. A. M. 2775*. This *Dedalus* was an *Athenian*, of the family of the *Erechthidae*, and a famous Artist in all manner of Graven and Carved works. It hapned that he had a Scholar, his own Nephew by his Sister, named *Talos*, who going beyond him in Skill, he privately murd'ed him, and the matter coming out, was forced to fly for his life, and went into *Creta*. There being courteously entertained by *Minos*, he wrought many rare pieces of Architecture, but at length so displeased the King in some thing which concerned *Pasiphae* his wife, that he also fled thence into *Sicily*, where he was entertained by *Cocalus* King of the *Sicani*, then reigning at *Trigens*, called also *Camieus*. Some thought that by the means of *Pasiphae* he escaped by Boat, his Son *Icarus* accompanying him in another, and that having invented sails, (whereas before Oars only were in use) *Icarus* not managing his with skill enough, his Vessel sunk, and thereupon arose the fable that they escaped with wings made of feathers waxed together, and of the young man's soaring so high, till the Sun melting the wax, he thereupon fell headlong into that parrot of the Sea which afterwards bare his name. Others thought *Icarus* was drowned as he took water. But *Minos* getting notice whither *Dedalus* was fled, pursued him with an Army, and required *Cocalus* to deliver him up. *Cocalus* returned him a satisfactory answer, and invited him unto his house, where he stifled him in a Bath, or else his daughters, for the love they bore to *Dedalus*, when they came to wash him (which was the custom for women and maids to do unto guests, according to *Athenians*) instead of warm water, poured on him scalding Pitch. He gave up his body to his men,

Sect. 1.

men, pretending he had slipped by chance into hot water, and perswaded them to stay and plant in the Island, where they built *Minos* and *Engyum*, now *Gange*, the two first Greek Cities founded in *Sicily*, as some note. The *Cretans* afterwards in revenge for their King's death, came and besieged *Camieus* five years to no purpose, and were shipwreckt in their return upon the Coasts of *Italy*, where then resolving to stay and hide their disgrace, they built *Hyria*, betwixt *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, and from them defended the *Iapyges* and *Messapii*. This passage concerning *Minos* the younger, happened in the days of *Hercules* the *Gracian*, an Age before the *Trojan* War.

7. After *Cocalus* the several Cities (because they wanted rightful and successful Kings, as it seemeth, and lived under loose Democracy) became the prey of *Tyranny*, whereof no Countrey was ever more fertile than this Island, saith *Justin*. Of these, *Anaxilus* his Justice vied with the Cruelty of the rest, and was not unrewarded. For at his death leaving his Children young, whom he committed to the trust of *Microphus* his faithful slave, his Subjects prized his memory, as they chose rather to obey him, and suffer the Majesty of a Kingdom to be managed by a slave, than desert his Sons. But if by these *Tyrants* he to be meant, such as after the settlement of the Greek Colonies, made themselves Masters of the Cities (as we have no other ground than to believe; the name of *Anaxilus* sufficiently declaring its original) then *Cocalus* living an Age before the *Trojan* War, and the first Greek Colony mentioned by *Thucydides* being planted in the * eleventh Olympiad, this after *Cocalus* is with great liberty used by *Trogus* or *Justin*; several hundreds of years, (viz. five or six) intervening betwixt *Cocalus* and those *Tyrants*. For the Cities were many years after their founding governed by the People, according to the custom of *Greece*, till *Phalaris* usurped in the State of *Agrigentum*, which *Suidas* writeth to have happened in the fifty second Olympiad, and *Eusebius* in the fifty fourth. This difference betwixt them may well be reconciled, if, with *Cappellus*, we believe that *Phalaris* coming to *Agrigentum*, there was kindly entertained for eight years, at the end whereof took occasion from a guest, and perhaps a Judge of Controversies, to make himself *Tyrant*, and the People slaves.

Phalaris the Tyrant.

8. *Phalaris* was born at *Astypalea* a City in *Creta*; his Fathers name was *Ladomachus*, who died whilst this his Son was an infant. He married *Erythia*, and on her begat *Paurolos* a little before whose birth being banished, and deprived of the greatest part of his Estate, he continued long in a desolate condition, not knowing what to do, till at length a Sedition being raised in the State of *Agrigentum*, he was sent for by the weakest faction, and in conclusion got all the power into his hands. He kept the *Tyranny* by the same arts he first obtained it, viz. fraud and cruelty, for which cause he was grievously hated by many, and his life laid at by those of whom he had well deserved. *Erythia* continued all her life with her Son *Paurolos* at *Astypalea*, where though she was much importuned by many Suters, yet she remained steadfast in fidelity to her husband. The Citizens of *Astypalea* when they saw *Phalaris* had so advanced himself, either for that now their hatred was allayed, or out of fear of revenge, sent to him to intimate that they had revoked what had been formerly done against him, as unjust. He despised not this late repentance, but sent them his hearty thanks, as unjust. Having obtained a victory over the *Leontines*, his Son *Paurolos* sent him a Crown of Gold, which he returned back unto his wife *Erythia*. She was at length poysoned by *Pythion* one of the Suters, enraged at a repulse; which thing *Phalaris* took most impatiently.

Perillus and his brazen Bull.

9. It hapned that one *Perillus* an *Athenian*, and an excellent Statuary, came to *Agrigentum*, where shewing his rare skill, he was kindly entertained by *Phalaris*. He taking notice of *Phalaris* his cruelty, framed a brazen Bull, which being heated and a man put in his belly, would by the roaring of him that was thus tormented, imitate the voice of a natural one. Presenting him with this exquisite piece, as incomparable for the torturing of men, he admired his skill, but detecting his wickedness, caused him first to make a tryal of it, and excused himself to the *Athenians*, who took it ill, as having done nothing but what was just and meet. If *Perillus* had only made experiment, *Phalaris* had satisfied all reasonable men; but threatening his Enemies with this Engine, and making good his word upon them as often as he could have occasion, he thereby incurred, and slighted the hatred of mankind. At the same time flourished one *Sesichorus* a Poet of *Himera*, who died eight years before *Phalaris*. He wrote verses against the *Tyrant*, and raised an Army animating the Inhabitants of

SECT. 1. *Himera* against him, with whom joyned *Conon* a most leud and naughty man, and divers others, all which, together with the Poet, at length fell into his hands. *Conon* was presently condemned to the Bull. He doubted at first what to do with *Strifechorus*, but at length beholding his worth, he not only dismissed him unpunished, but with large gifts; and ever after mightily revered him both alive and dead; inasmuch as he desired the *Himerians* to build him a Temple, and Altars (offering for that purpose men, money, and all necessaries) and most lovingly comforted his daughters.

10. He was so great a contemner of Popularity, and so conscious of his wickedness and publick infamy, that he refused the honours offered him by them of *Melita*, not for any pride, but with a friendly admonition, that it would be to them infamous, and to him not at all advantageous. So when *Strifechorus*, *Cleantes*, *Theane*, and others, thought of writing in his praise, he seriously desired they would forbear, wishing rather that his name might be buried in oblivion, than celebrated in the Writings of Learned men, and, to no purpose, adorned with false commendations. Being grievously provoked by the affronts of the *Messenians*, *Catanians*, *Leontines*, *Zancleanes*, and *Tauromenites*, he prosecuted them to the utmost, often saying, that he most certainly knew they would fall into his hands, which accordingly came to pass. He confessed that he had tortured in the brazen Engine thirty seven men, seriously wishing they might be the last, but he foresaw that *Lamachus* and *Epistates*, though absent, would increase the number. These things are related in the Epistles that go under his name, which some Learned Men think written by *Lucian*. But whoever so drew to the life another's disposition as he there doth his own, inasmuch as *Suidas* accounteth them * very admirable. If one consider their style, accurate, * *Saxatell*, and invention, there are no Epistles of any Tyrant, no not of any Orator or Philosopher to be compared with them. But if one look at the disposition of the man, he was a portentous thing, born for the chastisement of the naughtiness of men, of cruel hatred and unparalleled cruelty; yet of a most propense and munificent mind towards his Friends, and withal reverencing Virtue so much in his very Enemies, that for its sake he would pardon injuries, and relinquish hatred.

11. That is scarce credible which *Clearchus* relateth in (A) *Atheniensis*, that he was transported with so great cruelty, as to have served up to his table sucking and new born Infants. (b) *Ælian* hath a more likely story concerning *Chariton* and *Melanippus*. *Chariton* loved *Melanippus* with an extravagant and immodest Love, as appeareth from the historian. *Melanippus* having a contest with one of *Phalaris*'s friends, was commanded, and at last forced to desist, which taking very ill, he complained of it to his Lover, and desiring his assistance for killing the Tyrant, thought of taking in other young men into the conspiracy. *Chariton* desired of him to trust him alone with the matter to take an opportunity to revenge him, unwilling that both of them should miscarry in it if it were discovered; and on a time made at *Phalaris* with his dagger, but was prevented by his Guard, which he had continually about him. Being examined concerning his Complices, he endured great tortures, so long, that *Melanippus* more sensible of them than he himself, went to the Tyrant, and revealed the whole matter. He admiring the courage and love of both, dismissed them, with this condition, that they should depart the same day out of *Sicily*. This love which appeareth to have been no better than an unnatural lust, was afterwards by *Apollo* called *divine*, whence, as in other respects, these impure Spirits, the gods of Heathens, betrayed themselves what they were. And hence it is no wonder that the Philosophers of old, such as *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æschines*, *Cebes*, and the rest, might approve of this affection towards Males, which the (c) *Romans* yet abhorred in some Ages, the (d) *Lacedæmonians* held as capital, and the Lake wherein *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* were swallowed up, evinceth to have been contrary to the Law of God and Nature. But as for *Phalaris*, after he had tyrannized sixteen years, he perished by the fury of all the multitude of *Arigentum*, which, as (e) *Cicero* writeth, fell upon him. Some thought that his Subjects conspired against him, being principled thereto by the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, of which opinion is also (f) *Famblicius* in the life of this Philosopher. But the whole relation concerning *Pythagoras*'s intercourse with *Phalaris* is therefore deservedly suspected, because the Philosopher being yet young had scarce passed into *Italy*. The death of *Phalaris* hapned about the first year of the fifty eighth Olympiad, and the twelfth year of *Cyrus*'s his Reign, reckoned from his first obtaining of e kingdom of *Media*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of such things as were Contemporary with the Persian Empire.

I. AFTER the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens of *Arigentum* recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it till *Thero* again brought them under. He was the Son of *Ænefidamus*, and boasted that he was descended from *Oedipus*. He got the prize at the Race with the Chariot in the *Olympick Games*, and is celebrated by (a) *Pindar* the Poet, whose *Scholias* teacheth us, that he was the Father in-Law to *Gelon* Tyrant of *Syracuse*, by his daughter *Damaretæ*, and married also his brothers daughter: At this time *Panetius* made himself Lord of *Leontium*, and *Cleander* of *Gela*. *Cleander*, after seven years, was succeeded by his brother *Hippocrates*, who sore afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, or *Messina*, and *Leontium*, whom he forced to acknowledge him for their Lord. After seven years, he was also slain in a battle against the *Siculi*, having before this made War with the *Syracusians*, and by composition got from them the City of *Camerina*. After his death *Gelon* the Son of *Dinomenes* (descended of the Race of the *Rhodiens*, who with the *Cretans* and other *Greeks* had' feated themselves in *Sicily*) that had commanded his Forces with great success, and to whom committed the trust of his Children, breaking all obligations made himself Lord of *Gela*. After he was in possession of this Town, a Sedition happening in *Syracuse*, betwixt the Magistrates and People, he being called in to the assistance of the Governours that were driven out by the multitude, made himself Prince. Such being the danger and infirmity of all Governments, except rightfully successive Monarchy. This fell out in the second year of the seventy second Olympiad, when *Hybridæ* was *Archon* at *Athens*; the thirty first of *Darius Hystaspis*, and the same, as some reckon, wherein the battle at *Marathon* was fought. Now the comportment of *Sicilian* affairs constraining us to speak most concerning *Syracuse*, so considerable a place, both as to its self, as a City, and as the scene of so great transactions, requireth a more accurate description.

2. *Syracuse* was first inhabited by some *Greeks* of *Ætolia*, and had the name of *Ortygia*. These were expelled by the *Siculi*, who possessed themselves of the place, and at length were outed also by a Colony led thither out of *Peloponnesus* by *Archias* the *Corinthian*, in the eleventh Olympiad, *Romulus* then reigning at *Rome*, and the *Messenian* War being very hot in *Peloponnesus*. This new Colony, because of *Archias*, and for that many followed him from *Corinth*, owned that City for its Metropolis, which at that time was most powerful at Sea. But many afterwards flocked out of other parts of *Peloponnesus*, and by little and little the City of *Syracuse* so increased, as it became not only the greatest, and most beautiful of all in *Sicily*, but of *Greek* Cities whatsoever, as *Cicero* affirmeth. It contained, as he writeth, four great Cities; the *Island*, *Acadina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. Its compass was one hundred and eighty furlongs, having, besides Suburbs, two Ports very commodious for shipping, being separated by the *Island*, and grounds about it very fertile, in some places rising into little hills, but compassed about with Fennes. The first Inhabitants dwell in the *Island* antiently called *Ortygia*; then as the City increased the other parts were added, whereof the latest was *Neapolis*. As for the state of the City, after it received a new beginning from *Archias*, the form of the Commonwealth was without doubt the same that there was in the Metropolis under the Government of the *Bacchiads*, viz. *Oligarchical* bordering upon *Aristocracy*. Afterwards the common people waxing heady outed the better sort of the possession of the grounds, and seizing of the Government, made bad to be worse, as the sad changes and desolations will shew. The Exiles (by *Hordotus* called *Gamori*) betook themselves to *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Gela*, who coming to restore them with an Army, the people resisted not, but received him into the City, whereby obtaining the whole power, he restored it not to the Nobility, but made himself master of *Syracuse*. This hapned at the time aforesaid, and about two hundred and forty years after the Plantation of *Archias*.

D d d 2

3. *Gelon*

Sect. 2.
The arts and
power of Ge-
las.

His success
against the
Carthaginians.

The Original
of Carthage.

The several
opinions con-
cerning the
building of
Carthage.

3. *Gelon* to use his power as he was loved by all, and feared by none. Hee-
ry way much enlarged, adorned, and enriched the City: out of all Conquered
Towns he took the Noblest, and worst disposed Citizens, and brought them to
Syracuse. He procured the affections of almost all that dwell in *Sicily*, and
greatly strengthen'd himself, that he was able with a Navy of two hundred Trire-
mes, and as great an Army as all *Greece* could set forth against *Xerxes*, to help
the *Grecians* in the *Median* War; and had gone to their assistance, if they would
either have granted him the Command of the Land Army or the Fleet. When he
could obtain neither of those, he employed his Forces against the *Carthaginians*,
who had been called into *Sicily* by the *Egeatians*, and on the same day wherein the
Greeks obtained their victory at *Salamine*, got to great an one over them at *Himera*.
A Maritime Town, that his glory is thought to have equalled, if not exceeded,
the other of *Theristocles*. At this time the *Carthaginians* were very powerful,
and become eminent; whose affairs being by necessity to be joyned with such
matters as relate to this Island of *Sicily*, a more convenient place cannot be had,
to speak something (as this work requireth) of the Original, and progress of their
Commonwealth.

4. *Carthage* was a Colony of *Tyre*, and *Tyre* of *Sidon* the most ancient Me-
tropolis of *Phœnicia*, mentioned by *Homer* with commendation for ingenious
industry (who hath not one word concerning *Tyre*) and built by *Sidon* the eldest Son
of *Canaan*. *Tyre* was built about the two thousand seven hundred and forty seventh
year of the World, and two hundred and forty years before *Solomons* Temple, as (a)
Foephilus hath observed. The *Greeks* thought it received its name from *Tyrus* the
Founder: and (b) some invented a fable of a Nymph, called *Tyros*, beloved by
Hercules. But *Tjor* in the *Phœnician* language signifying a Rock, the situation it
self sufficiently declareth the Original of the name, which upon this account was
communicated to three other places, besides this eminent City, viz. (c) two in
the Continent, and another in the same Island. Near the Island of this famous
City stood *Palestyris*, or *Old Tyre*, mentioned by *Tolbus*, and called a strong City
even at the division of the Land of *Canaan*, which happened about two hundred
years before the building of that whereof we speak. Now (a) *Foephilus* maketh
the Temple of *Jerusalem* to have been finished in the eleventh year of the reign of
Hiram King of *Tyre*, who was son to *Abebaal*, by *Foephilus* called *Abibalus*, and
by *Enfibus*, *Abelbalus*. *Hiram*, or *Huram* according to the *Hebrews*, (by the
Greeks called *Iron* and *Syron* (for *Horum*) by *Eupolemus*) was a great friend to *Da-
vid*, and supplied *Solomon* his Son with materials, and work-men for building the
Temple. He also proposed hard questions to *Solomon* to be unfolded, as *Menan-
der* testified, who translated the *Tyrian* Annals into the *Greek* language: He
strengthened, and enlarged the City of *Tyre*, as *Dius* also wrote, and reigned thirty
four years. After him his Son *Belesartus* reigned seven, and *Abdastartus*
nine, who being slain by the four Sons of his Nurle, the eldest of them reigned
twelve years. Then *Asartus* the son of *Balesartus* twelve, his brother *Asartus*
nine, who was slain by his brother *Phelles*. *Phelles* reigned but eight months, being
killed by *Ithobalus* the Priest of *Asarta*, who reigned thirty two years; after him
Badecorus his son six, then *Mettinus* his son nine, and lastly, *Pygmalion* twenty,
in the seventh of whose reign his sister *Dido* built the City of *Carthage* in *Africk*.
Therefore from the beginning of *Hiram*'s reign to the building of *Carthage* inter-
vened one hundred and fifty five years and eight months; and whereas the Tem-
ple was founded at *Jerusalem* in the twelfth of his reign, from the building of the
Temple to that of *Carthage* passed one hundred and forty three years and eight
months, as *Foephilus* collecteth from the Testimony of *Menander* the *Ephebian*, in his
first book against *Apion*.

5. But *Appian* in his History of the *Punic Wars*, writeth that *Carthage* was
built by the *Tyrians*, fifty years before the destruction of *Troy*, which precedeth
the former date three hundred and sixty years. He nameth as founders *Zorus* and
Carchedon, according to the opinion of the *Greeks*, who thought them the Cap-
tains of the Colony; whereas *Tjor*, or *Zor*, was the name of the Metropolis,
and *Carchedon* of the new City, *Carthada* signifying a New City, in the *Phœnician*
language, as *Solinus* witnesseth. *Strabo* again will have the *Phœnicians* to have
led out Colonies as far as the Pillars of *Hercules*, and planted some, a little af-
ter the *Trojan* War, upon the Maritime Coasts of *Africk*, with which
Virgil closing, feigneth *Dido* to have reigned at *Carthage* at that time; whereas the
was three hundred years later, according to the Testimony of the *Phœnician* Annals;
so as *Servius* upon the Poet affirmeth the whole story of *Æneas* and *Dido* to be a
fiction

(a) Antiqui-
t. c. c. 2.
(b) Strabo, lib. 1.
(c) Solinus in
descriptione
Phœnicie c. 1.
Bechardus ca-
pit. 17.
(d) Antiqui-
t. lib. 8 cap. 20.
Cæsar. de
urb. lib. 1.

lib. 1. p. 1.

Sect. 2.

It consisted
of three parts.

Missa

The Story of
Dido

fiction, and utterly against the course of History. Further, *Eusebius* noteth that
some accounted *Carthage* built one hundred and forty three years after the de-
struction of *Troy*, about the 2966 year of the World, and the twenty third of
the reign of *David*, one hundred and sixty four years or more before the time
assigned to *Dido* by *Menander*. For the reconciliation of these several asserti-
ons it must be considered that *Carthage* consisted of three parts, viz. *Cobon*,
Megara, and *Byrsa*, whereof the first was the Port, and the last the Citadel com-
passed about by the second, called *Magalas* and *Magaria*, but more truly *Me-
gara*, signifying properly in the *Punic* Language, dwellings in a strange Coun-
try. 'Tis conceived that these might be built at several times; as that part a-
bout the Haven before the War of *Troy*, the other some time within one hun-
dred and forty four years after the destruction of it, which might rightly, in
respect of the other, be called *Carthada*, or *New Town*; and lastly, the *Byrsa* by
Dido one hundred and sixty six years after. For the *Phœnicians* being masters at
Sea, might according to their pleasure, as they had occasion, send out Colonies,
which they began to do from the time that *Folbus* expelled them out of the Land
of *Canaan*. The *Greeks* themselves believed that *Cadmus* made an expedition in-
to *Africk*; and there built many Cities, as appeareth out of *Nonius*; and he
built the Citadel at *Thebes* about the time of *Folbus*. In *Procopius* his age, who
lived under *Justinian* the Emperour, about the five hundred and fourth year
of Christ, the two Pillars were yet standing, which those *Canaanites* erected that
fled from the Face of *Folbus*, in that part of *Africk*, called *Tingitana*, as the
inscription testified, which we formerly mentioned, and *Eusebius* writeth that
these same *Canaanites* led Colonies into *Tripolis* in *Africk*. Lastly, amongst fe-
veral other Cities built by the *Phœnicians*, the most considerable, after *Carthage*,
was *Utica*, some ten miles distant from it, which *Aristotle*, from the *Phœnician*
Histories reporteth to be two hundred and eighty seven years antienter than *Car-
thage*, and *Velheim* *Paterculus* to have been built by the *Tyrians* a few years af-
ter *Gades*, about the time of *Codrus*, who being contemporary with *Saul*, this
City obtained the name of *Utica* or *Ityca*, that is (saith *Bechardus*) in the *Phœ-
nician* language, *Old* or *Antient*.

6. *Dido* was Sister to *Pygmalion* King of *Tyre*, and wife to *Sichæus*, or *Sicharbas*
their Uncle the Priest of *Hercules*. *Sichæus* being murdered by *Pygmalion* for
his Wealth, the out of hatred to, or for fear of her Brother fled into *Africk*,
with all he could take, and thereby disappointed the murderer of his prey. The
Story goeth, that coming into *Africk*, she and her Companions were repelled by
Hiarbas the King of that place, till they craftily desired to buy of him so much
Ground as an Ox's hide would compass. The *Africans* laughed at their folly, and
out of a desire to see what use they could make of so little Ground, swore to make
good the Bargain. The *Phœnicians* then cut the Hide all into one small thong,
with which they encompassed twenty furlong, and thereon built a Castle, thence,
(saith the *Greeks*) called *Byrsa*. But learned men explode this Story of the Hide as
a meer invention, and a fable raised from a false explication of the word, which
in the *Hebrew* Tongue is *Besra*, and signifying a fortified place, or Castle, is changed
into *Byrsa* for the better sound, because the Genius of the *Greek* language suffereth
not *S* and *R* to be joyned together. *Fustini* out of *Trogus* relateth that *Hiarbas*
King of *Mauritania* sent for ten of the principal *Carthaginians*, and required *Dido*
in marriage, threatening else to make War upon them. At their return they told
her he desired some one who might teach his people breeding and manners, but
none could be found that was content to leave his Country, and joyn him-
self with the *Barbarians*, whose Lives were like to those of wild Beasts. She
blaming them all exceedingly, that they preferred their private commodity
before the good of their Country, to which if need required they ought
their very lives, they opened to her the whole matter, saying, that what she would
impose upon others, she ought not her self to refuse. Being caught with this wile,
she long called on the name of *Sichæus*, her husband, with many tears and great lamenta-
tion, then taking three months time for the doing of what there was necessity for,
she made a pile of wood, as though to make a Parentation to *Sichæus*, and appeale his
Ghost before her second marriage. Having killed many Beasts, she ascended the
Pile with a Sword in her hand, and turning to the people said, that now she was
going to her Husband, and therewithal killed her self. Before the name of *Dido*
(which some make to signify *Loved* or *Amiable*, and others more probably *Wan-
dering* or *Erratick*) she had that of *Elissa*, betokening a Divine Woman, or *Virago*,
The *Latin* word *Virago*, in *Greek* written *Onirago*, is in *Eusebius* corrupted into *Ori-*

Menander li-
ber. 1. c. 14.
Folbus ut
prius. Falsis
lib. 18.
Appian. lib. de
bellis Pœnicis.
Cæsar. de ur-
bis lib. 1.

Vide Bechard
Cæsar.
lib. 1. c. 14.
Simplic. ad
A. M. 3132.

Sect. 2. 70. and being applied as a name to the City, and not to the woman, by a misunderstanding hath much perplexed *Polybius Scitiger* and others.

The form of Government at Carthage.

7. Carthage being then re-edified, or enlarged by *Dido*, and the Colony she brought thither, about the 2132 year of the World, in the days of *Pobas* King of *Fudab*, and *Febu* of *Israel*, three hundred and ten years after the destruction of *Troy*, ninety seven before the first *Olympiad*, and one hundred and twenty before the building of *Rome*, was at first under Monarchical Government; but afterwards rejecting it, endured many hazards and hardships, which followed loose liberty, whereof most are briefly recited by *Fufin* in his eighteenth book; and those that follow. The (a) Philosopher compareth this Commonwealth with those of the *Cretans* and *Lacedaemonians*, saying that it was mixed of *Aristocracy* and *Polity*, as he calleth it. (b) *Polybius* saith it was composed of *Kingship*, *Aristocracy*, and *Democracy* Governments, and (c) *Socrates* maketh it *Oligarchical* at home, and in War *Monarchical*. As two Kings at *Lacedaemon* had the first rank of Magistracy with equal power, so at *Carthage* two persons, by them called *Suffetes*, and by *Aristotle*, and *Polybius*, and *Corn. Nepos*, termed *Kings*, yet only nominal; As the former were for life, so these were but *Annual* (in which respect) *(d) Livie* compareth them with the *Consuls of Rome*; and their dignity being hereditary, those were yearly elected out of any noble Families. Such were especially preferred as were accounted most eminent for Virtue, and able to defray the charges of their place. *Aristotle* commendeth this above the *Lacedaemonian* custom; all but that concerning their wealth, imputing it as an error to the Legislator; who ought another way to have provided for Magistrates, that they might attend public business without any detriment to themselves, and so be preferred merely for their Virtue.

8. These *Suffetes* were more rightly in their own Language called *Sophetim*, the Hebrew name of those chief Judges amongst the *Israelites*, who from *Folbus* to *Saul* governed their Commonwealth, and the *History* of whose actions by us called *Judges*, hath the same title of *Sophetim*, for that interpretation which renders it *Sophim* (i. e. Overseers) at the first sight appeareth less probable. Their Office was to assemble the *Senate*, in which doubtless they presided and proposed. They decided causes Criminal, but their power was confined to home, nothing appearing of their meddling with warlike matters, or having command of the Armies. To these *Suffetes* was added a *Senate*, which because *Aristotle* compareth it with that of *Lacedaemon*, may be supposed elective out of the best fort and most ancient men, and the Senators it's likely enjoyed the dignity all their lives. How many they were in number doth not appear; but that herein this Senate exceeded the other of *Lacedaemon*, is to be gathered from *Fufin*, who speaketh of one hundred persons that out of it were chosen for Judges, to take account of the actions of all Generals at their return from the Wars. This Senate, as that at *Rome*, was the chief member, and as the Soul of the State, wherein the *Suffetes* propounding, as the *Consuls* there, all things of moment were brought to it: especially what concerned those great things of Empire: viz. Peace, War, and Leagues. The *Suffetes* deliberating with the *Senate*, if it was unanimous, and they resolved the same thing, their Decree was Law to the whole State; but if the *Senate* and *Suffetes* disagreed, then was the matter referred to the People.

9. In the *Concio* or Assembly of the People, any one of the rabble might speak his mind freely, and without danger contradict the Magistrates. The People's Decree concerning any thing referred, was taken for the ultimate determination of the whole and State, and being once passed was to be binding, that it was not lawful to offer any thing against it, which *Aristotle* reprehendeth (and well may he) as too Popular, and too much declining from the best form of a Commonwealth, affirming this Constitution to have no place in the best modelled States. But *Polybius* dissenting from the Philosopher, where he compareth the *Carthaginian* with the *Lacedaemonian* and *Roman* Commonwealths, sheweth that it was poised of the three kinds of Government, that the *Suffetes* were as Kings, the *Senate* held the place of *Optimates* or *Nobility*, and the People a convenient Power. Yet he addeth, that when *Hannibal* made War upon the *Romans*, (which happened ten years after the death of *Aristotle*.) the State of *Carthage* declined from its ancient and best condition, the People having assumed more than formerly, when the *Roman* Senate's authority was yet whole. This he thinketh to have much incommoded their affairs, and brought great advantage to the *Romans*. But what authority the People had during the best and most ancient State

State, he no where in those Books and fragments that are remaining, declareth. *Emmius* thinketh that it consisted in electing Magistrates, making Laws, Leagues, Peace, and War; in appointing and ordering Negotiations, Customs, Tributes, and such like things, which concerned the generality, and respected the profit of the multitude. But some of these things seem rather to have fallen under the consideration of the Kings and Senate; however the disorders that followed, as in all other such Governments, will satisfy the Reader in his opinion of the excellency of Monarchy.

10. Besides the *Senate* there was a *Council* of one hundred and four men, whereof *Aristotle* only informeth us, and which, according to the round number, from him we may call the *Centumvirate*. They had power to chuse five men out of their Body, who had very large and great authority; Both these sorts of Magistrates retained their power longer than any other, enjoying it both before and after they came to be of the five, which thing was plainly *Oligarchical*. But in that they were not chosen by lot, but by the Suffrages of the People, and served without Wages; in that they alone took cognizance of, and judged controversies, and public actions, none being remitted to others, as the custom was at *Lacedaemon*, this he taketh notice to be *Aristocratical*. He compareth the power of the *Centumvirate* with that of the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, whereby he teacheth us, that the power of judging lay in it. And as the *Ephori* were (according to him) Conservators of Popular Liberty at *Sparta*, protecting the Plebeians against the power of the great ones, so it is likely, from these words of *Aristotle*, that those one hundred men at *Carthage* were the keepers of the Popularity. Herein he preferreth them before the *Ephori*, that they were not chosen out of the Rabble, but the better sort of Citizens, wherein lay also a piece of *Aristocracy*; for mean persons being preferred to greatest places, do much hurt a Commonwealth, saith he, and have already enamoured that of the *Lacedaemonians*. Amongst civil Officers there were some that made inspection into the manners of the Citizens, as *Corn. Nepos* telleth us in the life of *Amilcar*, the Father of famous *Hannibal*, from whom they removed a beautiful young man called *Adranbal*, because he was reported to be more familiar with him, than modesty required. There was also a *Pretorship* which had authority to look to the Customs and Tributes, and also to prefer Laws, as appeareth by *Hannibal*, who being chosen into this Office, not only reformed the Customers, but also taking notice of the corruption of Judges, procured a Law for them to be chosen every year. But whether there were more than one of these Officers, is not to be discovered from ancient Writers.

11. Besides the Faults before mentioned, *Aristotle* reprehendeth the Custom of chusing the *Suffetes* for their riches, which openeth a door to avarice and indirect practices thence arising. He also noteth it as a fault, that one and the same man had several Offices, which yet they esteemed as a great honour. One detestable practice they used of old, to sacrifice to their Gods humane Sacrifices, when any affliction or disaster fell upon them, and even their own Son, as *Plato* witnesseth, which custom they seem to have brought with them out of *Palestine*, every year sending thither such kind of Presents unto *Hercules*, as we find in *Pliny*. Another absurd Law they had, which forbade any Citizens to learn the Greek Language, lest they should hold intelligence with the Enemy, because one *Sunior* had to do with one *Dionysius* the elder, as *Fufin* writeth. This indeed was laudable, that this City abominated Drunkennels, and severely prohibited Wine as much as to be tasted in the Camp, as *Plato* recordeth in his Laws. This also *Aristotle* commendeth, that, for an encouragement to warfare, they had a Law which gave liberty to a Soldier to wear so many Rings as he had served times in the Field. The People were by their natural constitution, morose and surly, obedient to their Magistrates, tyrannical towards their Subjects, most dejected in time of fear, and cruel in anger, resolute in their designs, notwithstanding all force of flattery, and so infamous for their breach of faith, that the *Punic faith* or *trust* became a Proverb. As for their greatness and Dominion, the description thereof is to be left to it's proper place. Now must their affairs abroad in *Sicily* and other parts, be desired with the matters of that Island.

12. At what time, or upon what occasion the *Carthaginians* first came into *Sicily* is uncertain, (a) *Livie* will have them first called in by the Sedition of the Islanders, in the year that *T. Quintius* (Surnamed *Cincinnatus*, as also *Li. Penno*) and *Cn. Fulvius Mento* were Consuls, which was in the beginning of the

Sect. 2.

(a) Polit. lib. 2 cap. 9.

(b) Lib. 16. (c) In Nicom. pag. 61. item quia editi. Source 1656.

(d) Lib. 10.

* Livie lib. 1. c. 19. * Livie lib. 1. c. 19.

* Liv. 19.

* quo supra

Consuls Polybius.

Faults in the Commonwealth.

Good Laws.

The disposition of the people agreeable with their government.

Lib. 30. ch. 5.

Peloponnesian

Sect. 2. Peloponnesian War, the three hundred and twenty third year of the City, fifty years after the passage of *Xerxes* into Greece, and consequently as many from the Victory which *Gelon* got over them; a gross mistake. (b) *Fustin* out of *Trogu*, ha- (c) *Lit. 18.* ving first related their impious custom of pleasing their gods by humane Sacrifices, addeth, that the divine powers being therewith displeased or averle to them, when they had long unhappily made War in *Sicily*, they translated it into *Sardinia*, and there losing the greatest part of their Army, received a grievous overthrow, whereupon they banished *Mazeus* their General, (by whom they had conquered a great part of *Sicily*, and done great matters against the *Africans*) with that part of the Army which remained. The Army taking this in great disdain, sent to the City to desire a repealing of the Act of banishment, and threatened by force to rescind it, in case they were thereto constrained by a denial of their sure. Their message being despised, they besieged the City, and after a few days took it. *Mazeus* calling the People together, complained of the injury, excused the necessity of the War, and inveighed against the contempt of his Victories. He said he would pardon all, but such as had been authors of the injurious Exile of their fellow-Citizens; and accordingly putting ten of the Senators to death, he restored the City to its Laws. Not long after being accused of an intention to make himself absolute, he was punished both for his paricide committed against his Country, and his own Son (as *Fustin* termeth it) whom being a Priest, he had crucified, for refusing to come to him before he had finished his superstitious rites, and when he came appeared in his purple and other ornaments, which *Mazeus* thought unfit with the condition of him his Father. Him succeeded *Mago*, by whose industry the wealth, dominion, and reputation of the *Carthaginians*, for matters of War, increased.

Mago. 13. *Mago* being the first, who by ordaining military discipline, had laid the foundation of Empire, and added to the strength of the City, as well by introducing Virtue as the Art of War, left two Sons behind him, *Amarbal* and *Amilcar*, who by treading in his paths, succeeded as well to the greatness as the Patrimony of their Father. Under their conduct the State made War in *Sardinia*, and fought against the *Africans*, who demanded Tribute for the ground on which *Carthage* stood, which also at length they constrained the *Carthaginians* to pay. *Amarbal* died of his wounds in *Sardinia*, whose death was ennobled by public mourning, eleven Dictatorships, as *Fustin* calleth them (by which seemeth to be understood no other than so many times sending out, or commissioning as General, with full power in the field, yet so as to be under the commands of the State) and four Triumphs: and the Enemies of *Carthage* took heart, as if with the Captain its force and power was also dead. The Inhabitants of *Sicily* then vexed with the continual injuries of the *Carthaginians*, betook themselves to *Leonidas* the brother of the King of *Sparta*, and a great war ensued, wherein both parties long struggled with various Fortune. At this time came Ambassadors from *Darius* (the Son of *Hystaspes*) King of *Persia*, commanding the *Carthaginians* to forbear offering humane Sacrifices, and eating mans flesh, requiring them to burn their dead rather than to bury them, and demanding assistance against the *Greeks*, with whom he was about to engage in War. They denied to afford any succours because of their continual Wars with their neighbours; but obeyed him in the rest, lest they should seem too stubborn, saith *Fustin*, yet that they stood not to their word, the testimonies of *Plato*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, do certify. Whilst these things passed, *Amilcar* was slain in the War of *Sicily*, leaving three Sons: *Anulo*, *Hanno*, and *Gilgo*. *Amarbal* also left to many, viz. *Annibal*, *Amarbal*, and *Sappho*. Of these, *Annibal* is mistaken for *Annibal* the great, by one who hath made some short Notes upon * *Fustin*, and *Amilcar* his Uncle, for *Amilcar* *Barchas* Father to the famous *Annibal*, and *Mago* also for another of this name, that lived * many years after in the days of *Dionysius* the younger, and *Timoleon*. The Annotator wondreth what came into *Fustin's* mind to make *Annibal* (the great) the son of *Amarbal*, and well he might, if any such thing had been intended; he also referreth the Reader to the life of *Timoleon*, to find that *Mago* killed himself, and was after his death nailed to a cross, because he fought unsuccessfully in *Sicily*, which *Plutarch* intendeth of another person. Of this gross mistake of one (whosever he was) that took upon him to inform beginners, Students in History are to take notice and beware.

14. For this *Amilcar* seemeth no other than the very same that was slain in the

the battel with *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, in the fifth year of *Xerxes*, Son to *Darius* King of *Persia*, from which was made a digression into the affairs of *Carthage*. With *Amilcar* perished one hundred and fifty thousand *Carthaginians*; the Captives that remained of his Army, filled all the Cities of the Island, and the State of *Carthage* was constrained to beg peace, having, as some say, made this War at the instance of *Xerxes*, that thereby the *Greeks* in *Sicily* might be diverted from helping their Friends. After this, *Gelon* was offered the Kingdom of *Sicily*; but he generously refused it, whereby he obtained the greater glory and love. At length, having fed all things well, he died full of honour at *Syracuse*, after he had held the principality about thirteen years. In the third year of the seventy fifth Olympiad his elder brother *Hieron* succeeded him. He rebuilt *Catana*, and changed its name into *Arina*, the Mountain of which name about this time brake out into flames, as fifty years after it did also. In the beginning of his reign he was much unlike to his brother *Gelon*, being suspicious, cruel, covetous, and turbulent: then caught with a lingering disease, he was much amended by the conversation of most Learned men. After this he fought prosperously against the *Carthaginians*, who now again returned into *Sicily*, overthrow *Thrasybulus* of *Agirgentum* in a great battel, and drove him to desperation: at length he incurred the hatred of the *Syracusians*, uncertain for what cause, and shortly after withdrawing himself to *Catana*, there died in the second year of the seventy eighth Olympiad, when he had held the Principality from the death of *Gelon* eleven years and eight monthes.

15. After him his brother *Thrasybulus* seized upon the power, whose practices stirred up the Citizens to recover their liberty with the hastening of his ruine. For being set upon by them, he was overthrown, and reduced to such a fraight, that he fled into *Locri* on the Coast of *Italy*, and there killed himself, having held the Sovereignty ten monthes from the death of *Hieron*. The *Syracusians* now gladly resumed their liberty; yet not therewith content, that they might the more secure it, they freed also many other Cities of *Sicily*, from *Tyranny* and foreign Garrisons. But not long after they fell into a most pernicious Sedition. For excluding those from honours whom *Gelon* had brought into *Syracuse* for the establishment of his own interest, they themselves bearing all Offices of Magistracy, and governing the Commonwealth, though they took not away from the other the freedom of the City, the lately made Denizens not enduring it, conspired together, being in number seven thousand of ten thousand which *Gelon* had brought in. Three years after liberty recovered, they suddenly fell upon the two parts of the City: the Island and *Acradina*. The natural Inhabitants overpowering them in numbers, besieged them close, and overthrowing them in a Sea fight, at length constrained them to acquiesce in the present state of things, or else quit the City, after the Sedition and tumult had endured two years. In the mean time by the conduct of *Duceius* a *Sicilian*, those planters that *Hiero* had placed in *Catana*, were thence ejected, and the old Inhabitants restored to the place, whom he had cast out: now also the whole Island was restored to its antient condition, the Exiles being repossessed, and new comers driven out, who settled themselves at *Messana*, the utmost part of the Island.

16. That form of a Commonwealth was now established at *Syracuse*, which *Aristotle* properly calleth *Polity*, mixed of *Oligarchy* and *Democracy*; which, how dangerous it was, appeared shortly. For, after some years, the State continuing in this form, and the number of Citizens increasing, one *Tynderides*, an eminent man, and very rich, egged on by his ambition, brought it into great danger. For binding to him the indigent rabble by his gifts, and using them as a Guard, he manifestly pressed towards the Sovereignty, but by the Union of those who were in greatest grace with the people, he was repressed, and when the beggerly sort would needs undertake his protection, killed in a tumult. When others not at all deterred by this example aspired after such power as threatened liberty, the people for to humble those that carried their heads highest, in imitation of the *Athenians* brought in the use of the *Petalism*. As they by their *Ostracism* removed such Citizens for ten years, so for their reputation and interest were dangerous to the freedom of the City, so the *Syracusians* by the *Petalism* removed such like for five years. This kind of banishment, without loss of honour, or fortune, was called in Greek *Petalismos*, because his name whom any one would have banished was written in a leaf of an Olive, according to * *Diodorus*; both which in the same language

E e e

were

Sect. 2.

Hierod. l. 7.
c. 153.
Asian var. hist.
lib. 13. c. 37.
A. M. 3597.
v. c. 276.
v. c. 276.
v. c. 276.

A. M. 3598.
Ol. 78. 22. 2.
v. c. 287.

Arist. Polit.
l. 5. c. 3.

* Reem leg. ad
Olym. 81.
ann. 2.

The great defeat of Amilcar.

Hieron of Syracuse.

Thrasybulus.

The Syracusians recover their liberty.

The form of the Syracusan Commonwealth.

The Petalism.

Julius lib. 19.

* Magist. ad
l. 19. c. 37.
Londini, pro
Felicis Regis
anno. 1651.

* v. c. infra
p. 44. c. 35.

Mago.

Mago.

Darius his
message to the
Carthaginians.

Sect. 2.

Quickly abrogated for weighty reasons.

The Wars of the Syracuseans.

were signified by the word *Petalos*. But this constitution, as the other at *Athens*, could not long continue. For those eminent persons who were most fit for state Affairs, for fear thereof by little and little withdrew themselves from publick business to a private life. Hereby the Commonwealth fell into the hands of bold, rash, unskilful, and the naughtiest sort of men, whence grievous incommunities and dangers followed. By these things the people were moved to abrogate the Law of *Petalism*, and the better sort returned to the care of the Commonwealth, after which it remained in quietness for some time, but again relapsed, as necessarily it must, from the infirmity of its Antimonarchical Government.

17. Abroad the *Syracusans* had War with the *Tuscan* in Italy; with *Ducetius* Captain of the *Scutuli*, as also the *Agrigentines*, *Trinacrians*, *Leontines*, and *Agelans* in Sicily, wherein most commonly they had the better, and either fully brought under, or bound to them by Leagues, most of the Cities in the Island. *Leontium* a most flourishing Town was utterly destroyed when it now gaped after the Empire of Sicily, the principal Citizens they fell into the *Athenian* War in the first year of the ninety first *Olympiad*, concerning which we have already sufficiently spoken. *Syracuse* was so exhausted therein with expences and slaughters, that upon the brink of Ruin it was merely preserved by the wisdom and valour of *Gylippus*, a stranger of *Sparta*; and not only preserved, but made victorious to admiration, and enabled to return to the *Athenians* so great overthrows by Land and Sea. This War which begun in the fiftieth year of *Athens* against them and the *Selinuntians* lasted not fully three years, leaving a sufficient warning to all, of the vicissitude of human affairs, and shewing, that they who gape after Dominion, and are busie to enlarge their bounds, being carried out by the force of ambition rather than reason, often fall into a necessity of defending their own Estate, and sometimes lose all.

18. The multitude grown exceeding high upon this success, would not rest satisfied with its former privileges, but so ordered the matter, that the temper of this Commonwealth more and more degenerated. *Diocles* a man of principal note, who had persuaded them to put to death *Nicias* and *Demophilus* the *Athenian* Generals, being of a most severe and rigid disposition, eloquent tongue, and great reputation for wisdom, persuaded the people to change the Common State, as *Diodorus* addeth, form'd this new Commonwealth with convenient Laws, whereby this liberty was bounded, and other things ordered as they thought, but falsely, made for publick good. This *Diocles* was in punishment of vice rigid, and inexorable, and yet most just in what was deserved by any man. His Laws were so well thought of by the vulgar, that many Cities of Sicily received them on their own accord, the whole praise of the invention being given to him, though he had others joyed with him in the work, that were excellent for Wisdom and Prudence. In after-times one *Cephalus* under *Timoleon*, and *Polydorus* under *Hieron*, were deputed to the making of Laws, but neither of them were accounted Legislators, but both Commentators upon him, who in the form of his Speech was something short and obscure.

19. *Diocles* amongst other Laws ordained, that it should be Capital for any man to come into the Forum, or place where the people was wont to meet, with his Arms, and that neither the plea of ignorance nor any other excuse should stand him in stead that so offended. Afterwards it hapned that he himself having issued out against the Enemy who made incursions, as he returned with his Sword, heard of a tumult in the Forum, and so went directly thither, not thinking what he had about him. Being for this reprehended by a private man as breaking his own Laws, he cried out he would do no such matter, but establish them with his Blood, and therewithal killed himself. In the Commonwealth thus new modelled by him, 'tis uncertain what order there was, or what method was observed in acting. There was a *Senate* consisting of six hundred men,

Lib. 2. c. 44.
Olymp. 92.
ann. 1.
P. C. 142.
Diod. Sic. lib. 14.

Dioc. ad Olymp.
91. ann. 4.

as

Sect. 2.

Dionysius in the city of Syracuse.

How this was effected by degrees.

as we understand from *Diodorus*; but the same of it was very obscure, and the Power, as may be gathered, exceeding small, which maketh it be so seldom mentioned. The Multitude was sole Lord of all, and daily meeting together created the chief Magistrates, disposed of the Militia, placing, and displacing Officers therein, decreed War, made Peace, contracted Leagues and Alliances, exercised Power as to life or death, granted Indemnity, banished, and recalled at their pleasure. Other things of lesser moment were left to Magistrates, which were various, as in other popular Commonwealths. They were annual; as the Generals abroad, two, three, four, or more, as the people pleased; the General at home who was over the Militia of the City in time of Peace, and had great authority. Others were chosen by lot, as Judges, Treasurers, Censors, and such like, amongst which were also those that overlaw the matters at Sea, the City having an excellent fire for trading. But things could not thus long stand, the Government being such, and wherein the wisest sort could do least, and the foolish inexperienced rabble was most powerful, though having no skill in State Affairs they little minded what they did, and only aimed at their private advantage. Hereby they were easily led aside by one, who cunningly, though underhand, wrought his own designs. For scarcely were eight years passed over from the overthrow of the *Athenians*, when *Dionysius* the Son of *Hermocrates*, a man of a subtle Head, and deep dissimulation, so fooled the multitude, as obtaining from it a Guard for his Person, he invaded the Tyranny in the fourth year of the ninety third *Olympiad*, the very fame that the City of *Athens* was yielded up to *Lyfander*. How this was effected must more particularly be related, to let the Reader behold the danger of Antimonarchical Government, and the happiness of a People under that of hereditary Kings.

20. The Citizens of *Aggesta* (who had entered into League with *Athens* against the *Syracusans*, and been cause of the *Athenian* War, by reason of the controversy betwixt the *Selinuntians* and them about some Grounds) were in great fear after the overthrow of their Friends to be called to account, and quitted those Grounds for which they had contested. But their adversaries not resting satisfied with the restitution of these Territories, but seizing also upon part of the adjoining Region, they sent to *Carthage* for help, giving up themselves into their protection. The *Carthaginians* were very desirous to be masters of this City, so fit for their purpose of Conquering Sicily, but on the other hand they stood in fear of the *Syracusans*, who had so lately grappled with, and worsted the Power of *Athens*. Yet their Ambition prevailing, they promised them aid, which they committed to the care of *Hannibal*, then one of their principal Magistrates, giving him Commission to make War if the case should so require. After the death of *Amilcar* the Affairs of *Carthage* had been managed by his, and his Brothers Sons, being six in number, under whose conduct War was made upon the *Moors* and *Numidians*; and the *Africans* were also constrained to remit the Tribute which had been formerly paid them for the use of the City. Now it was, that this great and numerous Family being dangerous to the liberty of the City, by doing and judging all things, one hundred Judges were chosen from amongst the *Senators*, who received an account from the Generals at their return from the War, that by this awe they might so manage Affairs abroad, as having an Eye upon Justice, and the Laws at home. To *Amilcar* in Sicily succeeded his Son *Amilco*, who having good success in the War, both by Land and Sea, on a sudden lost his Army by the force of Pestilence, for which disaster there was a sad mourning at *Carthage* (as it is largely described by *Justin*) and he at his return killed himself. *Hannibal* was his Brothers Son, being the Grandson of *Amilcar* by his Son *Gescio*, or *Gisco*, * as *Diodorus* informeth us.

21. *Hannibal* having an inbred Hatred against all *Greeks*, and an earnest desire by his own acts to redeem the credit of his Family, was glad of an opportunity to gratify his Country, and near upon seventy years after the overthrow, and death of his Grand-Father, undertook the Employment. He sent to the *Syracusans*, referring the matter betwixt the two Cities unto them, that the *Selinuntians* refusing to stand to any award, as he knew they would, a more specious pretence might be obtained for the War. They accordingly opposing it, the *Syracusans* decreed to hold them as Allies and Confederates, and also to be at Peace with the *Carthaginians*; but the two concerned Cities falling upon each other, both *Syracuse* and *Carthage* was thereby drawn into the Quarrel. *Hannibal* then having both in Spain and Africa made great preparations, the next year landed at *Lilybæum* the most Southern Cape of

Justin. lib. 19.

* Ad Olymp.
92. ann. 3.

A. M. 3595.
Olymp. 92.
ann. 3.
P. C. 144.
Diod. Sic. lib. 14.

ad ann. 4.
Sicily

Sect. 2.

Selinus taken
by the Carthi-
gians.

Sicily towards *Africk*, and setting upon the *Selinuntians* at unawares with a vast Army, took their City in the tenth day of the Siege, wherein he made Captive seven thousand persons, sixteen thousand being slain, and two thousand and six hundred escaped to *Agrirentum*. He permitted *Emeddon* and his kindred to people it anew, under condition of paying Tribute to *Carthage*. This was the condition of *Selinus*, after it had stood two hundred and forty two years from its first founding by the *Megarians*, who being defended from *Megara* in Greece first came into *Sicily* under conduct of *Lamis*, and built a Town upon the River *Pantaeus*, called *Trotilus*. Thence *Lamis* departing with some of his Colony went to the *Leontines* and *Chalcidians*, with whom having lived some time he was driven out by them, and planting some Inhabitants in *Thapsus*, after his death they left the place, and under the conduct of *Hyblon* the *Sicilian* King, who betrayed the Country, inhabited *Megara*, and were called *Hybleans*. After two hundred and forty five years they were driven hence by *Gelon* of *Syracuse*, but one hundred and forty five years before this, they sent out a Colony with *Pamphilus*, which built *Selinus*.

And *Zehera*.

22. *Hannibal* from *Selinus* marched to *Himera*, having a particular grudge against that place for his Grand-father's death. Falling on it with all his might, he was repulsed for a little time by the resolute valour of the Inhabitants, but the Wall being beaten down with his Engines, he shortly took it. Many Women and Children had withdrawn themselves out of the City; of those men which he took he carried up three thousand to the Hill where his Grandfather had been slain, and there killed them, being before used with all kinds of indignities; then rased he the City which had been inhabited two hundred and forty years, and dismissing his Mercenaries and Subjects of *Sicily* departed home, where he was received with greatest expressions of Honour and affection for having done in three months what other Captains would have required far larger time to effect. After his departure, *Hermocrates* the *Syracusan* (who having been sent as General to the assistance of the *Lacedaemonians*, was condemned to banishment in his absence, through the malice of his Enemies) returned with a considerable Force into *Sicily*, and to ingratiate himself with his Country-men, repopled *Selinus*, and fell upon the Tributaries of *Carthage*. The more still to ingratiate himself, he took up the Bones of those *Syracusians* that fell at *Himera*, and in a carriage sent them to the City, well knowing, that this would procure as love to him, so envy and hatred to *Dioctes* his main adversary, who having been the Captain of the Slain, had taken no care for their Burial. *Dioctes* much opposed their publick Sepulture, but the People resolutely decreed it, then banished him, and yet they recalled not *Hermocrates*, being jealous lest he should improve his power and abilities to the making of himself absolute. He then being in despair of returning by fair means, attempted to do it by force, and getting in to the City, was amongst his complices killed by the multitude.

23. In the second year of the ninety third *Olympiad*, the *Syracusians* sent to *Carthage* to complain of the late War, and to desire that for the time to come they would forbear all hostility, to which they returned an ambiguous answer, and made all possible provision for an Army, wherewith to subdue the whole Island. Before they transported any Forces they sent a Colony thither, which at the hot Waters built a City, and called it *Therma*. The year following they ordered *Hannibal* to go over as General, who excusing himself by reason of his Age, they joyntly with him *Imilco* the Son of *Hanno*, one of the same Family. These two Generals then made Levies throughout *Africk*, hired Soldiers out of *Spain*, the Islands *Baleares*, and *Italy*, and got together an Army of twelve hundred thousand men according to *Timæus*, but after *Ephorus* his reckoning three hundred thousand. As they were passing over, the *Syracusians* met them, and sunk fifteen of their Vessels, but with the rest *Hannibal* passed safe over, and fell upon the rich and stately City of *Agrirentum*, which contained two hundred thousand Persons. The *Agrirentines* wanted not assistance from their Friends, all the Greek Cities being deeply concerned in their welfare; and the *Syracusians* gave the besiegers a considerable defeat, who demolishing the Tombs and Monuments the better to get to the Walls, had thereby pulled down a Pestilence upon themselves, saith *Diodorus*, wherein *Hannibal* died. But *Imilco* (or *Imilcar*) thereby not discouraged, continued the Siege, expiating the offence, as he thought, by sacrificing a Boy to *Saturn*, and drowning a company of Priests in the Sea as an offering to *Neptune*. His Soldiers mutinying for Provisions, he supplied, by taking of the Ships which loaded with necessaries were sent from *Syracuse* to the besieged. Hereby he starved them within, and constrained them to quit

*Diodorus ad
Olymp. 93. an. 1.*

A. N. 3598.
10. 23. an. 2.
P. C. 347.
Him. an. 2.

At an. 3.

And *Agri-
rent.*

the City, being guarded to *Gela* by armed men. *Imilcar* found extraordinary plunder in it, whereof some rarities he sent to *Carthage*, amongst which was *Phalaris* his Bull, though *Timæus* the Historian carping at all others, by denying that there was ever any such thing, is justly censured by *Diodorus*. For *Scipio Africanus* the younger, two hundred and sixty years after, having destroyed *Carthage*, restored this Engine to the *Agrirentines*, with whom it was yet remaining when *Diodorus* wrote his History.

24. *Imilcar* having, after a Siege of eight months, thus mastered *Agrirentum*, a little before the Winter solstice, destroyed it not presently, that therein he might quarter his Soldiers that Winter. All the Island was struck with great fear upon report of what had hapned; some of the *Sicilians* departed to *Syracuse*, and others transported their wives and children with their wealth into *Italy*. The *Agrirentines* being got safe to *Syracuse*, accused their Captains, as having betrayed their Country, and the *Syracusians* were also blamed by the rest for having chosen such Generals, as by their dishonesty had brought *Sicily* into extreme danger. A meeting being had at *Syracuse*, and great fear of a War possessing all men's minds, none dared to speak one word, or give any advice. All sticking at the matter, at length stood up *Dionysius* the Son of *Hierocrates*, and accusing the Captains of having betrayed *Agrirentum*, earnestly moved the People to punish them forthwith, and not stay the time prefixed by Law. For this unlawful and seditious motion, the Magistrates fined him; but one *Philistus* a wealthy man, who afterwards wrote his History, bade him proceed, promising to pay his fine, though it were a whole day together. Animated hereby he proceeded, urging that the Captains had been corrupted to betray the interest of *Sicily*, and accusing others of the better sort of Citizens as affecting *Oligarchy*. He therefore moved that new Officers might be created, such as were not eminent for power, but good will towards the People, for that the other usurping dominion despised the common fort, and made their own markets out of the publick; whereas those being of lower fortunes, by a consciousness of their own weakness could not attempt such a matter.

Dionysius his
tricks for mak-
ing himself
absolute.

25. Having discoursed these things sily to the humour of the multitude, and his own design, he made no small impression in the minds of the Vulgar, who having had the fidelity of the Captains in question before, gave credence to these slanders; and deposing them, made new, amongst which was *Dionysius*, having got much credit for his valour against the *Carthaginians*. The foundation thus laid, he beat his head all manner of ways how to accomplish his device, and resolved if possible to get his Colleagues removed. For this purpose, he never would meet in council with them, giving out they hatched clandestine designs against the State, and seeing the Citizens much affrighted at an approaching War, procured the Exiles to be called home, hoping that they being obnoxious to him, and desirous of innovation, would be fit for his purpose, taking great delight in seeing their Enemies killed, and their goods sold, their own Estates being restored to them. At this time it hapned that a Sedition falling out in *Gela*, he had an opportunity to lead thither two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, where procuring their principal men to be put to death, and their Estates confiscated, he thereby much ingratiated himself with the multitude and Soldiers. At his return he found the People just departing from the shows of the Theatre, which asking him news, he said he knew none, but that their Governours were greater Enemies to the State than the *Carthaginians*, by whose Batteries they now kept holy-day, and who fleecing the Commonwealth, cheated the Soldiers of their wages. Now was an innumerable Army hovering upon the borders, and ready to invade, which they not at all regarded. This he understood a little before, but now fully, having received a message from *Imilco* that desired his conivance. Wherefore for his part he would lay down his Office, not induring that others making merchandise of the Commonwealth, he alone should, together with the Citizens, bear the burthen, and undergo the danger; and yet also be accounted as treacherous as the rest. For this night every man in great fear went home to his house. The next day he called them together, and loading his Colleagues with great invectives, so stirred the multitude, that some beginning to cry out he was to be made Dictator, for that they had formerly had experience how convenient the conduct of a single Person was, by the example of *Gelon* his Victory over *Amilcar*, the multitude out of hand created him General with full power. Then to bind fast the Soldiers to him, he procured a Degree for double pay, alleging that it would make them more valiant in that time of danger, and bidding the People take no thought about raising money.

26. The

The misery of
People desti-
tute of right-
ful and here-
ditary Prin-
ces.

SECT. 2.

26. The wiser sort had all along sufficiently understood whither these actions tended, but the multitude stopped their ears against all accusations, as proceeding from the malice of the great ones. But now upon further consideration they began to suspect him, and repent they had put the power out of their own hands, which he being aware of, left the discontent should be seized upon the generality as thereby to procure him any let or hindrance in the full completing of his design, he drew out the Army to *Leontium*, which now was used as a Fortress or Garrison, and there shutting himself close up, pretended a great conspiracy against his life. The day following he called the multitude together, and, alleging many probable reasons to persuade them to believe the danger, obtained to have six hundred men as a guard for his person, which he should chuse out where he pleased. This number he increased to one thousand, picked out, and consisting of such as were desperate in fortune, and thereupon backed with stomach and resolution. He called the Mercenaries, and engaged them to him with good words; then new modelling the Army, gave such commands therein as he knew would best serve his own turn: he gave free admission to all Exiles and malefactors, knowing such would be effectual for all his purposes. Having thus in imitation of *Pisistratus* got him a guard, and made himself Tyrant, at his return to *Syracuse* he openly shewed himself such, placing his Tent in the Arceus. The People murmured in vain, being bled with strangers and mercenaries at home, and in continual fear of a War hanging over them from abroad. To establish himself he took to wife the daughter of *Hermocrates*, who did such service against the *Athenians*, and was slain in attempting to seize on the City: he also gave his own sister in marriage to his wives Brother, thinking it his interest to be allied to so great a Family. Then assembling the People, by his devices he procured *Daphneus* and *Demarchus* the most potent of his Adversaries to be put to death; and so from a Scribe and a man of mean condition, he became Master of the greatest Greek City, continuing such for thirty eight years, unto his end.

A. M. 3599.
Oly. 99. an. 3.
P. C. 248.
Darius Natis
18.

them ad. 4.

A conspiracy
against him

Disappointed

He maketh
peace with the Cartha-
gians.

27. *Imilcar* having wintered in *Avringtonum*, at Spring-time razed the City, and then fell upon *Gela*. The Inhabitants betook themselves to *Dionysius* for help; but his endeavours not well succeeding, they were forced to quit the Town, and leave it also to the disposal of the Enemy. *Dionysius* made the Citizens of *Camerina* to do the same, possessing them with a fear of the *Carthaginians*, so that departing thence in haste, some with their Gold and Silver, others with their Wives and Children only, and the ways being full of both sexes and ages, who miserably thinned servitude by Exile, the *Syracusan* Horsemen pitied them exceedingly, and accounting thus but a fetch of their Tyrant, to make himself Master of the place, conspired how they might kill him in the way, and the rather, because they had observed how remiss, or rather industriously treacherous, he had been in the relief of *Gela*. He keeping the Mercenaries close to him, they could not execute this design, but rode fast to *Syracuse*, where being easily admitted, they rifled his Palace, and used his Wife so harshly that she died. They were secure of him as at a great distance from them; he conjectured the same, and in post-haste coming to *Syracuse*, set fire on one of the gates, and so got in. Then slaughtered he such of them as he could light of, as also of those Citizens whom he knew to be most averse to him, some he slew, and others he expelled the Town. Scarcely were things settled, when a message came from *Imilcar*, inviting the *Syracusans*, though conquered, unto Peace. *Dionysius* most gladly embraced the offer, so that it was made up on these terms: The *Carthaginians* were to have subject to them, besides their old Tributaries and Colonies the *Stranis*, *Sclumuntians*, *Avringtonians*, and *Himerians*, and also the *Gelaans* and *Camerinians*, who might inhabit their Towns unvalled, but be tributary to *Carthage*. The *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all *Sicilians*, were to be free and the *Syracusans* subject to *Dionysius*. All ships taken on both sides were to be restored. These things confirmed, *Imilcar* passed over into *Africk*, having lost half of his Army by the Plague, which he razed also in *Africk*, that great multitudes both of the *Carthaginians* and their Associates fell thereby.

28. *Dionysius* knowing that the *Syracusans* now cased of the War, would buie their heads how to recover their liberty, to prevent such a design, fortified that part of the City called the *Iland*, which he caused to be inhabited with his own confidants: he also divided the publick grounds to such as he thought fit, and admitted strangers to equal privileges with the Citizens. Having thus as he thought secured his estate, he resolved to march against such *Sicilians* as he thought most

Another de-
sign against
him

Frustrated.

His Wars.

assisted the *Carthaginians*, and was about to besiege *Erbessa*, when the Citizens of *Syracuse* now armed, considering what an opportunity was put into their hands, and repenting they had not assisted the Horsemen in their revolt, resolved to declare for their liberty. The attempt generally took, the Citizens stood upon their defence, and the Tyrant was besieged, for whose head a great sum of money was offered. He was much cast down, and thought to resign his power, according as some advised him; but *Philistus* turned his mind, and made him resolve to venture all rather than do it. Bethinking himself how he might circumvent the Citizens, he sent to them, pretending a willingness to quit all, if they would but permit him to carry away his goods; and at the same time he dispatched a message to the *Campanians* (mercenary Soldiers of *Campania in Italy*) offering them large rewards if they would stand by him. The *Syracusans* consented he should depart with five ships, and then, as if their liberty was fully recovered, grew secure, remiss, and idle, distancing some of their men, neglecting their guards, and taking their pleasure in the fields: The *Campanians* allured by his promises broke in to him, some Troops of Mercenaries also came to his assistance, with which he set upon the Towns-men, and easily putting them to flight recovered his power. He hindered his men from killing, and a great number flying to *Atina*, he sent to them, offering them pardon, which some embraced, and others refused to venture themselves upon it.

29. When he had well re-settled himself, he made War upon several Towns in *Sicily*, some of which he took, and having an eye upon the *Carthaginians*, strongly fortified his City of *Syracuse*. He resolved with himself to make War upon them, hoping that all those Towns which in time of Peace willingly submitted to their yoke, would now revolt to him. Understanding that in the *Athenian* War a line had been drawn before *Syracuse*, from Sea to Sea, and thereby access into the Country cut off, with admirable celerity he raised a wall to prevent this for the time to come, labouring himself amongst the workmen, to cause them the more cheerfully to undergo the toil: Then did he make extraordinary provisions of all sorts of Arms, completely furnished himself with shipping, and hired Soldiers from all parts. Thus provided, he caused all the goods of the *Carthaginian* Merchants, and others dwelling there, to be seized by the multitude of the *Syracusans*, to whom now he carried himself more mildly, being very ready to begin the War; especially upon so profitable terms. Other *Sicilian* Towns followed his example, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians* for their cruelty, of whom such as were amongst them they unmercifully handled in way of requital, which taught that State to deal more favourably afterwards with such as they took, in remembrance of the vicissitude of humane affairs. Then dispatched he a messenger to *Carthage*, to denounce War from the people of *Syracuse*, except they would set at liberty all the Greek Cities of *Sicily*. They were much struck therewith, being exceedingly spent with Pestilence, but refused to do it, and as they might, made provision for resistance. *Dionysius* besieged *Motya* one of their Colonies, and chief Fortresses for War. Upon his ships *Imilco*, as yet not sufficiently provided, made an attempt, and beating up the Camp presently retired again; so that *Dionysius* became Master of the Town.

30. Ere he had taken *Motya* he besieged *Eggesta*, the Inhabitants whereof would not betray their trust, and made excursions into the Territories of their Friends. But the Spring following the *Carthaginians* having created *Imilco* King, sent him over with a vast Army, wherewith he first worsted *Leptines*, whom *Dionysius* had commanded to attend his motions; and then took *Eryx*, and presently recovered *Motya*. He had *Panormus* betrayed to him: he took *Lipara*, and after that *Messana* with his ships, the Inhabitants having sent their Forces out of the Town to meet his Land Army. When he took *Motya*, *Dionysius* brake up his Siege and retreated to *Syracuse*: now hearing that he intended to set upon *Catana* both by Sea and Land, he sent *Leptines* with the Fleet after *Mago* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, and he himself marched by Land to meet with *Imilco*. *Leptines* according to order made out as fast as he could, and attacking the Enemies Fleet, at first sunk diverse Vessels; but when he was now almost incompanied with *Mago's* ships which were in number five hundred, not able to fight at such disadvantage, he was forced to fly out into the Main, and in his flight lost one hundred Vessels. *Dionysius* kept on his march, intending to fight *Imilco*; but was stopped by the intercession of his friends, who feared lest in his absence *Mago* might with his whole Fleet set upon *Syracuse*, and take it.

therefore

SECT. 2.

Diod. ad Olympe.
95. an. 3. 4.idem ad Olympe.
95. an. 1.A. M. 3609.
Olym. 96. an. 1.
P. C. 248.
Darius Natis
19.

Sect. 2.

therefore returned to the City, and dispatched away Messengers into Greece and Italy for aid.

Syracuse besieged.

31. *Mago* by Sea with two hundred Ships, and *Imilcar* by Land with thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, besieged *Syracuse*, who for that the Citizens refused to give battle, waited their grounds for thirty days, and after that took the Suburbs of that part of the City called *Acradina*. His Army was taken with a sudden panic fear, and seized by a fore disease; yet notwithstanding he drew a line for the Fortification of his Camp, and built three Forts upon the Sea, wherein he put his provisions, and sent into *Sardinia* and *Africa* for more. Afterwards *Polyxenus* father-in-law to *Dionysius* returning out of *Peloponnus* and *Italy* with thirty long ships, and *Pharacidas* the *Lacedemonian*, to the assistance of the *Syracusians*, they took a victualling ship from the *Carthaginians*. They doing their endeavour to rescue it, the *Syracusians* drew out their whole Fleet, and engaging, took the Admiral Gally, and spoiled twenty four Vessels. After this the *Carthaginians* durst not stir abroad, and the *Syracusians* puffed up with this Victory, thought of recovering their former liberty. *Dionysius* coming in at the Port, called them together, encouraged them in the War, and gave them hopes of finishing it shortly to their satisfaction. Here before his face, one *Theodorus* in many words exhorted his fellow Citizens to throw off the yoke, and either take the Militia into their own hands according to the Laws, or deliver it up to the *Lacedemonian* General. But *Pharacidas* the *Lacedemonian*, according to his instructions from his superiors (who had now established an Oligarchy wherever they could, agreeable with their own Government and interest, or gave way to the power of a single man rather than that of the People) said openly, that he was sent to help them against the *Carthaginians*, and not to overthrow the power of *Dionysius*; so that the people were at so unexpected a thing utterly quelled, murmuring much against the *Lacedemonians*, who had now twice deceived them in the recovery of their freedom. *Dionysius* affrighted hereat, made shew afterwards of great humanity, to gain the affections of the people.

Another attempt him.

Frustrated.

A grievous plague seized on the Carthaginians.

32. The *Carthaginians* were at this time seized with a most grievous Plague, which *Diodorus* attributeth to their rifling the Temples of *Proserpina* and *Ceres*, as the Meritorious cause, and to the unwhollomness of the place beset with Fens, as the effectual means that wrought the distemper. A grievous disease had formerly fall'n upon the *Athenians* in the same place. For before Sun-rise, because of a cold vapour that rose from the Fens, a cold and shaking seized on the body, then at noon a suffocating heat. So many men being gathered together into one place, the contagion began first with the *Africans*, who, though they died in great numbers, were at first all buried. Afterwards the number increasing, such as looked to the sick dying also shortly after them, none would venture to come near the infected. But besides want of attendance, no remedy could be had for the evil. For from the stench of the dead, and putrefaction of the Fennish Air, in the beginning of the disease a Catarrh, and then presently an *Angina*, or swelling of the neck, took the Patient. These were followed by a Fever, pains in the *Spina*, and numness of the legs, which drew after them a Dysentery, and Spots over all the body. Some were taken with madness, and abolition of memory, who wandering up and down the Camp beat all they met. At length all the endeavours of Physicians were void, through the vehemence of the disease, and suddenness of death, for on the fifth, or at the furthest on the sixth day they died in great torment. *Dionysius* understanding this sad condition of the besiegers, thought it convenient to fall out upon them, and sent eighty ships to fall on their Navy. The Land Army first arriving took two of their Forts, and diverted them from their ships, which as soon as they saw in danger, they again retired to them; but with little advantage. For the *Syracusians* boarded and slaughtered them in great numbers, and *Dionysius*, with his Land Army, fired forty of their Gallies that rode at Anchor in the Haven of *Dafco*. The night approaching broke off the fight, and then the *Carthaginians* sent to *Dionysius* three hundred Talents, begging leave to depart; which he granted (with exception to all *Sicilians* and other Mercenaries) being unwilling they should be quite defeated, that through fear of them his Subjects might be the better contained in obedience. After the flight of the *Carthaginians*, the *Sicilians* departed home, and all the rest were slain or taken, except the *Spaniards*, who gathering themselves into a round body, sent to *Dionysius* to enter into Alliance with him; which he accepted.

33. Dio.

Sect. 2.

33. *Dionysius* being secure of the *Carthaginians* for some considerable time, provided against his Mercenaries, which badly affecting him, he prevented by taking of their Leader, and bestowing on them the City and Territories of *Leontium*. Then did he make new Leavies, and replanted *Messana* with its ancient Inhabitants the *Messanians*; but seeing the *Lacedemonians* his Friends offended with it, he removed them to another place near the Sea, which they called *Lyndarides*, and wherein they did thrive exceedingly, Conquering and laying several places to their demesnes. Having fortified *Messana*, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* (who formerly jealous of his growth, had shown their bad affection to him) conceived it to proceed from some design against their City, which stood over against it in *Italy*, upon the very Crag of the Promontory, where *Sicily* was supposed to have been broken off from the Continent, whence it had the name of *Rhegium*. They sent *Heloris* to besiege *Messana*, whereupon he determined to make War against them; but the *Sicilians* seizing upon *Tauromenium*, he first resolved to recover it. He continuing his Siege all Winter, in a dark night got a certain Fort into his Hands, and made way for all his Army into the Town; but the Inhabitants gathering together, and resisting, from the higher ground, beat back his men, whereof his hundred were slain, and he himself escaped very narrowly, after which the *Agryntines* and *Messanians* forsook him. The year after, he set upon *Rhegium* on a sudden, burnt the Gates, and set Ladders to the Walls; but was repulsed by the strong opposition of the Citizens. By this the Inhabitants of these Sea-Coasts of *Italy*, seeing how far his covetousness and ambition extended, made a League amongst themselves, and appointed a common Council, both for the resistance of him and the *Lucanians*, who made War upon them at the same time.

Dionysius seizes upon Rhegium.

Mago

34. *Mago* was yet in *Sicily*, and was once overthrown in Battle by *Dionysius*. The Year following his Superiors sent over great Supplies, gathered as well out of *Sardinia* and *Italy*, as *Africa*, to the number of eighty thousand men, whereupon he overran the Countrey and withdrew most of the Cities from their Obedience, till he came to the *Agryntines*, whom he could neither remove by fair nor foul means from their resolution. *Dionysius* with his Mercenaries and *Syracusians* marched out against him, sending before to the *Agryntines* to be in readiness, who thereupon met him, and joined their Forces with his Army. *Mago* now in an Enemy's Countrey was fore straightened for Provisions, which made the other resolve to draw out the War in length, and not to try his Fortune quickly by Battle. The *Syracusians* being earnest for fighting, upon his refusal forsook him and departed home. This put him upon a resolution to make Peace, which he accepted upon this condition, that the *Sicilians* should be under his authority; and so *Mago* returned home. After this *Dionysius* seized on *Tauromenium*, and then banished the greatest part of the *Sicilians* from that Town.

Forced to return.

Dionysius his second expedition against Rhegium.

Rhegium.

35. The next year but one, being the 3615 year of the World, into which fell part of the third year of the ninety seventh Olympiad, wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, as some compute, *Dionysius* once more undertook an expedition against *Rhegium*. He landed his Army, consisting of twenty thousand Foot and one thousand Horse in the Territories of *Locris*, waiting all with Fire and Sword, his Navy, which consisted of one hundred and twenty Gallies, attending his motions all along, till at length he pitched his Camp near the Streights. The *Italians* inhabiting that part of *Italy* called *Magna Græcia*, hereupon dispatched away fifty Ships to help them of *Rhegium*, upon which he fell, and had taken or destroyed them, but that the besieged issuing forth, repelled him with Darts and Arrows, and taking the opportunity of a Storm, drew the Ships to Land; so that in this Fight he lost seven Ships with fifteen hundred men, and escaping drowning but narrowly, fled to *Messana*. Then Winter drawing on, he made a League with the *Lucanians*, who after his departure, for a private quarrel betwixt them, invaded the *Thurians*. These sending for aid to the rest of the *Italian* Cities, would not stay for it, which they might justly expect according to Covenant, but issuing out against the Enemy, pursued them into their own Territories, who then taking them at advantage cut off many thousands of them. The rest seeing some Ships lay by, cast themselves into the Sea to swim to them, thinking they belonged to *Rhegium*. But it proved *Dionysius* his Fleet sent under conduct of his Brother *Leptines* to aid the *Lucanians*; yet *Leptines* took pity of them, and landed them safe; he also persuaded the *Lucanians* for a pound of Silver a man

E f f

to

Diod. at Olymp. 96. ann. 3.

idem ad ann. 4.

idem ad Olymp. 97. ann. 1.

Idem 3.

A. M. 3615; Olymp. 97. ann. 3. P. C. 354. Antea M. 15.

Sect. 2. to release their Prisoners, passing his word for the money, and at length made them Friends. But hereby he lost the favour of his Brother (who hoped to devour both sides, and make himself master of *Italy*, when they should have sufficiently weakened one another) so that being displaced, *Thearides* the other Brother was made Admiral in his stead.

His third expedition.

36. *Dionysius* his mind was still upon *Rhegium*, to which City he bore mortal hatred, because some years before having sent to them for a Wife, they returned him answer, that their Hangman had a Daughter, which if it pleased him to accept they would give to him. Therefore the Year following he let Sayl come more against them, who then looking for no mercy in case he should take the Town, sent to him, desiring they might be moderately used. He required a Tribute of three hundred Talents, all their Ships, with one hundred Hostages, and then went against *Caulonia*, the Inhabitants whereof he removed to *Syracuse*, razed the Town, and bestowed the Ground upon the *Locrians*. But his design was not thus accomplished against them of *Rhegium*; his resolution was not to dismiss them upon the former Terms, but by taking away their Ships to prevent the bringing in of Provisions by Sea, that he might the more easily starve them in a Siege. Bethinking himself how with any show of Credit he might break the League, at length hovering yet about the Straights, he desired a supply of Provisions from them, pretending he would shortly return to *Syracuse*; but he put it off from day to day, excusing himself by his own indisposition, or some other pretext, so that plainly seeing his drift, at length they flatly denied to send him any more Victuals. This he pretending to receive with great indignation as an affront, he laid close Siege to the Town, and battered the Walls. The Inhabitants making one *Phyto* their General, armed all that could carry Weapons, and making many brave Sallies out upon him, burnt his Engines, and gave him a dangerous Wound with a Lance. But the Siege continuing, after eleven months they were driven to such want, as a Bushel of Wheat was sold for ten Pounds, and at length they were forced to come out of the Walls, and there graze like Cattle, whereas he was so far from being moved with Compassion, that he sent Beasts thither to eat up the Grass from them. Great heaps of Carcasses lying in the Town, and the Villages of the living being by Famine rendered like unto them, they at last delivered up the Town. Such as could redeem themselves with a pound of Silver he released, and sold the rest. *Phyto* the General, after grievous torments, he drowned in the Sea, with his whole Family.

His studies.

37. After the destruction of *Rhegium*, *Dionysius* lying idle at home, applied himself to Poetry, being heretofore much addicted to it. Whilst he lay before *Rhegium* he sent his Brother *Thearides* to the celebration of the *Olympick* Games, there to repeat his Verses, which by their baldness drew the auditors into such a distast, that they ridiculed the Ambassadors Tents. He called together the best Poets from all quarters to judge of his Skill. He also drew over to him *Plato* the Philosopher, whom at first he used very courteously, but afterwards offended at him for his freedom of Speech, he brought him into the common Cage, and there for five pounds sold him as a Slave. The Philosophers coming over on purpose redeemed him, and then sent him into *Greece* with this Memento in his Ear, That *A Philosopher must either very rarely, or very pleasantly converse with Tyrants*. A year or two after this he put out to Sea with sixty Vessels, pretending an intention to clear the Coasts of Pirates, but wanting Money, according to his custom towards the Temples of *Sicily*, he seized upon a Chapel near *Argylla*, on the Coasts of *Italy*, which being exceeding rich, he plundered of one thousand Talents, and got much spoil from the Inhabitants of the place, who opposed him. Being now furnished with money, he resolved to renew the War against the *Carthaginians*, and the next year drew divers of their tributary Cities from their Obedience. The *Carthaginians* made great preparations for defence, raising a numerous Army, which they committed to the conduct of *Mago*. He poured out a great number of men both into *Sicily* and *Italy*. In the Island, *Dionysius* overthrew him in a Battle near *Cabala*, wherein were slain more than ten thousand of his men, and five thousand taken: he himself with the rest retired to an Hill, where fighting manfully he was slain, and his men sent to *Dionysius* to desire Peace.

He overthrew the Carthaginians.

38. *Dionysius* answered, that the only way to obtain their desire, was to quit *Sicily*, and pay the charges of the War. To this he seemed to assent, but allegedly he had no power to deliver up the Cities, and therefore desired a Truce for some time to advise about it. During the Truce, *Mago's* Son being advanced into his

Idem ad ant. 4.
Dionysius.
ant. 1, 2.

A. M. 3618.
Ol. 58. ant. 1.
P. C. 357.
Dionysius.
Idem.

Idem ad ant.

Idem ad Olymp.
59. ant. 1.

Idem ad ant.

And received an overthrow from them.

He died.

His wives and issue.

Dionysius his son succeeded him.

His disposition.

his Father's place, trained the Soldiers, and exercised them continually, so as he brought them into a good condition for fighting, and then at the end of the Truce led them down, and gave battle instead of receiving Peace. Now were the *Sicilians* so puffed up by their late Victory, that the other took advantage of their carelessness, and so played the men, that though *Dionysius* in his wing, and *Lepides* his brother in the other, fought most valiantly, and the former prevailed; yet the latter being slain, his party was presently put to flight, in which great execution was done, the *Carthaginians* giving no quarter; so as fourteen thousand *Sicilians* are said to have been slain. The Conquerors departed to *Panormus*, and thence sent to *Dionysius*, offering to have the quarrel taken up, which he gladly embraced. Both sides were to retain what they already had, only the *Carthaginians* took to themselves the City and Territories of *Selinus*, with so much ground belonging to *Agri-genium* as reached to the River *Hydruntus*, and required of *Dionysius* one thousand Talents. Long after this he retired from War, but still grudging the *Carthaginians* any footing in *Sicily*. This moved him at length with great preparations both by Sea and Land to invade their Territories, wherein he took some Towns, wasted the Country, and besieged *Lilybæum*; but perceiving it very strong presently again rose up from before it. Then hearing that the Arcenal at *Carthage* was fired, he carefully behaved himself, and sent one hundred and thirty Gallies to seize on the Haven of the *Erycinians*, commanding all the rest to return to *Syracuse*; but the Enemy unexpectedly with two hundred ships well manned, fell upon them in the Haven, and took most of them; then winter coming on, they made Truce, and each departed to their own places. Not long after, *Dionysius* died after a Surfeit he got by feasting, for joy he was pronounced Victor in Poetry at *Athens*, after he had reigned thirty eight years, in the first of the one hundred and third *Olympiad*, A. M. 3637. three hundred and sixty fix before the ordinary *Æra* of Christ. It had been told him by an Oracle, that he should die when he overcame his betters, which he had applied to the *Carthaginians*.

Diodor. ad
Olymp. 103.
ant. 1.

Vide *Ælian*
var. hist. lib.
13. c. 10.

Plutarch. &
Corn. Nepos in
Dionys.

Plutarch &
Nepos ibid.

A. M. 3637.
Ol. 103. ant. 1.
P. C. 366.
Dionysius.
Ant. 37.

Omnia Aristophani dicuntur in & Plutarch & Corn. Nepos. Vide Dionys. Laertium in vita.

Ælian var. hist. l. 12. c. 47.

39. *Dionysius* married two Wives in one day: *Doris* born at *Locri*, and *Aristomache* Daughter to *Hipparchus* of *Syracuse*, and Sister to *Dion*. By the former he had a son called *Dionysius*; by the later no Children for a long time (for which cause he put to death the mother of *Doris*, upon suspicion of having practised something upon *Aristomache* to cause her barrenness) but afterwards begot of her two sons and as many daughters. When he lay sick, *Dion* inquired of the Physicians concerning his condition, whether he was in any danger, that if so, he might move him about the sharing of his Kingdom; for that he thought his sisters Children might justly expect their part therein. The Physicians told this to young *Dionysius*, who found himself so concerned in it, that to prevent his Father's discomfiting with *Dion*, he compelled them to give him that which laid him so fast asleep that he never could awake, and so he solely succeeded him.

40. *Dionysius* the younger at first gave such hopes of a pliable disposition, that *Dion* prevailed with *Plato* to return to *Syracuse*, thinking that by his instruction he might be made a good and temperate Prince. But *Dion's* emulators fearing he might be changed from his former course, which though bad in it self was more convenient for them, recalled *Philitus* (one who was banished by the late *Dionysius*, and being a learned man, wrote the history of his life) that they might have one to oppose to *Plato*. He according to what was intjoyed, and his private interest, upheld him in his extravagancies, as many other flattering Philosophers did; especially *Aristippus* of *Cyrene* the Scholar of *Socrates*, who had so great a command of his own temper, that he could apply himself suitably to all times and persons. *Plato*, when he came, found *Dion* in great troubles, being for his nobility and courage both envied and feared by *Dionysius*, who, four months after, seeing the People much addicted to him, banished him to *Corinth*, pretending he sent him thither for the good of them both, that the one might be out of fear of the other. Because he saw that this displeased all men, he sent him all his movables, but kept his wife and his son, marrying her afterwards by constraint to *Polyarchus* one of his Guards. This much startled *Dion's* friends, and *Plato* amongst the rest, by whom *Dionysius* fearing that something might underhand be wrought against him, he gave them good words, and laboured to keep *Plato*, who earnestly desired now that War was begun in *Sicily* to be dismissed; especially seeing his mind far remote from the love of Philosophy. By his importunity he got leave to depart, upon condition that, when Peace was made, *Dion* should be recalled, and he return with him.

Sect. 2.

41. When the time came, *Dionysius* earnestly desired the return of *Plato*, but would have *Dion* discontinue a year longer, who earnestly besought *Plato* to return to *Syracuse*, for that it was reported that the Prince now was wonderfully taken with Philosophy. He stily refused to do it, objecting his age, with the breach of Covenants, but being again urged on all sides, a Ship was sent for him, and large Letters were written, wherein the Tyrant promised to deal with *Dion* as his Friends should judge reasonable; many of the best fort also in *Sicily* and his acquaintance were sent to accompany him over. Wherefore *Plato* once more undertook the Journey, with intention to reconcile *Dion* to *Dionysius*, and reduce the Tyrant to a more strict and commendable life. But not long after his arrival *Dionysius* stopped *Dion's* Revenues, which *Plato* taking ill, once prevailed to have the stoppage removed, for otherwise he would be gone; but when the Ships were departed, and *Plato's* passage thereby prevented, he again sequestered the Estate. After this he fell plainly out with *Plato*, for holding that Faith was to be kept with *Heraclides*, who was suspected to have raised a Sedition, and put him out of his Court, so as the Philosopher was glad to take up his quarters with the Mercenary Soldiers, amongst whom all Slanders were spread concerning him, so that he signified his condition to his Friends at *Tarentum* in *Italy*, who with much ado prevailed with the Tyrant to send him home safe. Such was the entertainment of *Plato* with *Dionysius* both Father and Son.

Dion invaded
Sicily.

42. Though *Dionysius* had left to him an hereditary War with the *Carthaginians*, yet giving up himself wholly to Luxury and Slothfulness, he was unfit to manage public Affairs, and therefore made Peace with them. But *Dion* being now at *Corinth*, together with *Megacles* his Brother, and *Charicles* the General of *Dionysius*, raised as many Mercenaries as he could, which not in number passing five hundred, he transported in two Ships of burthen into *Sicily*, leaving *Charicles* (or rather *Hercules*) behind, to bring after more Ships; such was his courage, that he durst venture with so inconsiderable a Force upon so great a Power. After his landing, multitudes flocked to him as he passed through the Island, and out of *Syracuse* it self, whom *Dionysius* in suspicion had dæmned. To them he gave Weapons, having brought many over with him for such a purpose. By the time he got unto the City he was five thousand strong, which he easily entered, notwithstanding the opposition of those Captains that *Dionysius* had left there, who at this time was upon the Coasts of *Italy*. Upon his declaring to the People that he came to restore them to their ancient liberty, they made him and *Megacles* their chief Generals with full power. *Dionysius* seven days after returned and got into the Castle, which standing in the Island was severed from the rest of the City, whence he sent for some to treat of Peace, that he might gain time. The People overreached, sent their Commissioners, whom he kept with him, till seeing the Citizens negligent and careless by reason of their hopes, he poured out his Mercenaries upon them; but *Dion* with much labour repelled them, and slew eight hundred men. After this he sent again to desire a Treaty, but *Dion* answered, that his only way to obtain Peace was to lay down his power, and content himself with certain Honours; whereas he was much vexed, and took Counsel how any way he might revenge himself.

43. *Philistus* whom he had made Admiral, fought with the *Syracusians*, soon not inferior to him in number of Ships, and losing the day, lost also his life, having either killed himself, because he would not be taken, or been tormented to death after he fell into his Enemies hands, both which are said. The dead *Dionysius* offer half of his Kingdom to *Dion*, and afterward was content to quit it all; but he was answered by him, that he must leave the Castle, and be content with certain Goods and Honours; and it was agreed, that with his Movable and Mercenary Soldiers he should have leave to pass into *Italy*. The People hardly granted this, as being confident to subdue him by force; but he leaving some stout men to defend the Castle, departed in the twelfth year of his Reign, with his Treasure and rich stuff into *Italy*, undiscovered by *Heraclides*, who ere this arrived out of *Peloponnesus* with a good Force; and was set over the Navy. *Heraclides* being much blamed for this, that he might re-ignite against himself, persuaded one to stir up the multitude to an equal division of the Grounds, which being opposed by *Dion*, he out of emulation procured him ill will, and caused the People to create twenty-five Prætors, whereof he himself was chosen one. *Dion's* Mercenaries by this new Model deprived of their pay, desired him to use their help in revenging himself upon his invidious Countrymen. He then took upon him to be their Leader, and marched away to *Leontines* and *the*

He expelled
Dionysius.

Sect. 2.

is dissatisfied.

Releaseth
Syracuse.

The *Syracusians* purified, and opposed them in their way; but being forced with loss to retire, the *Leontines* received him with much Honour, gave to the Soldiers their Arrears, and made them free of their City.

44. But ere long there was an occasion for the recalling of *Dion*. The Soldiers whom *Dionysius* had left in the Castle of *Syracuse*, being distressed by want of Provisions, resolved over night, that the next day they would yield it up; but that very morning appeared a Fleet sent to their relief, over which *Niphias* a *Neapolitan* had the command. The *Syracusians* issuing forth against it, had the better; but then growing secure, and giving up themselves to gozzardizing and drunkenness, *Niphias* thought a good opportunity to be offered for the redeeming of his Credit, and fell upon the City, sending some over the Wall, who killing the Sentinels, opened the Gates for his Soldiers. The new Captains of the *Syracusians* being drunk, could take no order for resistance, so as great slaughters were made in every place, the Garrison Soldiers issuing out of the Castle, and great plunder with many Prisoners was carried away. Now the Citizens saw that no help remained for them, but only in *Dion*, to whom they sent, begging of him, that laying aside all thoughts of private Injuries, he would now succour his distressed Country. He being armed by precepts of Philosophy against private grudges, marched for *Syracuse*, and was met by a number of old men, women, and children, who with lamentable cries implored his help. As the Garrison Soldiers were busy in Plunder, and had let the Houses near the Forum on Fire, he brake in upon them, distributing his men to the several quarters of the City. They fell upon them all in disorder, and burdened with Plunder, killed four thousand; and so forcing up the rest into the Castle, cleared all.

Envieth.

Plunged into
great difficulties.

Circumvented
by *Callistrates*
and him.

45. *Dion* having achieved much honour by this act, was made General of the Land Forces; but *Heraclides* his Emulator still retained his Admirallship. This vexed him so, that he gave out some words that a Commonwealth could not be well governed by many, which procured him great envy, as if he thereby signified that he would get the Sovereignty over all. He studied not how to palliate the matter, but sought to carry on all things by an high hand, and in a way of Force; and either procured *Heraclides* to be made away, or connived at those whom he formerly hindered from doing it; after which he seized on the goods of his Enemies, and distributed them to his Soldiers. But presently again Money failing him, and having none to run upon but his Friends, he was constrained either to lose them or his Soldiers, who being also displeased for want of pay, the common people might safely revile him, affirming that the Tyrant was not to be endured. While he with thoughts of these things tormented himself, there came to him one *Callistrates* (or *Callippus*) an *Athenian*, a most cunning dissembler and irreligious person. He told him, that seeing he was in such danger, both in reference to Soldiers and People, his best way was to have some friend, who counterfeiting himself his Enemy, should hold intelligence with his adversaries, and thereby discover all their Plots and Practices against him. This part, by *Dion's* consent, he took upon himself; and under this pretence really and indeed practised his destruction, which *Dion's* Wife and Sister hearing of, therewith acquainted him; but he regarded them not, giving too much credit to what *Callistrates* had promised. The women nevertheless brought *Callistrates* into the Temple of *Proserpina*, and there made him swear, that he had not at all plotted against *Dion's* life; but he minding no Religion, but being egged on more forward to the accomplishment of his design, sent certain young men, natives of *Syracusa*, in to him, whilst he was private in his Chamber, who being easily admitted, for the knowledge his Family had of them, fell upon and presently bound him; but being unarmed could not kill him, till one *Eteo* a *Syracusian* reached them a Sword in at a Window; his Guard hearing, but stirring not. He died in the fifty fifth year of his age, and the fourth after his ruin out of *Peloponnesus*, being much lamented after his death, though before called Tyrant, and whatever else could express him odious.

Callistrates represented
by his
parables and
him.

46. *Callistrates* after *Dion's* death seized on the Principality, which he held but thirteen months; for then *Thipparchus* Son to *Dionysius* the elder, by *Asinomach* *Dion's* Sister, expelled him, and placed himself in his Father's Kingdom, which he enjoyed two years. *Callippus* (or *Callistrates*) with *Lepidus* went against *Rhegium*, which was held by a Garrison of *Dionysius* his Soldiers, which taking, he was there slain by *Lepidus*, and *Polyphron*, it is said, with the same Sword

Sect. 2. Sword wherewith *Dion* was killed. After *Hipparchus*, *Naxos* obtained the Sovereignty over *Syracuse*, and then *Dionysius* recovered it in the tenth * year after his expulsion. In this time of his exile he made himself Lord of *Loeri*, where his mother was born, and tyrannized over the Inhabitants six years in a most cruel manner; ravishing their Virgins, and playing other pranks suitable to his disposition. There he raised a Company of men, and coming over on a seditious *Syracuse*, there finding all men in deep security, he expelled *Naxos*, and erected his Tyranny afresh. When he was gone, the *Loerians* expelled his Garrison, and in revenge for his ravishing their Virgins tormented his wife and two daughters to death, by thrusting sharp Needles under their Finger Nails. The Commonwealth of these *Loerians* being very famous, is commended much by the ancients, not only *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo*, but more ancient than they, as *Plato* and *Demosthenes*; the former in his discourse which he makes to have been betwixt *Socrates* and *Timæus* a *Loerian* Philosopher of the *Pythagorean* Sect, concerning the nature of things, and Original of the World; and the later in his Oration against *Timocrates*, an Author of new and pernicious Laws. Something is therefore according to the nature of our design to be said of it.

47. *Zaleucus* (as he was accounted) a wife, just, and honest man, born of an Eminent Family at *Loeri*, was the modeller of this Commonwealth. *Eusebius* thinketh he flourished about the twenty ninth Olympiad, but *Diodorus* and several others making him a Scholar of *Pythagoras*, who taught in *Magna Græcia*, reckon him as Contemporary with *Charondas* the Law-giver of the *Thurians*, another of *Pythagoras* his Scholars, and who is famous for the strictness and severity of his Laws, which he is said to have confirmed by his death in the same manner as *Dionides* did his; the same story being told of him. According to their account he must have flourished about the eightieth Olympiad. In the beginning of his Laws, or his Preface to them, this to some appeareth to have been his design, to affect the minds of his people with piety towards God, as the Original of all Right and Justice, the Lord and Governour of Heaven and Earth, as also an hater and punisher of wickedness. Then prescribed he Laws, not very many in number, but most effectual for the defence of Justice, restraining Vice, preserving concord and tranquility in the State, preventing innovations, and for the establishment of themselves; which as long as observed (and they were observed long) preserved the Commonwealth in safety. He thought a few stable and unalterable Laws well obeyed, to be more profitable for a State than an infinite multitude of weak ones, which are easily changed by those that have a mind to innovate, and he concluded, that the speediest way to the ruin of a Commonwealth was by change and innovation. That his opinion was true, the example of *Athenes* abundantly demonstrated, which erring in this point paid dearly for it, as *Demosthenes* often complaineth; and of *Rome* also, which being infected with this itching distemper, at length was constrained to submit to the power of one man. It being almost impossible, but that popular Governments should reel and shake, what ever might happen to this inconsiderable City. He commanded his Laws to be strictly observed, and the Magistrate to proceed according to the Letter of them, without giving his own gloss, or pronouncing sentence according to his private fancy. To this purpose is most memorable of all his Laws, that which *Demosthenes* and * *Polybius* relate concerning one who should afterwards prefer a new Law, abrogate any old one, alter any thing in it, or dispute concerning the meaning of it. He was to come into the Council of one thousand men with an halber about his neck, where speaking his mind, if to them he should demonstrate his opinion to be profitable for the State, then was he to be dismissed safe, and the Law admitted; but if it should appear contrary, then was he to be strangled forthwith in the sight of the Council.

48. *Zaleucus* chose one thousand men out of all the People, in whom he appointed the Supreme Power to reside. It is not to be doubted but he ordained also a Senate of a far less number, by which daily and lesser matters should be dispatched: that there were also certain Magistrates and Courts of Justice, which had orders prescribed to them, we need not question; though we find one only Magistrate in * *Polybius*, called *Cosmopolis*, who seemeth either to have presided in the Senate, or the greater Council. *Zaleucus* took care for preventing dissensions amongst Citizens, pride in the greater ones, and either favour or hatred in Courts of Justice. To cut off the pride and vanity of women, he forbade any to go abroad with more than one waiting woman, except the were either drunk, went out of the City by night, or betook her self to an Adulterer; to

Justin. l. x.

Alien l. 9. c. 8.

A. M. 3658.
Dion. l. 1. c. 2.
Plat. l. 1.
Phil. l. 1.

Ligeiobian
Emilian de
Siquib. Loerian.
Fam.

Quæ prius
Lib. 1. c. 7.

decker her self either with costly apparel, except he professed the trade of a Strumpet. He forbade men in like manner to wear Gold Rings, or a *Milesian* Garment, under pain of being accounted Whoremongers and Adulterers. *Alien* * mentioneth a Law of his, prohibiting any one to drink strong Wine, except by the Physicians order, though for health's sake, upon pain of death, and another, * commanding that an Adulterer convicted should lose both his eyes. Concerning the later a notable thing hapned to the Law-giver himself, whose son being found guilty of this Crime, all the people were willing for his sake to remit the punishment, but he would not suffer his Laws to be broken, but to preserve fight to his son, commanded that one of his own, and another of the young man's should be pulled out.

49. (a) *Demosthenes* maketh mention of another Law, commanding that he who struck out his Neighbours eye should be punished with the loss of one of his own, as a *Lex talionis*. It hapned that a naughty man bearing a grudge to his Neighbour that had but one eye, threatened him to strike it out, though with the loss of one of his own. The poor man terrified exceedingly herewith, and judging continual blindness worse than death, with a rope about his neck came into the Council, and asked a Law, that whoever should strike out his eye that had but one, or deprive him of the use of one who was purblind, should lose both of his own, or be punished with the like calamity and loss that he should bring upon his Neighbour. This as just he easily obtained, and this was the only new Law which in two hundred years time was brought in, the Infelency of innovators being repressed by the severity of the former constitution, as the Orator observeth. Another there was, that a thing controverted should remain in the possession of him whose it was when the suit commenced, till such time as a definitive sentence passed; concerning which (b) *Polybius* telleth a notable story of two men that contending about a slave, the one having had him long in possession, the other got him into his hand two days before the Tryal, and then the former went and taking him away, possessed him the second time. The Judges referred the matter as an hard case to the *Cosmopolis*, who determined in favour of the first and last possessor, but the other contended with him about the sense of the Law, to whom he offered that both of them should go with ropes about their necks and dispute about it. The young man told him, he was old, and expecting but three or four years longer to live, dying now would be no great loss to him, whereas he expecting a far longer time, according to the course of nature, should have the far worse bargain; with which facetious reply he handsomely ended the dispute, and the Judges confirmed the opinion of the *Cosmopolis*. (c) *Aristotle* mentioneth a Law of *Zaleucus*, which forbade inheritances to be sold except in urgent necessity, and this was to be proved, which Law being neglected amongst the *Leucadians*, made their Government degenerate into too much Popularity. (d) *Heraclides* mentioneth other two, whereof the one forbade mourning for the dead; it being the custom of the *Loerians* to feast after Funerals. The other inhibited all retailing shops, commanding Husbandmen to sell their own Commodities. This was the form of the Commonwealth of *Loeri*, called *Epizephirii*, from the Promontory *Zephyrium* near adjoining, being a Colony of *Loeri* (e) *Ozole*, one of the two *Loerians* of *Phocis* in Greece: whereof the other was called *Loeri Opuntii* and *Epizephiridii*. *Dionysius* the elder having got footing in *Italy*, made himself master of this place; but yet left them to their own freedom, but *Dionysius* his son Tyrannized in the manner aforesaid.

The Syracuse
beg aid
of the Carthians.

Timoleon.

50. When *Dionysius* recovered his Principality over *Syracuse*, the Citizens were more inclining to one *Hæcetas* born amongst them, who at that time was Lord of *Leontium*; yet notwithstanding all their attempts he kept his possession. But within awhile the *Carthaginians* from without invaded them, being thus at odds within awhile the *Carthaginians* from without invaded them, and being within amongst themselves, which constrained the *Syracusans* to send, and beg aid of *Corinth* their *Metropolis*. *Hæcetas* with the Messengers sent some of his own, as desiring the same thing; but held secret intelligence with the *Carthaginians*. The *Corinthians* resolving to send aid to their Colony, pitched upon *Timoleon* for their Captain. He was the son of *Timodemus* or *Timæus*, of a quiet and loving disposition, but a great Enemy to such as mastered their Neighbours, which he shewed effectually against his own brother, whom, having made himself Lord of *Corinth* by the help of some Mercenaries, he gave way to have killed, being in the room, and bursting into tears, whilst his two companions did it. Some account this act as unnatural and impious, though others commended it, he thereupon abstained from all employment for twenty years, till this charge was laid

Sect. 2.

* Par. Hist. l. 2. c. 37.
Lib. 1. c. 24.

(a) Centre
Timara.

(b) Excerpt. 7.
Lib. 1. c. 12.

(c) Politic.
Lib. 2. cap. 5.

(d) In Politic.

(e) Ligeiobian
Lib. 1. c. 2.
Excerpt. 3.

Plutarch in
Timoleon.

The form
thereof.

Seçt. 2.
Sent to their
aid.

laid upon him. Whilst he was preparing for the Expedition, *Ictas* dealt unhand with the *Carthaginians*, that he might be advanced into the place of *Dionysius*, wrote to *Corinth* to stop their proceedings, and procured the *Carthaginians* to send to forbid *Timoleon* from setting foot in *Sicily*. He besieged *Dionysius*, but rising up upon other thoughts and returning homewards, the besieged followed him, and falling on his rear, forced him to fight. Having the better in this engagement, he killed three thousand of *Dionysius* his men; then pursuing the rest to *Syracuse*, got it all into his hands, except the Island. *Timoleon* being more earnestly pressed forwards by his fellow Citizens, upon discovery of *Ictas* his treachery, though he fell into the hands of the *Carthaginians* sent from him to intercept him, yet escaped, and arrived in *Sicily* with ten ships and twelve hundred men. The several Cities in the Island being accustomed to be deceived and ill used by others, suspected him also; but finding the Inhabitants of *Athranum* to be part for him and part for the *Carthaginians*, he using admirable expedition, fell suddenly upon the Enemies Camp, which taking, he was admitted into the Town. After this diverse other places joined with him, and with speed marching to *Syracuse*, he unexpectedly also broke into the City.

He expelled
Dionysius.

51. *Syracuse* was now held by three several parties, *Timoleon's*, and that of *Dionysius*, and *Ictas*, in so many several quarters; moreover the *Carthaginians* were in the Haven with an hundred and fifty Gallies, which carried fifty thousand men. It troubled *Timoleon* to see himself overmatched, but presently things turned very well for him. Ten ships came laden with men and money from *Corinth* to his aid, and *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and diverse forts joyned themselves to him, which so discouraged the *Carthaginians*, as they weyed anchor and departed into their own dominions: *Ictas* being destitute of their assistance was quite discouraged, and *Messana* now also declared for *Timoleon*. *Dionysius* too being terrified at this his success, fled to him, and yielded up himself and all he had into his hands, whom he suffered upon his delivery of the Castle, and laying down his Principality, to depart *Corinth*, some four years after the recovery of his former estate. Thenceforth, having lost all by his sluggishness, he lived in great contempt and penury, so as he would walk up and down in poor ragged clothes, frequent the Stewes and drinking-houses, gaze upon that meat in the shambles which he had no money in his purse to buy, and at last took upon him the office of a Pedagogue, in which he might best imitate his former carriage towards his Subjects, in tyrannizing over his boys. *Ælian* reporteth, that *Philip* of *Macedon* meeting him on a time, asked him the reason why he kept not that great and strong Principality left him by his father; to which he answered, That his father left him that inheritance, but not his Fortune, whereby he defended both himself and it. This was the end of the Tyranny of *Dionysius* father and Son, sixty four years after the first beginning of it, in the second year of the one hundred and ninth Olympiad, A. M. 3561.

Who lived in
great want at
Corinth.

52. *Ictas* very unwilling to lose his hopes of preferment, procured the *Carthaginians* to return to *Syracuse*. *Mago* filled the Haven with his Ships, and landing sixty thousand men, pitched his Camp in the City; *Ictas* then laid siege to the Castle, which the *Corinthians* now held from the resignation of *Dionysius*. *Timoleon* relieved them by Provisions sent from *Catana* in little Vessels through the *Carthaginian* Fleet; whereupon *Ictas* and *Mago* drew out a strong party and besieged *Catana*, after whose departure, *Leon* Captain of the *Corinthians* sallied out of the Castle and falling upon the besiegers lying in a secure and careless posture, killed some, and the other flying, took *Achradina* the strongest quarter of the City. This the two Generals understanding, quickly faced about and returned; but mistimed of both places, out of a desire to possess both. *Timoleon* having secured *Messana*, returned with four thousand men towards *Syracuse*, whereupon *Mago* for fear hoisted up sails and departed for *Africk*, having by his laziness and cowardize lost a fair opportunity of reducing all *Sicily* into the power of his Superiors. Afterwards *Timoleon* dividing his men, set upon such places of the City as *Hicetas* yet retained, and by force got them all into his power, without any bloodshed of his own party: then threw he down all the Fortifications and Monuments of the Tyrants, except *Gelon's* Statue, calling the People to the work by a publick Crier. Then he applied himself to making of Laws agreeable to a Popular Government, which yet he endeavoured but to little purpose so to restrain, as to prevent the inconveniences which formerly had their rise from too much popularity. In explaining and illustrating *Diocles* his Laws, he used the help of *Cephalus*, and *Dionysius*, both *Corinthians*. He ordained a new annual and chief Magistrate, whom

Timoleon reco-
vereth Syracuse
and sceth the
State thereof.

A. M. 3561.
Ol. 109. an. 2.
P. C. 411.
Otho 19.
Philip 18.
Justin 18.

Perbill. 12.
C. 60.

Platarch.

The Carthi-
gians receive
a great over-
throw.

he would have called the *Servant of Jupiter Olympius*, in memory of their recovered liberty, commanding that by his name the year should be signed, as by the *Archons* at *Athens*, and the *Consuls* at *Rome*. The first that bore this Office was *Callimedes*, a man of prime note, being chosen by the Suffrages of the People. Now whereas by reason of Wars, Seditions, and Banishments, the City was even exhausted, he recalled the Exiles out of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, which being in number ten thousand, he increased by a far greater, consisting of *Sicilians* and *Italians* of *Greekish* Original, to whom being made free of the City, he distributed Lands and Possessions.

Seçt. 2.

53. *Ictas* having retired to *Leontium*, *Timoleon* laid siege to that City; but finding it strongly manned, rose up from before it, and went about to other places, to which he restored liberty, expelling their Tyranni. In this mean while *Ictas* went against *Syracuse*; but was forced to retreat with great loss. *Timoleon's* renown was by this time so spread abroad, that many Towns of the *Sicilians*, and others subject to the *Carthaginians*, sent to him, to desire they might be admitted into the social League. The *Carthaginians* herein were so concern'd, as to prepare again for the renewing of the War, procuring Soldiers out of *Gall*, *Eguria*, *Spain*, and *Africk*. *Mago* had killed himself after his shameful return, and his dead body was nailed to a Cross for the mal-administration of his Office; therefore in the third year after they sent over *Ardubal* and *Amilcar*, with two hundred long-ships, and above one thousand of Burthen, wherein were so many men transported as made up those already in *Sicily* seventy thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse, which with warlike Chariots marched against *Timoleon*. He having composed the difference with *Hicetas* mustered all his forces, and judging it wisdom to transfer the War into the Enemies Country, for this purpose he chose out of all twelve thousand men, with which he marched away in haste; but in his journey a great mutiny happened amongst his Soldiers. For one *Thrasias* a rash impudent fellow, who with the *Phocians* had rifled the Temple at *Delfhos*, cried out, that *Timoleon* being mad; led them into most certain death, for that the *Carthaginians* in number so far exceeded them: and he advised the Mercenaries to return to *Syracuse*, and demand the pay already due to them. *Timoleon* had much ado to take up the matter, and one thousand utterly refused to follow him. But he rejoiced that the mutineers had already fallen off, before they came to any engagement, and with the rest hastened toward the Enemy.

54. By the convenience of a mist he got near to the Enemy undiscried, then lying upon the River *Crimefas*. Ten thousand of the *Carthaginians* passing the River, he fell down upon them from the hills, and made great slaughter, and their friends coming in to their relief, the fight was sharply renewed, and the *Carthaginians* by their great numbers began to incompass the other round, when fell such a storm, as, together with the valour of the *Greeks*, forced them to their heels. Flying into the River by heaps, the Foot amongst the Horse, and Chariots, multitudes perished, being either pressed, wounded to death by the Swords of their Companions, drowned through the swiftness of the stream then increased by rain, or else killed by the Enemy on their backs: the Sacred band so called, consisting of two thousand and five hundred of the choicest Soldiers, fighting most valiantly, all died in the place. Near upon thirteen thousand were slain, and fifteen thousand taken, with two hundred Chariots (the greatest part whereof was broken in pieces) and one thousand brigandines with ten thousand shields; though most of the Arms were swallowed up in the water: Those *Carthaginians* that remained, in great consternation escaped to *Zilibæum*. Their friends at *Carthage* hearing of their defeat, were in no little fear, out of conceit that *Timoleon* would now come over thither. Wherefore they recalled *Gisco* the brother of *Hanno* out of banishment, and made him General of the Army, which they raised with money out of other Nations, not thinking it meet to thrust themselves into such danger for the time to come. But *Timoleon* returning to *Syracuse*, found it a convenient time to punish the mutineers, whom he banished *Sicily*, commanding them to depart the City before Sun-set. Passing over into *Sicily* they seized on a Town amongst the *Bruttii*, who rising and besieging them, took the place, and therein put them all to the sword.

55. *Hicetas* often mentioned before, and *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana* joyned with the *Carthaginians* against *Timoleon*, perswading them, for fear of losing their share in *Sicily*, to send over some Forces. They sent away *Gisco*, who hired some *Greeks*, the first which served that Nation. They cut off some hundreds

SECT. 2.

Timoleon taken
and put to
death his men.

Overthrow-
eth Mamercus.

Hippo and
Mamercus put
to death.

Nicodemus and
Apolloniades
put out of
their power.

Timoleon's
death.

of *Timoleon's* Mercenaries, and *Hicetas* invaded the *Syracusan* Territories, whence getting much booty he marched into *Calauria*, in contempt of *Timoleon*, who lay there now with inconsiderable forces in comparison of his. *Hicetas* being pursued by *Timoleon*, got over the River *Damyrus*, and then endeavoured to hinder his passage; but he pressing upon him, slew one thousand of his men, and putting him to flight, pursued him into the Territories of *Leontium*, where he took him alive, with his son *Eupolemus*, and put them both to death as Traitors to their Country, together with *Eubymus* his General of the Horse; for that in a speech to the *Leontines* he had scoffed at the *Corinthians*, saying they needed not to be afraid, though the *Corinthian women* were come from home, terming *Timoleon* and his men no other than women. After this *Timoleon* overthrew in battle *Mamercus*, killing two thousand of his men, whereof the greater number were *Carthaginians*, who thereupon earnestly begged peace, and had it granted on these conditions: That they still retaining all in their hands within the River *Lycus*, it should be yet lawful for any one to remove thence to *Syracuse* with his goods and family, and to renounce alliance with them, and with all the *Tyranni* in *Sicily*, which at this time had enslaved many Cities of the Island. *Mamercus* fled over into *Italy*, and *Catana* was delivered up to *Timoleon*, who betook himself to *Messana*, where he besieged *Hippo* both by Land and Sea, and taking him in his flight, delivered him up to the Citizens, who put him to death. *Mamercus* yielded himself to *Timoleon*, who having promised him he would not be his accuser, he cast himself upon the People of *Syracuse*; but perceiving them as he began to speak iraged against him, he attempted to dash out his own brains, and that not dispatching him, he was taken up and executed as a robber.

56. *Timoleon*, after this, drove away *Nicodemus*, who ruled over the *Centoripini*, and forced *Apolloniades* to lay down his power, which he exercised over the *Agyneans*, whom having restored thus to liberty he made free of *Syracuse*. Then did he restore all the other Cities to their desired liberty, one after another, and received them into confederacy with *Syracuse*: and it was proclaimed by the voice of a publick Crier throughout Greece, that The People of *Syracuse* offered houses and land, to all that would join themselves as members to their Commonwealth. Hereby it came to pass that multitudes flocked thither as to a new inheritance. *Timoleon* setting himself to the care of the State, corrected and explained the Laws of *Dioeles*, and acted other things necessary, as he thought, to the well being thereof, till growing old he lost his sight, which calamity as he bore very moderately, so by reason of it he intermitted not publick business. Not long after, he died, and was buried by the confluence of all *Sicily*, the affairs whereof he had settled; games being celebrated yearly in memory of him, as for an *Hero*. This hapned in the fifty eighth year of his government, the last of the one hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, and the last also of the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon* father to *Alexander* the Great; about the year of the World 3668, the second of *Arles* King of *Perfia*, and seven before the beginning of the *Macedonian* Empire, to the time whereof, what we have further to say concerning the affairs of *Sicily*, is to be referred; which affairs will shew, that the infirmity of Popular Government is greater than that *Timoleon* by his constitutions could heal the distempers thereof, and further evince the worth of Monarchy.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Affairs of the Romans contemporary with the second Empire,

SECT. I.

From the Banishment of *Tarquinius* and first change of the Government, to the alteration made by the *Decemviri*.

Containing the space of fifty seven Years.

Consuls.

Whence so
called.

Their power.

THE Kingly Office being banished with *Tarquinius* (though both rebelliously and impudently) that of *Consuls* succeeded. Who were so called a *Consulendo*. *Festus* observeth out of *Varro*, that the word *Consulatus* was used by the Antients, not only for *Consilium petas*, and *percontatio*; but also for *judices* and *statuas*: Moreover the word *Consulere* is many times taken for *providere*, or *prospicere*. According to this Etymology various is the opinion of Learned Men concerning this Office. Some derive it from the duty or work of consulting the Senate, which was incumbent upon the Consuls. Others interpret it of judging, which, saith (a) *Lipius*, I only read in (b) *Quintilian*, who puts the question, whether Consul was so named from consulting, or judging, seeing that *consulere* was used also for the later, whence arose that phrase: *Rogatus boni Consulatus*, that is, *judices*; but not only *Quintilian*, but *Festus* also, in the word *Consulas*, giveth this Etymology. Lastly, some derive it from the end of the Office, which was *consulere*, or *providere*, as (c) *Florus* and *Festinus's* Code. But those Magistrates were not first of all named *Consules* but *Prætores*, which name, although it was common to others, yet stuck to them by way of excellency. (d) *Festus* saith it expressly, and so doth (e) *Festinus* in his *Novella Constitutiones*. *Xonaras* saith the name of *Prætor* continued till the *Decemviri*, who being banished, then at length crept in the name of *Consul*. But he should rather have said, that then the name of *Fudex* crept in; for it appeareth out of *Livy*, that they were called *Fudices* next after *Prætores*, before the name of *Consuls* came in. The Historian in his third Book speaking of such things as hapned in the first year after the writing of the twelve Tables addeth: In these times it was the custom not to call the Consul by the name of *Fudex*, but *Prætor*. (f) *Varro* out of ancient Commentaries confirmeth this, and (g) *Cicero* giveth the Etymology of all these Offices thus, a *præcundo*, *judicando*, *consulendo*, *Prætores*, *Fudices*, *Consules* appellatur. Some upon good grounds conjecture, that after the creation of *Prætores*, who were peculiar Judges, the name of *Fudex* was left, and that of *Consul* succeeded, which continued to the last.

2: The power of *Consuls* was at first the same with that of *Kings*, allayed only by plurality of persons and shortness of time, so that *Cicero* calleth it *Regium Imperium*, and *Regia Potestas*, and the Greeks chose to call them *Hypatois*, which significeth those that are most excellent or chief, as *Dionysius* telleth us. In the beginning they might imprison and sentence at their pleasure, having the power of life and death over the Citizens, though scarce the authority to make Peace and War, as *Lipius* affirmeth. By degrees this great power was diminished, and that especially by two things, *viz.* *Appellatio*, and *Interpositio*, called *Prævocatio* and *Intercessio*. The former was presently brought in after the banishment

Sect. 1.

ishment of the *Kings*, by *Valerius Poplicola*, who preferred a Law for taking away animadversion upon Citizens from the *Consuls*, and giving liberty of Appeal to the People as the higher Judge. But by the *Interposition* of the *Tribunes* of the People who were afterwards created, all actions of the *Consuls* whatsoever might be obstructed, as by the voice of the People it self, whose power and dignity thenceforth daily increased, and took authority over all Magistrates. Hereby was that of the *Consuls* much diminished; Yet not quite broken and dissolved as long as the Commonwealth continued; their Offices being both man, and large. For first they were the head of the State, all ordinary Magistrates being subject and obnoxious to them, (except the *Tribunes*) in whose actions they might interpose. Secondly, they had the chief Command in the War over Citizens and Associates, as also over Provinces and Subjects, whom they might punish; and Authority to appoint Officers in the Army, as appeareth out of *Cicero* and *Polybius* in several places. Thirdly, they assembled the People, consulted with it, preferred Laws also, which if enacted bore their Names. Fourthly, they received Letters from Governours of Provinces, from Nations and Cities: gave audience to Ambassadors, and what was to be done either by Senate or People passed through their Hands as chief Ministers of State. Fifthly, as the Senate handled and executed all things in Peace and War, so did they govern it in some Sense, they assembled and dismissed it: therein they asked the Members their opinions, counted and divided them: and in conclusion they steered the Ship of the Commonwealth. This was their Power while the free State continued; but after it was subjected to the power of one Person, their Authority was again much impaired, few of all these Privileges remaining to them; for that the Prince assumed the Rights of all Magistrates, but especially those of the *Consuls* and *Tribunes*. Under the *Emperors* they were employed in consulting the Senate, administering Justice, assigning Tutors or Guardians, manumitting Slaves, letting out to farm the Customs (which Office formerly belonged to the *Censors*) and managing publick Games: besides, they had the honour of having the year Characterized by their Names, as formerly. These things will be sufficiently evinced (at least most of them) in the sequel of this History concerning *Roman* Affairs.

Certain Rites concerning them.

2. There were observed certain Consular Rites, which it will rather behove us in this place to relate, than scattering hereafter to give an account of them. First of all the time wherein the *Consuls* assumed their Office was not set or constant, but various, till the year of the City five hundred and thirty two, when both they and other Magistrates entred on the Calends of *January*, having before, as * *Simpson* and others observe, Commenced on the Calends of *Quintilis* called *July*, as well as at other times. The first day was an high day, and very creditable to them, the Senate and people meeting at their Houses, saluting, and accompanying them to the Capitol, where they took their Oaths and Sacrificed. Thence they went to the Senate House, where they were ordered by a *Senatus-Consultum* to give thanks to the Prince of the Senate; then sent their Gifts to their Friends, and threw Money to the People, which later expense was afterwards taken away by the *Emperors*, and appropriated to the repairing of aqueducts. They twice swore to govern according to the Laws (as all other Magistrates did, none being to keep his Office above five days, except publicly sworn) when first they entred, once in the *Capitol*, and then again in the *Rostra*, in their hands to whom they succeeded: and at the laying down of their Office again at the years end they swore in like manner, that wittingly and willingly they had done nothing, contrary to the said Laws. Another Rite there was, as *Lipsius* termeth it, about their power, which thereby was so increased as to become as absolute as the Kingly was. This was only upon an extraordinary occasion, or in extreme necessity, when all lay at the Stake, and the City was in danger. Then a Decree of the Senate passed in this form: *Viderint Consules nequid Resp. detrimenti accipiat, or Dent operam Consules nequid Resp. detrimenti Capiat*, as * *Sallust* hath it, who addeth, that this greatest Power was given by the Senate to these Magistrates, to raise Forces, make War, all manner of ways to punish Citizens, and Associates, to have, both at home, and abroad in War, absolute Command and judiciary Power. Otherwise without the command of the People no *Consul* could do any of these things. In a word, by this Decree was restored to them that power (or rather more given) which was taken away by the *Appeal*, and other Laws.

4. What the Ornaments and Ensigns of the *Consuls* were, we have formerly observed

The age capable of this Office.

observed out of *Dionysius*, to which shall be added upon occasion what may be thought requisite. As for the Age wherein a man was capable of this Office, (a) *Facius* observeth, that of old it was lawful at any age to sue for the *Consulship*, and the supreme power of *Dictator*. But afterwards being taught *lib. 17.* otherwise by experience (in the five hundred and seventy third year of the City) the *Romans* thought fit to set bounds to juvenile heat and ambition. This was, as (b) *Livy* writeth, by a Law which *L. Julius* (or *Villius*) *Tri-* *bune* of the People preferred, whereby was limited a certain age before which it was not lawful to stand for any place of Magistracy; but from *Cicero* it should rather appear that there were several Laws made for the several Offices; and at length the *Lex Julia* or *Annaria*, included, and abolished all the rest. For (c) he maketh them many, calling them in the plural number *Leges Annales*; and *Livy*, saying that then first of all a Law was preferred by *Julius*, in effect contradicted himself, relating elsewhere a (d) passage concerning *Scipio Africa* - *(4) Lib. 25.* *mus*, that when he stood for the *Adileship*, the *Tribunes* of the People opposed him, alleging that he was not yet arrived at the lawful age which was required for that Office; and yet he was many years before *Julius* or his Law. *Cicero* (e) declareth the fourth third year to have been the age of *Consulship*, saying, that *Alexander* the great having died in his thirty third year, came ten years short of the *Consular* age. If his words be taken strictly, the fourth third, but if more largely, the fourth second was the year, and this rather as many examples do confirm. A grave age became this most grave and weighty Office; but sometimes the People dispensed with the Law, as will be shewn, the *Emperors* neglected it, and *Cesar* Dictator before them, who made *Dolabella* Consul at twenty five. Lastly, as for the Term or duration of the *Consulship*, it was annual, as we before hinted in *Brutus* his Model, and so continued, till *Julius Cesar* made several in one year, so that afterwards *Consuls* were nominated for three, two, and one moneth, and others substituted one after another. Hence came it to pass that there were two sorts of *Consuls*, Ordinary and Substitute, the former beginning on the Calends of *January*, and the later at other times. This custom continued till *Constantine*, who again made the Office Annual, and instead of the *Substituti*, or *Substitute*, ordained a new kind, called *Consulares*, and *Consules Honorarii*, whose Office was not called *Consulatus*, but *Consularatus*, having derived its Original from the *Consular* Ornaments invented by *Julius Cesar*. Of this titular promotion (f) *Cap.* *(1) Lib. 6.* *Epiph. 12.* *godorus* is to be consulted.

The first Consul.

Their A&ts.

5. But (to come to the matter in hand) the first *Consuls* were *L. Junius Brutus*, and *L. Tarquinius Collatinus*, who began this Office, according to (g) *Dionysius* his Computation, in the beginning of the sixty eight *Olympiad*, wherein *Ishomachus* of *Crotone* was Victor, *Isagrus* being *Archon* at *Athens*. Because they could not deny that many good things had been done by *Kings* for the Commonwealth, they would have the name preferred for ever in the State, and therefore gave order to the *Pontifices* and *Augurs* to chuse out some one, who taking care of *Superstition*, and being exempted from War, should be called *Rex Sacrificalis*, to which Office allotted unto the *Patricians*, *Manlius Papirius* of that Order first attained. Next after this, fearing that the People might have, as they well might, an ill opinion of their intentions, and say that for one they had got two *Kings*; to diminish Envy, whereas each of them had as yet twelve *Axes* carried before them, as the *Kings* used to have, they ordered that but one of them should have twelve *Axes*, and the other twelve *Lictors* with Rods alone, and each his Moneth should have the *Axes*. This contained the People better in obedience, as other things whereby they laboured to render themselves popular. For they revived the Laws of *Servius Tullius*, concerning publick Meetings and Assemblies, with other things which conduced to the satisfaction of the common fort, who now looked upon their lawless liberties as recovered.

6. *Tarquinius* after his banishment first stayed at *Gabii* for some time, whither many of his party flocking to him, after he could not prevail with them of that place to make War in his behalf against the *Romans*, he betook himself into *Tuscan*, or *Hetruria*, where he could claim kindred by his Mother, and there winning mens minds by his munificence, and moving them with his Tears, he procured Ambassadors to be sent to *Rome* in his behalf. First they moved that he might be received again, promising on his behalf very good demeanour for the time to come, and when this equity could not be heard, they (or others sent afterwards, as *Plutarch* writeth) desired he might have his Goods, especially

A. M. 3496.
ol. 67. ann. 41
P. C. 245.
Darii 13.

* De bello caedit.

Sect. 1. especially such as were defended upon him from *Tarquinius Priscus* his Grandfather, who had in no wife ill deserved of them. *Brutus*, according to his furious and malicious temper, very vehemently opposed it, saying, that it would thus little forecast in them to furnish him with money to employ against themselves; but his Collegue was for restoring the goods, and prevailed to have the Decree pass on his side, by one Vote only overpowering the contrary party, according to *Dionysius*. The Ambassadors having it in charge to labour with the friends of *Tarquinius*, that they might do something effectually, drew out the time in length, pretending they wanted carriages, and must sell such things as could not be removed. They stayed so long as to draw over to them some of the two notable families of the *Aquillii* and *Vitellii*, viz. two persons of this, and three of that. Of all these *Collatinus* the Consul was Uncle, and *Brutus* also had married the sister of the *Vitellii*, by which he had several Children, whereof two youths they drew in, having convinced them of their fathers vehemence, madness, and folly, and given them good hopes of great things to be done for them by *Tarquinius*.

7. These men met in the house of the *Aquillii* to ripen their business. There in the dark, a certain slave, *Vindicius* by name, fearing to be found in that room when they came in, and not with any intent to overhear, had himself behind a Chest, and heard their whole debate concerning their purpose of killing the Consuls; about which they gave Letters then to the Ambassadors (who lodged in the house, and were present at the meeting) to be delivered to *Tarquinius*. The Slave in this case knew not how to carry himself; for, to go to *Brutus*, and to accuse his own sons to him seemed an hard and bold attempt, as also no left to do it unto *Tarquinius* their Uncle; no private person he knew to whom he might communicate so great a matter, and yet a thing of such consequence he thought was not to be buried in silence, nor yet the discovery thereof deferred. At length he betook himself to *P. Valerius*, who had also a great hand in casting out the King. *Valerius* exceedingly struck with the thing, that he might proceed warily, first secured the slave to have him forth-coming, then sending his brother *Marcus* to seize the King's house, and watch the servants there, that they should carry away no Letters, he himself with his Clients and Friends went to the house of the *Aquillii*, where he got into his hands what was written to *Tarquinius*. The *Aquillii* being abroad met him at the Gate, where they endeavoured to recover by force the Letters from him; but he through the help of those about him drew them into the Forum, as his brother also having seized on other Letters at the King's house, forced some of his servants thither. The tumult being appeased by the Consuls, *Vindicius* related the Story, and the Letters were read. The parties said nothing for themselves; all were astonished and silent; at length some to flatter *Brutus* mentioned banishment; *Collatinus* shedding tears gave the prisoners hope, and this was increased because *Valerius* held his peace.

8. But furious and implacable *Brutus* calling both his Sons by their names (*Titus* and *Tiberius*) asked them why they said nothing to what was laid to their charge, and when they answered not at the third time, he turned to the Lictors or Executioners, and said, *Now is it your part to perform the rest*. They presently took the youths, and stripping them tied their hands behind them: then did they beat with rods, and after that beheaded them, he, whilst others could not behold so abominable a spectacle, feeding his angry eyes with the object, till all was done. Then left he the rest to the discretion of his Collegue and departed; after which a stupidity, horror, and amazement, as the things required, for a time possessed all. *Collatinus* his backwardness and delay encouraged the *Aquillii* to desire time to answer, and that *Vindicius* their Slave might be given up to them, and not continue in the hands of their accusers. The Consul was about to do both, when *Valerius* who kept the Slave all this while in the midst of his followers, would neither deliver him, nor suffer the People to depart without censuring the accused, though *Collatinus* was ready to dismiss the Assembly. He laid hands upon the *Aquillii*, and sent for *Brutus*, crying out, that *Collatinus* did unworthily, to impose upon his Collegue a necessity of killing his sons, and think of granting the lives of the other unto Women. The Consul being vexed, commanded the Lictors to take away *Vindicius*, so that they laying hands on him, wounded those that kept him, and *Valerius* his friends fighting in his behalf, the People cried out for *Brutus*. When he came he said, that by his full authority he had animadverted upon his own Sons, and left the other delinquents to the People, giving leave to every man to speak.

There

The rest beheaded.

There was no need of this, saith *Plutarch* (though *Dionysius* relateth a great contest between the two Consuls) but the Rabble called to the vote, condemned them by all their Suffrages, according to which Sentence they were beheaded. *Collatinus* now, who for being akin to the King had been suspected, and whose name was hateful to the People, having by his carriage in this business offended the Generality, voluntarily laid down his Office and departed from the City, seeing now to what a sad pass he had helped to bring things, and too late repenting of his Rebellion. To him succeeded *Valerius* (the *Comitia* being held for an Election) whom *Brutus* much desired to have had his Collegue at first, but that the greatness of *Collatinus* carried it from him.

Valerius Consul in the room of *Tarquinius* called out.

9. *Valerius* being with the good-will of all the Multitude created Consul, thought the first Fruits of his Office due to *Vindicius*, whom manumitted he made free of the Commonwealth, this privilege being given to him first of all *Liberi* or *Freed-men*, according to *Plutarch* (which *Appian* long after communicated to them all) and from him a perfect and full manumission had the name of *Vindicta*. This done, the Consuls gave the Goods of the King to be rifled by the People, demolished his House, and laid the *Campus Martius* which he had to himself, open as before, wherein lying Corn cut down already, they threw it into the River, and sending Trees that grew there after it, these receiving Gravel and such Rubbish that came down the Chancel, at last grew into an Island called *Insula Sacra*; though some say, this happened in after times, when *Tarquinius* a Vestal Nun gave the adjoining Field to the Publick, and for that obtained great Honours, as these amongst the rest; of all Women alone to appear as a Witness in any cause, and liberty to marry, which she refused. But *Tarquinius* seeing that reason failed, betook himself to Force, and brought a great Army of *Tuscan* against *Rome*. The Consuls opposed him with another, and when they came to join, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquinius*, and *Brutus* the Consul, with greater wrath and Fury than discretion, singled out each other, and so carelessly demeaned themselves, as both of them lost their Lives. A great and bloody Battle was fought betwixt the Armies, which Night only broke up, and that with such equal Fortune, as neither party could boast it self, till at length either by Voice out of a Grove, as the Story goeth, that the *Etruscans* had lost one man more, or some other way, the *Romans* were so revived, and the other discouraged, that the later forsook their Tents for fear, and being fallen upon by the Enemy, were nine five thousand taken Prisoners, having lost eleven thousand and three hundred in the Fight. *Valerius* triumphed at his return to the City (leaving an example to posterity which was duly followed) and then buried his Collegue with great Honour, making himself a funeral Oration in his commendation, which custom *Dionysius* will have more ancient at *Rome* than in *Greece*; although *Anaximenes* wrote that *Solon* was the Author of it.

Valerius suspected.

10. But when the People considered how *Brutus* the Father of their liberty, as they accounted him, would not govern alone without a Collegue, and yet *Valerius* made no haste to take a Partner, they began to complain, that he had not taken to himself so much the place of *Brutus* (which yet not at all belonged to him) but that of *Tarquinius*, and were much offended with him. They confirmed themselves in their hard opinion, from his having all the Rods and Axes carried before him, and with them, in greater state than *Tarquinius* used, marched from his House, which was much larger than the Palace that he demolished. His House was very fair, situate in such a place as afforded him prospect round about, and had a difficult ascent; so that the convenience of the Site, considered with his Kingly port and attendance, seemed to threaten their infant Commonwealth, now an Orphan by *Brutus*'s Death. His Friends remonstrating to him these particulars, he contended not, but that very night sent for Carpenters, who demolished the House ere morning: the next day the People were presented with a New and unexpected Sight, which fully altered their opinion concerning *Valerius*, who now wanting an House of his own, was glad to accept of the Courtship of Friends, till the People gave him a place, wherein he built a Mansion less stately than the former. Further, that he might render not only himself, but also his Office, in stead of Terrible, familiar and acceptable to all, he removed Axes from the bundle of Rods, and, the Rods themselves, when he came into the Assembly, he bowed or vailed to the People, thereby intimating, that in them lay the chief Power; which custom his Successors followed. Hereby, as to his own Person, he lessened not himself, but cut off Envy, and got so much Power, as he renounced

Clearer him self.

Revealed.

Brutus put them to death his sons.

Legs inter alios *Dionysius* lib. 2. *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*.

Dionys. lib. 5. *Livius* lib. 2. *Val. Maxim.* l. 1. c. 8. *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*. *Plutarch* lib. 2. *Plutarch* in *Poplicola*.

A. M. 3197. *Plutarch* lib. 2. *Plutarch* lib. 2. *Plutarch* lib. 2.

of liberty, the People willingly submitting to him, because he flattered them, out of which respect they gave him the Surname of *Poplicola*, not *Publicola*; as *Scymnus* hath evinced. He gave free leave to any to sue for the Consulship, but before a Colleague should be joyned with him, being ignorant what might happen, and fearing he might either through emulation or ignorance cross his designs, by his sole authority he gave birth to several Popular Constitutions, which at length produced such effects as shewed the excellency of that Government which he had helped to destroy.

11. First he filled up the Senate which had been exhausted, by an addition of one hundred and sixty four Perions, as some delivered the number. Then made he several Laws, which gave beginning to that paramount or rampant liberty, whereof the People were afterwards possessed. By one he gave leave to an accused person, to appeal from the Consuls to the People. By another, he made it death for any one to take upon him an Office of Magistracy without the People's order. A third gave relief to poor Citizens, by taking away the payment of Tribute. Another punished disobedience towards the *Consuls*, and appointed the mulkt to be the price of five Oxen, and two Sheep: the price of a Sheep was ten *Oboli* (each *Obolus* was worth 1 d. q.) and one hundred the value of an Oxe. For at that time the use of money was but rare amongst the *Romans*; wealth consisting in plenty of Catel, whence riches were afterwards called *Pecunia* from *Pecus*, and upon the antient money an Oxe, Sheep, or Hog was stamped, which gave it the name of *Pecunia*: and hence they imposed upon their sons (as *Plutarch* observeth) the names of *Suillii*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*. Another Law *Falerius* made, which gave power to any man to kill him unheard, that affected the Supreme Power, if he could demonstrate the crime. The last was a Law for the creation of two *Questors* or publick Treasurers, as *Plutarch* writeth. For it being necessary that the People should contribute money for maintenance of Wars, he would neither undertake the keeping of it himself, nor commit the care of it to his friends, neither thought it convenient that the Publick money should be kept in a private house: therefore he made the Temple of *Saturn* the *Aerarium*, or Treasury, and caused the People to choose out two young men to be *Questors*. The first were *P. Veturius*, and *M. Minucius*. A great quantity of money was now brought into the *Aerarium*. For at the *Census* one hundred and thirty thousand were celled or valued, besides Widows and Orphans. Thus much *Plutarch* delivereth concerning this Office.

12. But some give a more antient beginning to the *Questors*, making their antienter than any Office, except that of Kings. (a) *Gracchanus* a Lawyer wrote, that both *Romulus* and *Numa* had their *Questors*, created by the consent of the People; however he saith it is certain that *Tullius Hostilius* had his. (b) *Ulpian* confirmeth the later, and (c) *Tacitus* seemeth to agree with either of them, affirming that under the Kings there were *Questors*, which the *Lex curiata* sheweth, that was renewed by *L. Brutus*. He addeth, that the *Comitia* had power to chuse them, till the People took that honour to it self, and first of all created *Valerius Potius*, and *Amilius Mamercus*; that they might follow the Army, in the sixty third year after the banishment of *Tarquinius*. *Lipius* thinketh this number should be read twenty three, that it might agree with (d) *Dionysius*, and also (e) *Livy*, who first mentioneth the *Questors* in the two hundred and sixty ninth year of the City, twenty three years after the banishment of the King, and differeth only in one of their names, having for *Amilius*, *Cajo Fabius*. Concerning the antiquity of these Officers (f) *Pomponius* allo the Lawyer agreeth with the rest. They had their name *a querendo* saith (g) *Varro*, because they made inquiry after publick money, and also Malefactors, or the actions of such, which later employment was afterwards committed to the *Triumviri* for capital matters, so that *Questor* is written as for *Questor*. *Fulsius Lipius* is of opinion, that though the Kings might have these Officers for the punishment of Vice, yet the Treasurers were not created till the change of the Government, when the publick Treasure being increased there was need of such. At the beginning they were but two by consent of all; and those were made for the City, retaining afterwards the name of *Urbanis*. But afterward when they were to look to the paying of the Armies abroad, and selling plunder and booty, then were there other two made, to accompany the *Comitia*, as *Lyra* saith, which hapned about the two hundred and thirty second year of the City.

23. This number long continued, until all *Italy* was brought in ; then was

His consti-
tutions.

The Quarters.

When first
made.

Their num-
 ber

(a) Lib. de
Potestatis.
(b) Lib. de
Officio Quæ-
ris.
(c) Ann. l. 16.

(d) Lib. 8.
(e) Lib. 2.

(f) Lib. 2. ff.
de Orig. Juris
(g) De Lingua
Latin. lib. 4.
pag. 22. ex
Edit. Joseph.
Scalig.

it again doubled, no fewer than eight being thought to suffice for the Tribunes of the Provinces; and this hapned when Silver money was first coined, about the four hundred and thirty ninth year of the City, as may be gathered from the Epitome of *Livie's* fifteenth Book. Not long after *Sylla* procured by a Law, that twenty should be made for the assistance of the *Senate*, as *Tacitus* writeth, to which he had delivered the judicial power : and for such an end *Cesar* caule forty to duty, as is clear from several Authors, was to gather, lay up, and pay out the publick revenues, to keep the military Ensigns of Gold and Silver (for they then used no Banners) in the Treasury, to sell plunder and booty, receive, lodge, and carry out Ambassadors. They had also the government of certain places, as *Offia* and *Cales*. They received from *Augustus* the privilege of keeping the *Senatus consulta*, which formerly belonged to the *Adiles* and *Tribes*. And the Emperours had a certain *Questor* of their own called *Candidus Principis*, and *Questor Principis*, or *Auguri*, whose Office *Ulpian* describeth. This gave original to the *Questor Palatii* (Gaith *Lipsius*) to whom was granted great authority, as to make Laws and Decrees, subscribe Petitions, return answers, and to be into *Chancellor*. But, to speak something of the *Treasury*, the Temple of *Saturn* was first made use of to this purpose, as *Plutarch* telleth us. Here also were kept the *Libri elephanti*n, Books wherein the thirty five Tributes were written, and the Decrees of the Senate ; but the *Libri Linte*i, or the *Annals*, were kept by the *Pontifices*, who therein recorded such things as were memorabile. In the *Ararium* was also a more fecrer place, where the twentieth part of the revenues were reserved for caes of extremity only. The *Ararium* was afterwards called *Fiscus*, from the *Fisselle*, or bags wherein the money was kept, according to *Varro*. The first *Advocatus Fisc*i was instituted by *Adrian* the Emperour, as *Spartianus* writeth. Amongst other tributes, the People of *Rome* had the twentieth part of all revenues of Corn throughout *Italy*, besides *Salt*, which was the device of *Livy*, these Sirmamed *Salinator*. Those that farmed the Tributes of *Pedanus*, were called *Publicans*, and the principal of them *Mancipes*, according to *Pedanius*, whom *Volateranus* followeth.

14. *Valerius Poplicola* having finished his confutations of Settlement, held the Assembly of the People for the election of another Consul. *Lucretius* the father of *Lucretia* was chosen, to whom, as the elder, *Poplicola* granted the *Fufces* or bundle of Rods ; which respect of age was ever observed by their Successors, till the time of (a) *Flavius*, as himself writeth. This granting of the *Fufces* (c) is Poplicola's title to the elder Consul ; but no longer than till the *Lex Julia*, in the seventh Chapter, where this privilege was given to him who had most children, either still in his own power (that is to be understood not *Emancipated*) or already lost in War. But if both Consuls had an equal number of children, he who at present was a married man was preferred. If both were husbands and fathers alike, then the ancient custom returned, and he who was eldest had first the *Fufces*. Concerning such who were both unmarried, had the same number of children, or were both married and had no children, the Law commanded nothing. But I hear, saith (b) *Gellius*, that those who were exempted, were wont to yield the *Fufces* of the first month to their Colleagues that far exceeded them in age, or in birth, or entered upon their second Consulship. In the mean time that Consul who had no *Fufces*, that he might be known by some note of distinction, had an *Accensu* (a certain Beadle or Crier, concerning whom (c) *Varro* is to be consulted) that went before him, and *Lictors* followed with Rods and Staves, as (d) *Dionysius*, (e) *Levy*, and *Suetonius* do testify.

15. *Nereus* died also a few days after his creation: to whom succeeded *M. Horatius*, who continued the Collegue of *Poplicola* for the remaining part of the year. Now was the Capitol finished which had been vowed by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and begun by *Superbus* his grand-son. *Poplicola* had a great ambition to dedicate it, but the Nobility envied him the honour, and stirred up *Horatius* to stand for it, whom when the other was constrained to be absent in the War, they enjoined by a Decree to do it, and carried him up thither, knowing that in the presence of *Poplicola* they could not have prevailed. Some write, that by lot the War fell to *Poplicola* much against his will, and the Dedication to *Horatius*. On the 14th of September, which fell in with the full Moon of the Greek month *Metagivion* (answering to *August* the twenty eighth of the *Julian* year,

Their duty

The *Arms*
of Treason.

Lutetians Con-
sol.

Нотариус.

es (1) In Popul-

e (b) *Not. Att. i*
r *lib. 2. c. 15.*

(c) *D. Ling.*

(1) (a) Lib. 5.
 (b) Lib. 3.
 (c) Lib. 7. 1/2.

7.

2-

3

2,

6

6

Sect. 1.

Clælia.

20. For the establishing of this Peace the *Romans* gave up twenty Hostages, viz. ten young Youths, and as many Girls, amongst which was *Valeria* the Daughter of *Poplicola*. All Acts of Hostility ceasing, the young Virgins went down to the River to wash, and taking an opportunity, when none were present to hinder them, got over the Water, and returned home. Some reported, that one amongst them named *Clælia* went over on horse-back, and perswaded the rest to swim after. When they presented themselves to *Poplicola*, he neither admired their resolution, nor approved of their return, fearing it would be objected as a breach of Faith to the *Romans*; so that apprehending them all, he sent them back to *Porfena*. *Quintinus* aware hereof placed in ambush a party to entrap them and their Convey; but *Aruns* the Son of *Porfena* hearing of it, came in, and rescued them out of danger. When *Porfena* saw them, he demanded which had been the cause of their departure, and finding *Clælia* the principal, bestowed on her one of his own Horses sumptuously adorned. Then to give a further Testimony of his respect towards the *Roman*, besides other things where-in he shewed his Magnificence, he commanded his Soldiers to depart out of the Camp only with their Arms, delivering up to the besieged his Tents furnished with Victuals, and all other good things. Therefore for a long time after, when publick Goods were set to Sale, first of all the stuff of *Porfena* was cried, to preserve the memory of his kindness; and about the Court-house was erected his Statue in a plain and antient Fashion. For the next year *Dionysius* nameth as Consuls, *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, of whom *Livie* maketh honourable mention, but not as executing his Office. He writeth that at the Bridge *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius* both nobly defended, together with *Horatius Coclès*, sustained the first brunt of the *Etruscans*, but Learned men tell us that it ought to be written *Lartius*, not *Largius*.

War with the Sabines.

21. The Year following being the two hundred and fiftieth of the City, and the fiftieth after the Banishment of *Tarquinius*, the first of the ninety ninth *Olympiad*, faith *Dionysius*, wherein *Isthmachus* of *Crotone* was Victor, *Aeschorides* being again *Archon* at *Athens*, in the eighteenth year of *Darius Hystaspis* King of *Persia*, A. M. 3501. *M. Valerius* the Brother of *Poplicola*, and *P. Posthumius Terentius* were Consuls. Now the *Sabines* made depredations in the *Roman* Territories, and proceeded so far in their Injuries that it engaged the Parties in a War: *Marcus* by the Counsel and Assistance of his Brother obtained great Honour in his undertakings. He overthrew the *Sabines* twice, in the later of which Battels were slain of them thirteen thousand, and not one of the *Romans* lost. Wherefore besides Triumphs this was given him as an addition of honour, to have an House built for him in the place on the publick coast. Besides, whereas all the doors of other Houses opened inwards, they would have this of his House to open outwards toward the Street, as a mark of Honour in this respect, that he was ever ready to move for the publick good. Indeed all the Gates of the *Grecians* are said most antiently to have opened this way, and that by Testimony of the *Comedians*, wherein they that are going out first knock within, that such as either go by or stand near, may prevent being hurt of the Door, which was cast forward into the Street. The next Year, wherein *Poplicola* was Consul the fourth time, and his Colleague *T. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, the whole Nation of the *Sabines* with the *Latines* conspired against *Rome*, which was also much disturbed by Superstition, for that all the Women with Child miscarried of mutilous Births, and nothing came into the World perfect. When these things much dejected the minds of the *Romans*, another erected them, and afforded considerable encouragement to the War. *Appius* or *Atius Clænius*, an eminent man amongst the *Sabines* for Riches, Valour, Virtue, and Eloquence, being much against the War, was therefore malign'd by his Emulators, as favouring the *Romans*, and designing to bring his Country under their Yoke. His Enemies gaining credit with the Vulgar, he feared to put himself upon Trial, and therefore raised a Commotion, which retarded the War. Then did *Poplicola* invite him to *Rome*, whither he came with five thousand Families of his Friends and Dependents. The Families were made free of the City, and to every man assigned two Akers of Ground by the River *Aniene*; but to *Clænius* himself twenty Akers, and the degree of a Senator. Having got this opportunity, he so improved it, as to become equal to the greatest, and raised his House so much, that the *Clæui* afterwards called *Claudii*, became inferior to no one Family.

22. His Revolt much more exasperated the minds of his Country-men to the War, who coming with an Army to *Fidene*, placed in Ambush two thousand Foot,

Sect. i.

Poplicola died.

Foot, and then sent some Horse to make incursions, commanding them to retreat, as if they fled, and so draw on the *Romans* into the snare. *Poplicola*, having notice hereof by certain fugitives, divided his Army into three parts, and taking the advantage of a mist, fell upon the *Sabines* on so many sides, and did such execution, as the nearness of *Fidene* only hindered the destruction of them all. The *Romans*, besides the advantage of much plunder, obtained that good by this Victory, to be furnished with courage for all allies; yet imputed they the whole merit to the Consul, and stuck not to say, that he delivered into their hands their Enemies, blind and lame, only to be dispatched with the Sword. Having triumphed, and given up the charge of the Commonwealth to the two new Consuls, *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, and *Publius Posthumius*, shortly after he died, finishing his life, as he had lived, in great grace with the multitude whom he had so flattered. The People, as if they had nothing at all required him when living, but owed him yet his whole reward, decreed he should be buried at the publick charge, every one contributing a small piece of money. Some say, that he was so poor, as he left not enough to bury him. The women by universal consent mourned for him, as formerly they had done for *Brutus*, an whole year. He was by a special Decree buried within the City, (which honour (saith *Dionysius*) hath only happened unto him to this day) and that privilege was also granted to his family. But now, (*Plutarch* writeth) none of them are there interred: the Funeral is only drawn out thither, and the Coffin being set down, one puts under fire, and presently again takes it away, shewing, that the deceased hath a right there to be buried, but on his own accord quitters the privilege. This being done, the body was carried away.

23. The same year that *Poplicola* died, the *Sabines* provided of numerous Forces, invaded the *Roman* Territories, as far as the City walls. The Consuls taking the field against them, *Posthumius* was entrapped in an Ambush, and escaping narrowly himself, lost many of his men, which defeat struck the Citizens with great terror, who now ran to the walls, expecting the Enemy would fall upon the City. But nothing being attempted in this kind, they marched out, resolving to redeem their credit; and *Posthumius*, much more concerned in honour than the rest, so behaved himself, as he made amends fully, and both the Consuls obtained a notable Victory, which had been completed by the slaughter of all the *Sabines*, if the darkness of night had not interposed. The Senate ordered the Consuls to return in pomp; *Menenius* with full honour in triumph, sitting in a Chair, drawn in way of a Chariot, but *Posthumius*, because of his late defeat, in a more humble manner, which the *Romans* called *Ovation*, so named (saith *Festus* or *Paulus* from him, as he from *Verrius*) from the letter O, which the Soldiers in way of joy were wont to echo at their return from a Victory; or corruptly pronounced for the Greek word *Eufest*, as *Dionysius* conjectureth. *Ovation* differed herein from a Triumph properly so called, that the General entered not the City in a Chariot, but on foot before his Soldiers; for the Robe interwoven with Gold, he only wore the *Prætexta toga*, the ordinary habit of Consuls and Prætors; neither had he a Scepter, but only Laurel; and on his head a wreath of Myrtle, when the War had not been denounced, or finished without bloodshed. The year following, wherein *Sp. Cassius Pictetianus*, and *Opiter Virginii Tricostus* were Consuls, the *Sabines* were overthrown in a great battle at *Curis*, ten thousand and three hundred being slain, and about four thousand taken, which defeat caused them to beg peace, and purchase it with Corn, Money, and part of their grounds. Whilst *Sp. Cassius* did this good service against the *Sabines*, his Colleague subdued the *Camarinæans* who had revolted, and having put to death the Authors of the injury, sold the rest, and razed their City.

Oration what.

The Sabines beg Peace.

Dionys.

24. The year that followed, being the first of the seventieth *Olympiad* (wherein *Nicæas* of *Opus* (a Town of *Loeri*) was Victor,) *Myrras* executing the Annual Office of *Archon* at *Athens* had for Consuls *Posthumius Cominius*, and *T. Lartius*. Now all the *Latines* (to the number of thirty Cities, saith *Livy*) conspired against *Rome*, by the procurement of *Mamilius Ostilius*, son-in-law to *Tarquinius* (who at present was with him at *Tusculum*) though *Valerius* the *Roman* Ambassador pretended to answer to such accusations as were made, and laboured to dissuade the several People of *Latium*. In the mean time also the Slaves at home contrived how to seize upon the Capitol, and burn the City, but were discovered, and nailed to crosses. The following year wherein *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus*, and *Mamius Tullus Loignus*, were Consuls, a Faction in *Fidene*, having

Se^{ct}. 1. ving received some men from *Tarquinus*, killed or expelled their adversaries, and caused the Town to revolt from the *Romans*. The Senate would not make War upon the *Latines* in general, knowing many amongst them were inclined to Peace, and thought it sufficient to block up *Fidene*, for which they sent out *Manius* with a strong Army. The besieged implored assistance of the *Latines*, who in their general meeting heard also the complaints of *Tarquinus*, and though they were much importuned by some amongst them, yet they only ordered the Ambassadors to be sent to demand the reception of the King, and the removal of the siege from *Fidene*, which was done also merely to give time, giving the *Romans* a years time to consider of the matter, and taking to large a space for to make preparations, in case the overture were rejected. *Tarquinus* and *Mamilius* having little hopes to prevail this way, seeing that the minds of the generality were averse from War, endeavoured to bring his right about in an easier way, by raising in *Rome* an unexpected and intestine difference betwixt the rich and poorer sort.

Tarquinus his
endeavours
for the recov-
ery of his
Kingdom.

25. For at this very time, as *Dionysius* writeth, a great part of the common People, especially the indigent and such as were burthened by usury, did not like of the present state of affairs, which dissatisfaction was caused by the extravagant course of Creditors, who seizing upon the bodies of their Debtors, used them no better than Slaves purchased with money. *Tarquinus* not being ignorant hereof, sent certain of his friends with Gold, who gave them some in hand, promising more after the King's restitution, and procured thereby a conspiracy of many poor Citizens, with such Slaves as had been offended with their Masters the year before, for the severity shown towards their fellows. The matter was discovered to *Sulpicius*, who after he had returned a denial, though very civilly, to the *Latin* Ambassadors, by a wife drew the Conspirators into the *Forum*; where incompassing them about, he put them all to the Sword. The first being thus allied for a time, the Consuls of this and the following year looked abroad, and in the next, *Fidene* was yielded up to *T. Larsius Flavius*. Hereat the *Latins* were exceedingly startled, and now all railed on their principal men, for that no order had been taken for relief of the Town. *Tarquinus* and *Mamilius* so improved this opportunity, that all the Cities (twenty four in number, as they are reckoned by *Dionysius*) decreed War against the *Romans*, engaging that none should forsake their associates, nor make Peace without common consent, sealing it with an Oath, and direful curses against such as should break the League, who were to be held as Enemies by all the rest. They gave liberty to *Tarquinus* and his son in-law to levy what Forces they thought convenient, and that they might have some kind of pretence, sent a message to *Rome*, whence the Senate returned a stout and resolute answer.

War with the
Latins in his
behalf.

26. Great were the preparations of the *Latines*; the *Romans* sending round about, could make no friends, and yet were not dejected, but trusting to their domestic strength alone, were thereby rendered much more resolute and courageous, as such upon whom lay a necessity of being valiant. But a great difficulty was found in lifting Soldiers; for the poor and those that were furcharged with debt, of which there was a great number, being cited, would not appear, saying, they had nothing to do with the *Patritians*, except their debts were remitted by Decree of the Senate, nay some talked of leaving the City, and exhorted one another not to stay in that place, where no good thing was communicated to them. The *Patritians* by good words laboured to appease them, but all in vain; so that the Senate fell into a serious debate about so weighty a matter. Some were for a free remission of the debts, after the manner of the *Athenian Sischyria*, as the only way to remove all prejudice, and beget a fair correspondence betwixt Nobility and Commons. Others condemned this as too great a condescension, and which would encourage them to like Seditions for the time to come, thinking it the better way to list such as would give their names, and not at all value the rest, who though gratified at present, would hereafter be unserviceable. Betwixt these extremes several other ways were propounded; but this at length prevailed, that nothing should now be determined, but the War being happily finished, the Consuls should report it again to the Senate, and in the mean time all suits and process concerning debts were to cease, that Magistrates might make effectual provisions for the matter now mainly incumbent. This expedient, though something it wrought, had not sufficient strength to end the difference, and therefore the Senate was put upon another exigent. Whereas by the Law of *Valerius*, power of life and death was taken

away

away from the Consuls, and all constrained, by an appeal to the People, so that no man could be forced to the War. It seemed necessary to create a Magistrate, who for six Months should rule as absolute above the Laws, and from whom should lyce no appeal. Thus having renounced Monarchy in effect, they had again recourse to it, and shewed as well the necessity as excellency of it.

The Dictator.

27. This Supreme Officer was called *Dictator*, either for that he was *dictatus*, or named, by the Consul, according to (a) *Varro*, or rather from dictating, or shewing and commanding what was to be done, which Etymology (b) *Dionysius* approveth. He was also called (c) *Magister Populi*, and (d) *Prator Maximus*. Both name and thing came from the *Albans*, whose Dictator *Metius Sufferetius* we have formerly mentioned. *Spartianus* saith, it was an ordinary Magistrate of old *Latium*. *Dionysius* bringeth the Testimony of *Licinius Macer* for this opinion; yet he thinketh the Office first taken from the *Greeks*, who had their *Alcymetes* or extraordinary Kings made upon some urgent occasion, with absolute Power. The *Dictator* was created upon some urgent occasion of War or Sedition, for fixing a Nale in time of a Plague, to hold the *Comitia* for electing of Consuls, celebrate Games, make inquisition, choosing Senators, or in sum, when there was need of a sodain and extraordinary command. The manner of his creation was not, as of other Magistrates, by the Suffrages of the People; but, at the command of the Senate, the Consul named some one of Consular Dignity whom he pleased, in the Night, and who was approved by the *Auspicium*, or divination from Birds, a Ceremony observed ever in the election of some Officers. The occasion being many times sodain, they could not stay for the Suffrages of the People, and the design being to restrain, or constrain, the Multitude, many times, he was not to be chosen out of their Body, although sometimes these Rules were not fully observed, either through the absence of the Consul, or some other respect. *L. Cornelius Sylla* alone was named by the *Interrex*, as *C. Caesar* by the *Prator*; both which nominations *Cicero* in his Epistles conceiveth done contrary to right and order. The Authority of the *Dictator* was exceeding large. He had Power of Peace and War, to levie Forces, lead them forth, and disband them, and set all things according to his pleasure, without referring them to the Senate. So that not only had he the Power of both Consuls (whence the *Greeks* called him *Disypatos*, or double Consul) but more also, in that upon his Creation all other Magistrates, except the Tribunes, laid down their Offices, and the whole Government was left in his hands. He could punish as he pleased, without all appeal, and for the ostentation of his Power, had twenty four bundles of Rods carried before him, with as many Axes, or Hatchets, as *Plutarch* and *Polybius* do testifie; although *Livie* dissenting from them, will have *Sylla* first of all others to have had twenty four Bundles. Hence this Office came to be so terrible, as the Edict of the *Dictator* was ever observed as the command of a Deity.

His Power.

The bounds
of his Office.

Appeal from
him.

28. It was necessary, according to the *Roman* Government, that this extraordinary Power should be bounded by certain Limits, wherein might lie redress of Inconveniences thence arising. Six months were the time assigned for its duration, and never was it lengthened, except for meer necessity, as might be intanced in *Camillus*, *L. Papirius*, and *Fabius Maximus*: for the perpetual Dictatorships of *Sylla* and *Caesar* were notorious Violations of the Laws. And not only the time but the place also was limited, it being unlawful for the *Dictator* to stir out of *Italy*, lest being out of fight, he should take advantage at the distance of place, to attempt some new matter; and this constitution was never violated but once whilst the old Commonwealth stood, by *Atrilius Collatinus*. He was not to come on horse-back, but march continually on foot, to shew, saith *Plutarch*, that the *Roman* strength lay in the Legions, or rather to teach him Humility. Now because in great Expeditions this could scarce be observed, he formally before his departure asked leave of the People that he might ride, as *Livie* informeth us. But those restrictions were inconsiderable, in respect of the Appeal which afterwards came to be made from him to the People. *Festus* in these words *Optima Lex*, saith, that first the power of the *Magister Populi*, or *Dictator*, was full or absolute, as that of *Marcus Valerius*; but afterwards an Appeal lay from this Magistrate to the People. *Livie* seemeth also to hold out the same thing, where he bringeth *M. Fabius* in behalf of his Son thus speaking to *L. Papirius* the Dictator: *Seeing that neither the authority of the Senate, nor mine age, which thou esteest about to bereave of my Son, neither the Virtue and Nobility of the Master of the Horse-men named by thy self, prevail with thee; nor yet Prayers and Intreaties,*

Lib. 2.

Se^{ct}. 1.

(a) Dr Ling.
(b) Liv. lib. 5.
(c) Varro quo
dicitur de Fin.
(d) Festus in voc.
Optima Lex.
(e) Lex Atrina.

Sect. 1.

ties, which are wont to appease an enemy, and the anger of the Gods: I appeal to the Tribunes of the People, and the People is self which I make our Judge, (Cicero thus regards not the Judgment of the Army and Senate) which alone can do more than thy Dictatorship. I shall see whether thou wilt give place to that Appeal to which the Roman King Tullus Hostilius yielded. Hereupon the People assembled, and the Tribunes were present at the meeting. Papirius denieth neither the Power of the one nor the other, but continueth resolute for the punishment of the Master of the Horse-men, who had fought in his absence contrary to his Command, shewing how all discipline else would be destroyed. A way was found out to preserve the Honour of both Offices, the power of People, Tribunes and Dictator, with the strength of Discipline. For the People betook it self to in-treaties, and was seconded by the Tribunes. Whereupon the Dictator pardoned the party, granting his Life to the request of those, who, as he confesseth, might have commanded it.

29. At what time this Appeal was brought in, or how long it continued in Force, seeing that Sylla and other Dictators made use of the old and absolute Power, is uncertain. It is probable, that the People being overwitted in ratifying the Decree of the Senate (as Dionysius telleth us they were) grew sensible, how they had thereby given the Power again out of their Hands; it being lawful for the Senate at any time when they should pretend a necessity, and that for the bridling of the People it self, to give order to the Consul to name a Dictator, and therefore refused its ancient Power of Appeal, without which no lawless Freedom could be enjoyed. But in the declining condition of the Commonwealth, when Dictators grew more imperious, their Soldiers more dissolute, and the Tribunes of the People especially more Factious, and opportunity might be wanting for it to exert that right which as yet it had not given up to any other. If what Dionysius writeth of the Dictators being approved by the People after the Consuls nomination be true, the State stood in less need of the Appeal, but it being not possible for a Multitude never to mistake in its Opinion of a Person, this defect might at length be experimentally discovered, and thence a recourse had to that remedy which was ever certain whilst it could be applied. By these cautions and restrictions, with the modesty of the Romans; this Grand Office was for four hundred years managed for the publick good, as it was accounted, till Sylla, and afterward Cesar, converted it into a Tyranny, as the multitude counted it, and rendered the very name thereof so odious, that after Cesar's death, in the seven hundred and tenth year of the City, when M. Antonius, and P. Cornelius Dolabella were Consuls, a Law was made (from the former Consul called *Lex Antonia*) whereby it was for ever banished. The Dictator when he was created made choice of one who had either been Consul or Prator, to be *Magister Equitum*, who, saith Varro, had chief Power over the Horse-men, and *Adscens* (Criers, Beadles, or publick Messengers) as the Dictator had over the Roman People, whence he also was called *Magister Populi*. Thereof, because they were of less value than these Magistri, were named *Magistratus*, as from albus Albutus. If the Dictator was absent, the Master of the Horse-men executed his place in the Army, but if he was present, he commanded the Horse, yet so as to be obedient to the Dictators Orders, and not to Fight, either contrary to, or without his Command. In the second Punic War, M. Fabius Buteo was made Dictator for filling up the Senate, without a Master of Horse-men. But he alleged, that he could not approve of two Dictators to be at the same time, nor a Dictator without a Master of horse-men, and having perfected his work on the same day laid down his Office.

30. Concerning the time of the first Dictatorship, Authors differ in the space of two years, and do not fully agree about the Person. Dionysius, a grave, faithful, and wary Author (by consent of the most learned sort of men) referreth it to the two hundred and fifty fifth year of the City; but Livy, and most Latine Authors assign it to the two hundred and fifty third. Dionysius saith expressly, that T. Largius Flavus was the first Dictator, being Consul that year. Livy saith it could not be certainly known from ancient Authors who was the first, yet confesseth that the most ancient mentioned Largius, and upon good Grounds approveth of their opinion rather than that which maketh M. Valerius the Son of Marcus yet living, and Grand-son to Porsus the first of all, which Festus seemeth to follow. Livy mentioneth no other cause of the Original than a falling out with the Sabines, and the conspiracy of the thirty Latine Cities, putting off the Sedition till after the finishing

The Magister Equitum.

The time of the first Dictatorship.

The Person.

Sect. 1.

finishing of the Latine War; but as there can little hold be taken of one who certainly relateth matters; so no need would there have been of an absolute Authority for the Latine War, if no stir had been made in the City, all giving their names with alacrity, and obeying the Consuls, as in former Wars. And if the Consuls had been suspected to favour the cause of Targinius (as some wrote they were) then new ones might have been made in their rooms, nothing being prevalent to alter the ordinary form of Government, but a necessity of absolute Power for a time; and no ordinary accident about War could make this necessity; so that compulsion must have been the end, and the taking away that help from the multitude, which was unalterably given to it against the Consuls by the *Valerian Law*. Thus might the Nobility, if they had had that duty, have seen cause to repent in time of their Kings banishment.

T. Largius the first Dictator.

31. T. Largius, the first Dictator, having named Sp. Cassius for his Master of horse-men (who had born the Office of Consul in the seventieth Olympiad) caused Axes to be carried before him with the Rods, as had been wont, till the time of Poplicola, before the chief Magistrates, both Kings and Consuls. Having with these and other Ensigns of power terrified the Seditious, he began the *Census* after the Pattern of Ser. Tullius, according to the Tribes, taking the names and ages of such as were Celled, and of Children. In a short space, fear of losing freedom of the City, and Estates, so prevailed, as one hundred and fifty thousand and seven hundred of such as were ripe of age gave their names, which he distributed into four parts, whereof taking one to himself, he gave the rest to his Master of horse-men, and two others, one being to continue in the City for the defence thereof. This done, he sent some who underhand dealt with the several Latine Cities, and procured them to suspend the War, and make a Truce for a year, notwithstanding all that Mamilius and Sextus Targinius could do to the contrary. Then returned he home with the Army, and ere his six months were out, the Consuls being appointed, laid down, no Citizens being killed, banished or otherwise chastized by any grievous punishment; which carriage was imitated by his Successors, until the third age from that wherein we live, saith Dionysius. But in the time of our Fathers four hundred years from the Dictatorship of Largius, L. Cornelius Sylla first of all others behaved himself cruelly in this Office, so that the Romans conceived then what before they had cause to be ignorant of, that the Dictatorship was a Tyranny.

32. When the Truce betwixt the Latines and Romans was ended, both parties prepared for the War: The former were against their wills, 'tis said, drawn in by the interest of Mamilius; but the later with all cheerfulness embraced the opportunity. The Romans thought fit a Dictator should be Created, and accordingly Virginius the Senior Consul named A. Posthumius his Colleague, who chose for Master of horse-men T. Ebutius Helva, and having his Levies, divided his Forces into four parts, whereof one he kept to himself, and assigned the second to Virginius, the third to Ebutius, and the fourth to Sempronius, who therewith was to defend the City. News being come that the Latines had taken the Field, the Dictator with speed marched to the Lake Regillus (at this day called *Il Lago di Santa Severa*) in the Country of Tuscany, where he fortified his Camp against the Enemy, whoas yet had not united his Forces, and expected Assistance from the Volsci. The Roman Army divided into three parts incompassed the Latines, who endeavoured to beat off Ebutius from an Hill he had seized on betwixt them and home; but he kept his Ground in despite of them, and fortified himself. The Latines hereupon being hindered from all Provisions, resolved to fight; the Dictator at first was minded to end the War without Blood, by satisfying his Enemies, but understanding that the Volsci were expected within three days, changed his resolution. The right Wing of the Latines was led by Mamilius, the left by Sextus Targinius, and the middle Bartel by Titus Targinius his other Son. On the other side against Mamilius stood Virginius, Ebutius was opposite in the right Wing to Sextus Targinius, and the Dictator led the middle Bartel against Titus, and the Roman Exiles. The Romans brought into the Field twenty four thousand foot, and one thousand horse, but the Latines forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. When they joined, both parties missed of their expectation; for the one trusting to their numbers, and the other to their Valour, thought to bear all down before them. The Dictator gave the first opportunity of Victory by overpowering Titus, after which, though Mamilius and Sextus omitted nothing requisite to valiant and able Captains, yet both losing their Lives, their followers were

Dionys. lib. 6.

The Latines overthrown at the Lake Regillus.

Sect. 1.

discouraged and overthrown; scarce ten thousand escaping home of the whole number. Of the Romans fell *M. Valerius*, whose dead body his two Nephews by his brother *Poplicola*, *Publius* and *Marcus*, endeavouring to get off, were also slain in the attempt.

33. After the Fight, the *Volsci*, whom the *Latines* had expected, arrived at the Camp, which seeing full of dead bodies, and learning the issue of the battle, some of them were for falling on the *Romans* now weary, but another party prevailed to send Messengers to the Dictator, to tell him they came to his assistance, thereby to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerors. But the Dictator convinced them of falshood by their Letters which he had intercepted, and giving leave to the Messengers to return, whom the multitude would have pulled in pieces, resolved on the morrow to fall on them; but in the night they deserted their Camp and fled. From the place of this action the Dictator obtained the surname of *Rhegillensis*.

34. The *Latines* sent to deprecate the anger of the Roman State, laying all the blame upon their Nobility. The Ambassadors managed their work with such earnestness and humility (casting themselves at the Feet of the Senate, and making great lamentations) that the motion of *Largius* prevailed in their behalf for the former League to be renewed. This was the end of the War which in behalf of the *Tarquins* had been carried on for fourteen years: *Tarquinius* himself being only left behind of all his stock, now almost ninety years old, for that the *Latines*, *Hetruscans*, and *Sabines*, refused to harbour him, as also all other neighbouring Cities which were free, went into *Campania* to *Arifodenus* the Prince of *Cuma*, with whom he shortly after died. Of the man we may judge charitably, because his story was only related to posterity by his bitter Enemies. However, his banishment our Religion must censure as Rebellion. And such were the fits, seditions and tumults afterwards, and so many changes and rechanges, as if the Reader seriously consider them he will see that the *Romans* suffered much for want of Monarchy, and the contrary Government did not contribute to their happiness. That this may appear, he hath here a fuller view of their changes than in any other modern Writer.

Great fits in the City.

35. The *Romans* now freed from this War, fell into a grievous sedition in the City, the Courts of Justice being again opened by the Senate, and the process against debtors revived. The *Plebeians* alleged they were not able to pay their debts, by reason of their losses sustained in the late Wars through want of tillage, and plundering of their Cattel by the Enemy. Their Creditors replied, that these losses had also befallen them, which made the remission of the debts impossible, and so neither sort would yield at all, but many tumults were raised, wherein the parties did not abstain from blows. *Posthumius* the Dictator perceiving some expedition to be necessary for the quiet of the City, created Consuls for the following year, and laid down his Office. The Consuls were *Appius Claudius* the *Sabine*, and *P. Servilius Prifus*, who being of the Dictator's mind as to the War, resolved to go out against the *Volsci*, who had assisted the *Latines* against the State, and now were making preparations for War; when they came to make Levies none of the *Plebeians* would give their names, complaining that they having already undergone the heat, and danger of the War, both for liberty and dominion, they were by their fellow Citizens at home kept in bondage (it being the custom then for Creditors to make use of them as Slaves bound in fetters) and many times cruelly beaten, till they could pay their debts. They cried out, that the security of the common sort was more provided for in War, and amongst their Enemies, than in Peace, and with their friends. The disagreement of the Consuls amongst themselves added to the present discontent; *Servilius* being willing to comply something with the desire of the poor; but *Appius* inveighing against them with great bitterness, and earnestly urging force and rigour to be the most suitable means for appeasing these tumults. The Senate was forced to betake it self to the popularity of *Servilius*, who with fair words drew the people out against the *Sabines*, and when he had by this good service deserved a Triumph, the honour was denied him through the suggestions of his Colleague to the Fathers, for that by bearing with the multitude he impaired the Dignity of their Order.

Divided by War.

36. After the finishing of the War the common sort thought again of their own concerns, and expecting performance of what *Servilius* had promised, *Appius* exacted the payment of debts as rigorously as ever: This doubled the people's rage, and made them carry on all things by force, so that they refused

Sect. 1.

from their Companions out of the hands of Sargeants, and holding secret councils by night, denied to the succeeding Consuls to take up Arms, till they could have a relaxation of their burthens. This putting the Senate to a stand, *Appius* still urged that nothing was to be granted to the rabble, and procured a Dictator to be created. When most looked upon him as fittest for the time, the Consuls judged quite otherwise, and made choice of *M. Valerius* the Brother of *Publius*, and son of *Volefius*, a popular man, being persuaded that the terror of the Office alone would do the work, and that a man of mild temper would best manage it. The Dictator told the People, in case they would freely follow him, not only what they justly required concerning their debts, but other rewards also, and by this means lifted ten Legions against the *Volsci*, *Aequi* and *Sabines*, who were all up in Arms, which being brought under, he divided amongst his Soldiers some grounds taken from the *Volsci*, but requesting of the Senate, that his and their promise might be made good, was checked for his love to the multitude, and because he was an old man above seventy, being unfit as he said to contend, he laid down his Office. The People hereat much enraged, kept private meetings, and consulted how to separate themselves from the *Patritians*, which when the Senate perceived, they gave order to the Consuls not to disband the Armies, pretending that the *Sabines* and *Aequi* had conspired against *Rome*. The Soldiers being bound by the Oath taken at their lifting (called by them *Sacramentum*, and ever strongly observed) could not forsake their Standards, but the Consuls having their Camps near to each other, they all went into one by the advice of one *Scinius Bellulus*, and taking away the Ensigns from the Consuls, departed to the Mount called afterwards *Mont Sacer*, lying three miles from the City beyond the River *Aniene*, now called *Tevere*.

The first separation of the Commons.

37. Notice hereof being brought into the City, filled all places with marvelous tumults. The *Patritians* were in great fear lest War should be made upon them; the *Plebeians* grew exceeding high, and many flocked to the Army, though the other hundred it as much as possible. The Fathers had also great strife amongst themselves, while some pleaded for the multitude, and others would hear of nothing but carrying the matter through by strong hand. But the former sort prevailed to send a message to the Armies, desiring them to return home; promising that for the future all things should be forgot, and the Senate would be ready to reward their faithfulness and serviceableness to their Country; withal, the Ambassadors had it in charge to know the utmost of their desires. To the message nothing would be returned but disdainful words, and high complaints, something mixed with threatening language, which more grievously afflicted the Fathers, not knowing what way to procure a reconciliation; and now would not such as they had by their authority and interest hitherto retained in the City, be with-holden from going to the Army. The time for creation of new Consuls was now at hand. The old ones appointing the *Comitia*, no Candidates (so called because they appeared in white garments) would stand for the Office, nor any accept of it, till at length the Consuls appointed by their sole authority *Posthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Cassius*, who had born it before, and were equally in favour with the Nobility and Commons: They having entered on the *Calends of September* (sooner than usual) in the second *Olympiad* (wherein *Tiberias* of *Crotone* was Victor, and *Diogenes* *Archeon*) first of all consulted the Senate about the return of the Commons. *Arrippa Menenius* a man of great wisdom and temper, being first asked his opinion, by all means possible exhorted the Fathers to a compromise. He shewed what necessity there was of it in regard of the *Roman* Dominion, which could not be either preserved or increased without the inferior sort of People, and made it clear, that they could not expect to have any of better temper than the present were, for as much as all, whosoever they were, who by their labour and blood obtained power and Sovereignty of the City, would expect to be sharers in its advantages. He pressed the danger they were now in from their Enemies round about, and having used other motives, concluded with his advice, that they would send messengers with full power to treat and conclude what they should find convenient, without any more consulting the Senate.

38. After *Menenius* spoke *M. Valerius*, and upbraided the Senate for not giving him credit when he foretold these distempers. He advised them to cure the Wound while it might be healed, shewed what reason the Commons had to be concerned more of late, because of the Dictatorship, which took from them

Sect. 1.

their former Appeal, as also for that the Senate had denied the honour of Triumph to *Scrotilus* when they desired it for him, because he was suspected to favour them, and for that neither he, the Consul, nor he himself the Dictator, could at all profit them in what had been promised. He envenighed against the avarice and cruelty of Creditors, and particularly fell foul upon *Appius* for his rigour, and raising a Faction, which if others were not wise to prevent, would utterly destroy the Commonwealth. Lastly, he commended the advice of *Menenius*, and desired it might speedily be executed, so as whatever the Commons required might be granted. *Appius* a man of an high Spirit, most studious of the Patrian Dignity, and also of a fober and venerable carriage, being asked his opinion next, in excuse of himself recriminated *Valerius*. With great animosity he noted the ambition and fenseliveness of the multitude, admiring that any of the Fathers should be so absurd, as having denied remission of debts to them when friends, would grant it to them now Enemies, who would not * rest here, but require also a communication of honours, and what not? so that at length the power would come into the hands of the rabble, and the Commonwealth degenerate into a Democracy. He lessened, or rather endeavoured to remove, the danger which threatened either from the Armies revolt, or the hostility of old Enemies. He endeavoured to perfwade them, that they were able enough to reduce them by force, having their Wives and Children in the City; and alleging for further confirmation of this, that the multitude were without any persons of good conduct, whereas the Patrian order abounded with experienced Commanders, concluded with this advice, *neither to send any message to them, nor remit them their debts, nor do any other thing which might shew the least fear or trouble: If they would lay down their Arms and returning into the City, submit to the Senate, then moderately to determine concerning them; seeing that all fools especially the Vulgar, are insolent against such as condescend, but cowardly towards those that resolutely demean themselves.*

The Prophecy of *Appius* concerning the lawless rabble.

39. The wise speech of *Appius* so inflamed those of his party, especially the younger sort, that nothing could be determined for the heat of contention. This put the Consuls upon dismissing the Senate for that time, admonishing the younger sort to carry themselves more respectfully and modestly for the time to come, or else they would neither use them as Advisers nor Judges, but prefer a Law for limiting a certain age for Senators. The graver men they exhorted also to concord, letting them know they had a way to end the controversy, by referring the matter to the decision of the People, which had right to judge of it, as a case about Peace and War. At the next meeting the ancient men were of the same opinion as formerly, but the younger modestly referred themselves to whatsoever they should determine, so that the major part by far, being wearied with the cries and sollicitations of those who had relations in the Army, rather than any reason, notwithstanding *Appius* stuck close to his former resolution, resolved to follow the advice of *Menenius*, who with nine others were commissioned with full power, both by Senate and People, to compose the difference. At first the offers of the Commissioners could not be heard through the infatigation of two cunning and turbulent fellows, *Scinius*, and *L. Junius*, who conceited of his abilities, affected the name of *Brutus* also. *Menenius*, to give full satisfaction, promised that such as were unable to pay their debts, should be discharged both from obligation and imprisonment, and for the time to come matters of this nature should be ordered by the joint consent both of People and Senate. Then adding the Fable of the several numbers falling out with the belly, as consuming all which they provided, and thence the ruine and decay of the whole body, he so improved it to the present occasion, likening the Senate to the belly (which digesteth and distributeth sustenance to all the rest, though they provide it) that the whole multitude convinced of the necessity of Union, cried out, *He should lead them home without delay.*

40. Little wanted of their departure without any other security than the bare word of the Commissioners. But *Junius Brutus* a Plebeian formerly mentioned with-held them, saying, that they were gratefully to acknowledge the kind offers of the Senate; but whereas some men of tyrannical spirits might reserve their anger to a convenient opportunity, the Commons wanted such good security for the time to come, as might defend them from the unreasonable malice of great ones, and he moved, that they might have certain Officers created yearly out their own body, whose power should only be to give relief to such Plebeians as were injured, and suffer none to be defrauded of their right: and therefore

A Composure by bringing in the Tribunes.

Their number.

Power.

Privilege.

The balance to their power.

therefore not to resist the Consuls, as some thought. This being received by the multitude with great approbation, was insisted on to *Menenius*, and his fellows, who thought not fit to admit of a matter of such large consequence, without leave from the Senate, and demanded time to know the pleasure thereof. The Consuls reporting the matter, *Valerius* thought this favour was to be granted to the Commons, and though *Appius* opposed it earnestly, crying out, calling their gods to witness, and truly foretelling what calamities they would bring upon the Commonwealth, yet the major part inclining to Peace, it was carried for them, and the Commissioners were sent back with the resolution of the house. The Commons by the advice of *Menenius*, first sent to take from the Senate a religious confirmation of this privilege, and afterwards in the Assembly of the Curie elected *L. Junius Brutus*, and *C. Sicinius Bellutus*, to whom they afterwards joyned *C. and P. Licinius*, and *Sp. Icilius Ruge*. These five first entered this new Office on the fourth of the Ides of December according to the History and computation of *Dionysius*, sixteen years after the expulsion of *Tarquin*.

41. These Officers were called *Tribuni Plebis*, there having been from the beginning other *Tribunes* in the City named *Tribuni Celerum*, so called from the Peoples being divided into three parts at that time, from which so many were sent into the Army, as (a) *Varro* and (b) *Pomponius* derive the word; or because they were elected by the Tribes, or overflow them, as others. *Varro* seemeth to hold that the *Tribuni Plebis* were called *Tribunos*, because they were first made of the *Tribunes* or Colonels of the Soldiers. *Livy* nameth *C. Licinius*, and *L. Albinus*, for the first two, to whom were shortly after added three more, viz. *Sicinius*, the Author of the departure, and two others, concerning which, faith he, Authors differ. In the two hundred ninety-seventh year of the City five more were added, and this number of ten continued. As these Officers were elected by the Commons, so ever out of their body, except where we read in *Livy* (in his third Book) of two Patritians; Nay, most commonly of the lower sort, till a Law ordained that they should be created out of the Senate; that is, out of such Plebeians as were admitted into the Senate. What time this Law was preferred, cannot certainly be discovered. (c) *Appian* faith, it is not certain whether *Sylla* did it. It should appear from (d) *Gellius*, that there passed a *Plebiscitum* or Decree of the People, for this purpose, called *Plebiscitum Anianum*; but what *Anianus* this should be is also obscure, there being one *P. Aninius* Tribune of the Commons when *Julius Caesar* and *Bibulus* were Consuls, as concerning their power (e) *Cicero* faith, they were opposed against the Consuls: but this is not true, the occasion of their making not rising from the Consuls. At the beginning their power was only to relieve the oppressed, as a shield to keep off evil, and not as a weapon to inflict it. They nulled the unjust (as they accounted them) Decrees, and Commands of the Senate and Magistrates; and to shew their readiness to protect the meanest, (f) their doors stood open night and day to their complaints. (g) *Gellius* telleth us, that they could not be absent from the City one day; not an hour faith (h) *Dion*, and (i) *Appian* going further, confineth them within the Walls. They interposed by this one word *Veto*, solemnly pronounced. They procured themselves afterward to be accounted *Sacerdotes*, so as by a Law confirmed with an Oath, none might compel a Tribune to do any thing, as one of the vulgar, neither strike, nor command him to be beaten; neither kill, nor command him to be killed. If any did contrary, he was to be held as *Sacer*, and his goods being confiscated unto *Ceres*, it should be lawful for any to kill him. And left afterwards the People should abrogate this Law, they made all the Citizens take the most solemn Oath that could be devised, both for themselves and posterity, to preserve it for ever inviolable, as (k) *Dionysius* writeth, who hath also exemplified the Law itself. To this (l) *Cicero* addeth, that they were not only by sacred Laws fortified against Force and Arms, but against words also, and interruption of speech.

42. But as their power of *Interposing* was most powerful against Consuls and Senate, so also against themselves, the dissent of one man being sufficient to hinder whatever all his Collegues designed. This appeareth to have been the only constant effectual means for moderation of that power which afterwards they assumed, when the Patritians could prevail with one of the College to interpose. By that awe which their *Sacerdotal* Magistracy struck into all men improved through

Sect. 1.

A. M. 5311.
Oly. 1. an. 3.
P. C. 260.
To Dard. 28.
A. Virgilio
Murena, p. 12.
Gentius. c. 6.

(a) Ling. Lat.
1. 4. p. 22.
(b) Di Orig.
fatis p. 202.

(c) M. Cicell.
lib. 1.
(d) Lib. 12.
A. 6. 2.

(e) De Legib.
lib. 3.

(f) Plutarch.
p. 81.
(g) Lib. 3. c. 2.
(h) Lib. 37.
(i) De bell.
Civill. l. 2.

(k) Lib. 6.
(l) Pro Sest.

SECT. 1.

through their prompt boldness (very common in men of meanest condition) they took advantage to enlarge their bounds. *Valerius Maximus* writeth, that at first it was not lawful for them to enter into the Senate, but they had Seats placed before the Door, where examining the Decrees of the Fathers, such of them as they suffered to pass they signed with the Letter *T*. But nothing in *Dionysius* is more common than their speaking in the Senate, and their contentions with the Members thereof in that very place at the very time, and that in the Infancy of their Office. However these fellows at first presumed not to Tyrannise and disturb all, as afterwards they did, they presumed not at first to assemble the Senate, which afterward they did in the two hundred and seventy seventh year of the City, and in process of time to dismiss it also, when called by another. Within a small time they assembled the People, preferred Laws, executed their fawcy Decrees against the Magistrates themselves, commanding the Consuls to be carried to Prison, (especially after the enacting of the *Horatians Law*, whereby the *Plebiscita* obliged the whole Roman people) for that they were the chief Officers of the Commons.

The extravagance of their power.

43. Great were the Seditions and Tumults, which turbulent Spirits backed with such liberty, stirred up; so as notwithstanding their first end was to preserve right, *Lucan* rightly termeth them *Turbantes jura*. *Sylla* was the first that bridled their extravagancy, by depriving them of liberty to prefer Laws, to make Orations, and obtain any Office of Magistracy; but after his death *Aurelius Cotta* by a new Law restored the latter privilege to them, and all the rest they recovered when *Pompey* and *M. Crassus* were Consuls. Their Power thus recovered they kept till the Emperors swallowed it up themselves, and left them little more than a name, which continued till the time of *Constantine*. As for the Ensigns of their Office, they wore not the *Prætexta*, had no *Lictors* or Sergeants, neither used they a *Curule* Chair; only a sort of Beadle, called *Viator*, went before them. For want of these Ceremonies, as because they entered not at the beginning of the year, and laid not down their Office upon the Creation of a Dictator, which others did, *Plutarch* writeth that some held them to be no Magistrates, but rather a curb and restraint to such. Lastly, besides these *Tribunes*, and the *Tribuni Celerum* formerly mentioned, there were afterwards many other sorts, as *Tribuni Militum*, and *Tribuni Aerarii*, during the Commonwealth: under the Emperors are found *Tribunus Populatum*, *Tribunus Matrimoniorum*, *Tribunus Chastitiorum*, *Tribunus Provinciarum*, *Tribunus Fori*, and *Tribunus Scholarum*, concerning which *Cassiodorus* in his Epistles, and *Lipsius* in his Commentary of the Magistrates of old Rome are to be consulted.

Several orders of Tribunes.

44. The Commons having got from the Senate a confirmation of the Office of *Tribunes*, obtained further, that they might yearly chuse out of their own body two, to be as Ministers to these Officers; to judge certain causes referred to them from the *Tribunes*, take care of publick buildings and provisions. These were first called the *Ministers and Assistants of the Tribunes*; but afterward faith *Dionysius* from one of their Duties had the name of *Ædiles*. Many things of great consequence were committed to their trust, being very much like to the *Agoranomi* amongst the Greeks. *Festus* acknowledging that in the beginning *Ædilis* was a Magistrate who took care both of publick and private buildings, yet faith he was so called, quia faciliis ad eum plebis aditus esset. Truer is the derivation which *Varro* giveth, agreeable to that of *Dionysius*; that they were named *Ædiles*, from *Ædes* the buildings, of which they took care, or those particularly, wherein the *Plebiscita* were kept, of which they had the oversight. This later Etymology is rendred by *Pomponius*, who in his second Book of the Original of Law, describing the several Offices of Magistracy, maketh the end of the constitution of the *Ædiles* to have been, that they might take care of that House where the Decrees of the People were laid up. Whence forever the word was derived it came out of *Latine*, being a name of certain Magistrates in the *Latine* Towns, as was also *Dictator* and *Duumvir*, as some observe out of *Spartianus*. To these *Ædiles Plebis*, who were instituted in the two hundred and seventy first year of the City, at the same time with the *Tribunes*, were added two more out of the *Patritian* order one hundred and seven years after, called for distinction *Ædiles Curules*, because they used the *Curule* Chair, whereas the other only sat on Benches, as the *Tribunes* and *Quæstors*. The occasion of creating these shall be shewn in its place, the end was only then for celebrating of Games.

The Ædiles created.

45. This number continued till the time of *C. Fulius Cæsar*, who in the seven hundred

Lib. 2. cap. 2.
Exemp. 7.

Their Office.

hundred and tenth year of the City added two more, whom he would have created also out of the *Patritians*. They were called (a) *Cereales* from *Ceres*, being appointed to take care of, and make Provision for Corn. This number of six thus distinguished, continued till the time of *Constantine*, as is probably conjectured, and were as most other Offices of Magistracy taken away by him. The *Ædiles*, faith (b) *Cicero*, are the *Curators of the City*, of *Provisions*, and of *solemn Games*. Of the City, because they looked to publick works and Temples; made provision against Fires (which *Augustus* seemeth to have charged upon them faith *Lipsius*) had inspection over Funerals, and such like Rites of smaller moment; over Marriages and Adulteries, Baths, Aqueducts, Sinks, and Streets, both for repairing and cleansing of them. Of *Provisions*, for that they had the oversight of all things to be sold, men, and other Creatures, determining, judging, and censuring by their words and Edicts. Of *solemn Games*, and only *solemn* (not votive and private ones) as the *Ludi Florales*, *Circenses*, *Medusei*, *Romani*, &c. Sometimes at their own charge they made these shews, and ever examined the Fables written before they were acted. And (whether from this inspection of Play-books it came or no is uncertain) they seem to have been *Licensers* and *Judges* of other Writings, being ordered by a Decree of the Senate, as (c) *Tacitus* telleth us, to burn the Papers of *Crematius Cordus*. It is further (d) observed, that the *Generals* when they returned home from some Victory, delivered up the Corn and Provisions which had been made prize to them, as the Captives to the *Prætor*, and the Money to the *Quæstor*. All such Victuallers as offended against the Laws, as also *Monopolizers* and others that transgressed in this kind, they accused to the People, and with the Fines celebrated Games, made Presents to their Gods, or some publick works. Lastly, tis observed, that they took care that none but *Roman* Gods, and those after the *Roman* manner only, should be worshipped.

SECT. 2.
(a) Dind.
lib. 43.

(b) 3. de
Legibus.

(c) Anst.
lib. 2.
(d) 7. ann.
Galienus.

We with the
Vulgi.

46. But, to return to the Story, the rabble having obtained these Officers, willingly gave their names to the Expedition against the *Polci*, under conduct of *Posthumus Cominius* the Consul. He took *Longula* and *Polustia* with no great difficulty, and presently laid Siege to *Corioli* a strongly fortified Town, and the head of the Nation. The *Antiates* coming to the relief of this place, he left part of the Army to continue the Siege under the Command of *Titus Lartius* and with the other went to give them battel. *Lartius* attempting to storm the Town, the Inhabitants falied out, and charged the *Romans* so furiously, that they forced them back into their Camp: all but a few whom *C. Marcius*, a *Patritian* of great Nobility, and greater Valour, kept about him. This *Marcius* with so small a Company received the violence of the Enemy, and doing great execution, forced him at length into the Town, and following himself rushed in with him, whereas the besieged were so afrighted, that not considering their own numbers, they fled to the contrary part of the City, and suffered him to let in the rest of the Army. When the Soldiers now fell to plunder, he suffered them not, but hastied to the Battel to help the Consul, and with the good news of his success to cheer the Army.

Antiates.

Sirnamed
Coriolanus.

47. He desired of *Cominius* that he might be suffered with his men to fight against the middle Battel, wherein the chief strength of the Enemies lay, which obtaining, he shewed there more valour than formerly, and was the greatest cause of the Victory. The day following the Consul gave him extraordinary commendations, and a good share of Booty before it came to be divided amongst the Soldiers; but he would accept of nothing except an Horse, which gained him greater Honour from the whole Army, and moved *Posthumus* to bestow the surname of *Coriolanus* upon him for his incomparable valour shewn at that place. The *Polci* were by this overthrow forced to submission, and made their Peace. This year was the League of Amity and Confederacy renewed with the *Latines* with all cheerfulness, because they had been faithful in the late Sedition and War, and had sent to congratulate for the Peace made betwixt Nobility and Commons. The Senate for this Civil Union decreed supplications or thanks to their Gods, a third *sestis* or Holy day, to be added to the other two *Latine* Feasts, whereof *Tarquinius* had dedicated one, when he conquered *Hetruria*, and the People the other after the banishment of *Tarquinius*. In this Consulship died also *Arripa Memnius*, whom the People out of gratitude resolved to bury at the publick charge, every man contributing something, because he died poor, and when the Senate would needs defray the charge out of the Treasury, they bestowed the money upon his Children. Now also the *Consus* being celebrated above one hundred and ten thousand heads were Ceffed.

Dionys. lib. 4.
Plutarch. in
Coriolanus.

A. M. 3314.
Olympiada.
P. C. 265.
Dionys.
2. cap. 2.
Posthumus Cominius
lib. 2. cap. 2.

48. The

Sect. 1.

A dearth,

48. The year following wherein *T. Geganus Macerinus*, and *P. Minucius* were Consuls, a great dearth fell upon the City, the effect of the late Sedition. For, the Commons having departed a little after the Autumnal Equinoxial, about the time of sowing, the Country was forsaken of Husbandmen; the richer for braking themselves to the Patritians, and the poorer to the Army, and the division continued till a little before Mid-winter. All the middle space of time there was no tillage, though it was most proper for sowing, and for some time after the agreement, it could scarce be renewed, for that Slaves had run away, and there was great scarcity of Cateels by these means, for the year following they were little beforehand in Corn, either for seed or provisions. This put the Senate upon sending into several parts of *Italy*, and also into *Sicily*, to buy Corn. But notwithstanding their care, the multitude being exceedingly pinched with Famine, raised tumults, getting together by companies, and laying all the fault upon the Fathers, as if by their wilful neglect they had in this year revenged themselves. The *Volsi* being acquainted with this new Sedition, and the weak Estate of *Rome*, conspired how to improve the advantage; but were diverted by a grievous plague, which so ragged, as *Vulturna* a Noble City of that Country was almost utterly exhausted, the small remnant of the Inhabitants whereof gave up themselves to the *Romans*, desiring they would send a Colony thither.

Dionys. l. 7.

Which causeth a Sedition,

49. Of this advantage the Senate was very glad, to lessen the multitude of the City, and the poor were content to inhabit to fertile a place; but when they considered the danger of infection, they were again discouraged, and wrested this to fo bad a fence, as to make it a design to destroy them. But the Senate laying a great penalty upon such as refused to go, many obeyed and went thither, as also to *Norba* & *Latin* Town. This enraged more such as flaid behind, being still pinched by the famine, so that raising great multitudes, they called the *Tribunes* into the *Comitium*. Great strife hapned betwixt the Consuls and them. The Tribunes affirming they had promised not to interrupt them in their discourses to the People, to which the other answered, that it was only when they called the People together, not when the Consuls themselves did it, as now they had done, to promise them all fair accommodation from the Senate. Hereupon *Brutus*, who being so great a flicker before, was chosen one of the first Tribunes, devised a Law, which under such a penalty as the Tribunes should impose, forbade any one to contradict or interrupt them, when they spoke to the People. Such as could or would not give security for the payment of the fine, were to be put to death, and their goods be sacred to *Ceres*. If any controversy arose about the fine, it was to be determined by the judgment of the People.

And this a new Law in behalf of the Tribunes.

50. This Law being enacted by the suffrages of the *Tribes*, caused greater disturbance; the Senate refusing to ratifie the resolves of the People, and the People the Decrees of the Senate; yet proceeded it not to any greater inconvenience than words, and some blows without weapons. For the poor broke not into the store-houses of the rich, but were content to purchase victuals at an excessive rate; and when money failed were contented with Roots and Herbs: neither did the rich deal harshly with the poor, but carried it towards them as indulgent Fathers, so that we must say, it was the infirmity of the Government, and not any bad disposition of the People which caused the Seditions. The Consuls, to divert their minds, and ease the charge, offered to lead them out into the Enemies Country, but few or none would give their names; so that *Marcus Coriolanus* with some Patritians, and a few of their Clients made incursions, and returned home laden with booty; the knowledge whereof made the poorer fort murmur against their *Tribunes*, who had dissuaded them from the Expedition. The following Consuls *M. Minucius Augurinus*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, famous for their abilities both in War and Peace, bent themselves, by making provision for Corn, to allay the present distempers; though not with wished success. They procured much to be imported, and this Summer returned those that were sent into *Sicily*, with a great quantity of Wheat, whereof half they bought at a very cheap rate, and half was bestowed on them by *Gelon*, the Son of *Dionemnes*. Now the *Patritians* considering how to dispose of the Corn; some were for selling it to the poor at easy rates, thereby to win upon the multitude, but others urged they were to be harshly used and afflicted; and the Corn to be sold to them on dear rates; that by necessity they might be brought to sobriety, and become subject to the Laws.

Corn brought out of Sicily.

51. A.

Sect. 1.

Coriolanus his Conflict thereupon.

51. Amongst these was *Coriolanus* the chief, being offended with the Commons, as was given out, for a repulse at the last election of Consuls. He had been ever an extraordinary assertor of the power of the Nobility, which made the People afraid to chafe him; but now incensed he much more shewed his inclination, openly declaiming against the innovation of the multitude, and exhorting others to resist the petulant endeavours of the Tribunes and rabble. The Consuls calling together the Senate, he enlarged himself in a set speech to this purpose, and pressed that by force they should take away the *Tribunship*, as the only means for the recovery of the State; concluding with his opinion, that no favour at all should be shewed to the multitude in the sale of Corn. Some were offended with this freedom, perceiving what inconvenience it would bring; but others approving of it, the Tribunes who were present (say both *Dionysius* and *Plutarch*) ran forth, and crying out, called the People together, and declared to them the effect of *Marcus* his speech. The multitude enraged, would have violated the Senate instantly, but that the Tribunes stayed them, laying the whole blame upon *Marcus*. They sent some Beadels for him to come and answer it before the People, but they returning with nothing but ill words, they went themselves, and commanded the *Adiles* to apprehend him. These were *Brutus* and *Lilius* the first Tribunes, who going to do what was enjoined, were repulsed and beaten by the young *Patritians* he had got about him. This put all into a flame, the whole City being gathered together and ready to destroy it self; but by the wisdom of the Consuls the matter was put off till the following day. Then the Consuls laboured to heal the breach, confirming as from the Fathers, what was formerly granted to the Commons, and palliating as much as might be the supposed offence of *Marcus*. The Tribunes answering, inveighed against the Senate, as desirous to break their faith, and laying open the fault of *Marcus*, concluded the action with a Decree of their College, *That he should be forthwith cast down headlong from the Tarpeian Rock*. For, having given him liberty to speak, he was so far from recanting his former speeches, that he flew out into the same invectives, as they were termed.

Put all into a flame.

52. The *Adiles* laying hands on him, the *Patritians* again rescued him, the soper part even of them taking it ill he should be condemned to death without due process, and the more understanding sort of the Commons not approving of the attempt; so as a great tumult being raised, the Tribunes null'd their former Decree, and set him a day wherein to answer, and stand or fall by the judgement of the People. In the mean time the Senate, by selling the Corn at moderate rates, and by intreaties, sought either to procure the trial to be utterly laid aside, or at least to defer it till the wrath of the multitude should be appeased, which was also to be employed in a War against *Anium*. When the former could not be done, and the War was blown over, the Consuls being very unwilling to let the People take so much upon themselves, as without Decree of the Senate first had (according to the ancient Custom) to pass their judgment in any case, procured the Tribunes first to sue out such a Decree, on this condition, that they might be heard speak their minds, and each Senator before he gave his judgment, swear solemnly, as was usual in judicatory process, to deliver what he thought most behoveful for the Publick. The Tribunes then argued much in the behalf of the Commons, who they said had undergone the heat of all Wars, both in the time of Kings, in the expulsion of them, and since in the enlarging the *Roman* Dominion; in consideration whereof, they could not in conscience have lesser privileges than of late they had obtained. They aggravated by several circumstances the Crime of *Marcus*, who in so high a manner had gone about to infringe them, and therefore as well for maintenance of right, as the safety of the City, they desired he might be left to the justice of the People. *Appius Claudus* flily impugned the Decree, arguing that the Senate would be enervated, and the Commonwealth betrayed, if they granted to the People power of judging *Patritians*.

53. *M. Valerius*, and other popular men made a better construction of the People's desire, thinking they would use this power moderately, and in opposition to *Appius* his polittick reasons, strangely conceived it would make for the security of the Commonwealth, and particular Members thereof, if the Commons were admitted to some share in the Government, that so it might neither wholly lie in the *Patritians* nor *Plebeians*, but be tempered and poised betwixt both. He urged, that they had allayed the Kingly Power, by giving it to two annual Magistrates, and that therefore there was no fear of its degenerating into Tyranny,

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Sect. 1.

ranny, being also awed by the oversight of three hundred most prudent and worthy persons, of which the Senate consisted. But for the Senate it self, there was no curb; so that it might afterwards (though of the present Members he had no cause to judge so) draw all things into extremity, and indeed ruine the State, except the People might be admitted to have an hand in the judgment of such faults as concerned the Commonwealth, as when any was accused of moving Sedition, affecting Tyranny, Treason, or the like crimes; because the more solemn and severe the Trial was, ambitious men would be the more terrified from such attempts. The generality inclining to give up the man, *Marcus* demanded of the *Tribunes* whereof they would accuse him. They consulting with themselves apart, knew not well how to form an Impeachment out of his former words, which might pass with the Senate, and therefore answered, they would lay the affectation of Tyranny to his charge. Hereat he very cheerfully put himself upon Trial, not refusing the severest punishment, if it could be proved; and a Decree of the Senate passed accordingly, time being given him till the third Market-day, to prepare for it. For a Market was kept once in nine days, at which time the People that lived in the Country, came either to Traffick, receive Justice, or give their Suffrages in such matters as either primarily concern'd them, or were referred from the Senate. When the day came, a greater multitude of Country-men than ever formerly was seen, early in the morning placed it self in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* called the People to the *Comitia Tributa*, or *Assemblies of the Tribes*, severing each Tribe from another by cords. Now it having been the Custom for the People to give their Suffrages by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius* in Arms, and under their Centurions, the *Patritians* called hard for them, and protested against this innovation; but by the other way of *Centuries* brought in by *Servius*, the ordinary sort of People being excluded, (for that most commonly the two first Classes carried it from the other four) the *Tribunes* would in no case suffer it, and the Crime of *Coriolanus* seeming to concern all alike, at length they obtained the consent of the *Patritians* to this innovation.

54. *Minucius* the Consul beginning the action, declared the worth of the person now to be judged, and exhorting the People to mildness, signified that the Senate became petitioners in his behalf. *Scinius* one of the *Tribunes* said, he would neither betray the liberty of the People, nor suffer another to do it; therefore if the *Patritians* would, as they pretended, subject him to their judgment, he would give forth the balls without any more to do, to which the Consul replied, they did so, but on this condition, that he should answer to the charge of the affected Tyranny, and therewith protesting, went down. *Scinius* then ripping up all that ever *Coriolanus* did, that might any way make for his purpose, laboured to put a bad construction upon it. But when the party came to speak, he so related what particular services he had done the State, and shewed the Skars received all over his Body; withal, those that he had saved in the Wars, made such lamentation in his behalf, that the People generally cried out he was to be discharged. Then *Decius* another of the *Tribunes* stepping up, said, that seeing the Senate, as the Consul alleged, had absolved *Marcus* from those words he had spoken in their house, and suffered him not to be accused for them, he would wave his words, and come to actions, by which he would make good the charge. There was a certain Law that all Booty and Plunder got in War, should be appropriated to publick use, so as no General was to meddle with it, but give it up into the hands of the *Quæstor*. Now, whereas no man ever brake this Law, or so much as spake against it, this *Marcus*, faith he, hath dared to contemn it; for when in the late incursion into the Territories of *Antium*, we had got great plenty of Slaves, Cattel, and Provisions, he neither delivered these things up to the *Quæstor*, nor payed any money unto the Treasury, but divided all the Booty amongst his friends, which could not but be taken as an argument that he intended to inflame his Country; it being the Custom of Tyrants, this way to procure themselves instruments for their purpose. Though he had done this not with any sinister intention, but for the service of his Country, at such time as all were full of Seditions at home, and the Enemy from abroad wasted the *Roman* Territories; yet the multitude interpreted it in the same sense as *Decius*, and the whole matter was quite changed; he being abashed at so unexpected a charge, and the Consuls and *Patritians* utterly to seek what to answer. The *Tribunes* named perpetual banishment, and gathered the suffrages of the Tribes, which

He answered before the People.

Is banished.

Sect. 1.

which being twenty one in number, nine only absolved him, and so he stood condemned by the major part.

55. This was the first sentence passed by the people upon any *Patritian*, and henceforth the *Tribunes* were wont to set the day to whomsoever they pleased; whereby the power of the Commons was enlarged exceedingly, and the Interest of the *Patritians* was more and more diminished; *Plæbian* at length being admitted into the Senate, Offices, and Priesthoods, which in former times were only communicated to the other: the Senate partly against their wills and by constraint, partly by a wife foresight giving way to it, as will be seen in due place. *Marcus* being accompanied home with the lamentations and tears of many, saluted his Mother, Wife, and Children, as they made pitiful complaints, and without any appearance of trouble, bidding them bear their condition cheerfully, straitway departed out of the City, attended only by a few Clients, and without anything to bear his charges. He went to *Antium*, and there in the habit and posture of an obnoxious suppliant betook himself to *Tullus Attius*, a man of royal condition amongst the *Volsci*, both for Nobility, Riches, and Valour, whom he knew to be his greatest Enemy in that Nation, because in battle they had often challenged each other, and out of Emulation added a private to the publick hatred. But knowing him to be of a magnanimous mind, and most willing to catch hold of any advantage against the *Romans*, he cast himself at his feet, bidding him either avenge his Country of him, or else him against *Rome*, which by her unnatural carriage toward him had forfeited all duty and service that she might have expected at his hands. *Tullus* embracing him with singular kindness, resolved to make use of his great abilities. *Marcus* advised that some fair pretext might first be sought for War, and for that purpose sending many of the *Volsci* to behold the solemn Games at *Rome*, caused one to go to the Consuls, and accuse them of having some design against the City, that so they forcing them out on a sudden, might be said to have broken the peace. This accordingly succeeding (for the Consuls commanded all by Proclamation to be gone before Sun-set) *Tullus* so aggravated the matter to his Country-men, that he procured them to send to *Rome* to demand back all the Towns and Territories which by War had been taken from them.

Surrenders up the Volsci against Rome.

Invades his Territories.

56. The Senate taking the message in great scorn, answered, that if the *Volsci* first took up Arms, the *Romans* would last lay them down. *Tullus* then persuading the *Volsci* to the War, procured *Marcus* to be joyned with him as General, with full power, who presently invading the *Roman* Dominions, wasted all such grounds where ere he came as belonged to the *Plæbians*, not suffering any thing to be touched which belonged to any of the Nobility. His design was accomplished; for this raised great envy and malice against the *Patritians*, who upbraiding the people that they had banished unjustly so considerable a man, were accused with greater indignation, that to be revenged for former injuries they had procured *Marcus* to invade the Country, seeing they were idle spectators, when others were undone, and kept their goods, being out of all danger of the War. *Coriolanus* leading home his men richly laden with Booty, was sent out shortly after with one half of the Forces, and taking by surrender the Town of the *Circians*, a *Roman* Colony, thence invaded the *Latines*, who being Confederates with *Rome* sent thither for relief; but the common people were averse to the War, and the Consuls being almost out of their Office were unwilling to begin any thing; so that the Messengers were dismissed without any satisfactory answer. *Marcus* then by storm took *Tolerium*, *Lavici*, *Pes*, and *Bola*, which he plundered, and made the Inhabitants Slaves. Such as yielded he mildly treated, but having stormed *Bola*, which lay within thirteen miles of *Rome*, he put almost all to the sword that were of age. The *Volsci* now so admired him, that such as were left to defend the Towns would not stay, but all flocked to him, owning him only for their General. At *Rome* there was nothing but confusion, all being in despair, and seeking no relief any other way than by venting their spleen one against another: but when news came that *Lavinium* was besieged, it made a marvelous, yet absurd change in their minds. The people now cried out that *Coriolanus* was to be restored by a repeal of the Decree for banishment; but the Senate utterly refused to assent to it, and plainly forbade it in full house; either for that they desired to oppose the people in all things, or would not have his restitution ascribed to the Commons; or else were incited against *Marcus*, who was become Enemy to all, though

Dionysius Hall, transll. l. 8.

Sect. 1.

but injured by some, and had declared against his own Country, wherein he knew the greater and better sort to sympathize with him, and account his no other than a common grievance.

He marcheth
towards Rome.

57. The resolve of the Senate being published, the People could do nothing as to his restitution, the custom requiring that the Fathers should propound. *Marcus* hereupon rose from before *Lavinium*, and marching towards *Rome* it self, pitched his Camp at the *Ditches of Clatia*, five miles from the City. This forced Senate and People into agreement, all in common being seized with horror and amazement, so that it was agreed a Message should be sent to him, offering him his restitution. The Messengers were Patritians, and such as for their love to him he had most cause to favour; but though with all advantage possible they made their address, yet he received them with wonderful severity in a Council of Officers, and gave them this answer, that if they would expect Peace, they should restore to the *Volsci* all Towns and Territories taken away in War: and make them free of the City as the *Latines* were: and he would give them thirty days time to consider of it. Hereat the Captains of the *Volsci*, especially *Tullus*, took occasion to malign him, though he employed this time of Truce very profitably, subduing seven great and strong Towns. When the time was out, and he returned, another Message came to him, desiring that refraining himself he would draw off the *Volsci*, and then consult in common; for they would do nothing by constraint or fear: but if he thought the *Volsci* were to be gratified, they would yield to him if they would lay down their Arms. He replied, he carried himself not as General of the *Volsci*, but as a *Roman Citizen*, and desired, that, having a respect to justice and moderation, they would return within three days with a grant of what he had formerly demanded; else he must proceed in his enterprize. Hereupon the Senate, in so great a Tempest which threatened all, betook them to their sacred Anchor as they accounted it, and ordered all the *Pontiffs*, *Priests*, *Governours of their superstitious Houses* and *Augurs*, in their several habits, should go and beseech him to compose the matter: but neither was *Marcus* moved with this Pompous train; but required they should either accept of the terms, or expect hostility to the utmost.

58. The Priests being returned, the Citizens were warned to be ready at the Walls, thence to repel the Enemy if he came, for that no other hope remained, than what time, and vicissitude of Fortune might afford. The whole City being full of Tumults, trembling, and amazement, the Women flocked to the Temples, but the most, and especially the chieftest, made their supplications at the Altar of *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. Amongst these was *Valeria* the Sister of *Poplicola*, into whose mind came this device, that they should go to *Petunia* (say *Dionysius* and *Livy*) or *Volumnia* (saith *Plutarch*) the mother of *Coriolanus*, and procure her, with *Volumnia* (say they) or *Virgilia* (saith he) her daughter-in-law, to go, and intercede for their Country. *Petunia* earnestly pressed to undertake so pious a work, answered, that he had little hopes to obtain their fute, for that her Son had never sent to see them since his departure, being fallen out with his own family as well as his Country; yet she was ready to improve that interest he had in him, and set forth towards him with her daughter-in-law, and two Nephews. *Coriolanus* seeing the women come, resolved fully to give them a denial; but when he perceived his Mother amongst them, he descended from his Tribunal, and went to meet her. Having courteously received her with his Wife and Children, he gave ear to her request, which she made with all the Oratory that she could compass out of the impending ruin of his own Country, and the infancy which would necessarily follow a fruitless attempt. When herewith she could not prevail, she put him in mind how much Nature, together with a careful education of him in her Widow-hood, had engaged him to obedience, and in conclusion cast her self down at his Feet which she embraced and kissed. He presently lift her up, and cried out, *Mother, thou hast got the Victory, advantageous to my Country, but destructive to my self*; and accordingly drew off the *Volsci* into their own Country, who were variously affected. Some blamed both him and the Action: others that were studious of Peace did neither; and some, though they condemned the thing, yet absolved the man, who was constrained by so great necessity to do it; yet none refused to obey his orders, but followed him, more through the authority of his Virtue than of his Power.

59. But when he was come to *Antium*, *Tullus*, the great Emulator of his Glory, supposing he had a sufficient advantage against him, required him to lay down his

His mother
prevaileth
with him to
retreat.

A. M. 3517.
Oli. 73. ca. 1.
P. C. 266.
Danti 34.
Sp. Nardi
Sax. Fatio
Coff.

Sect. i.

his Office, and give an account of his actions to the People. He refused to resign his place, except commanded by the People to do it, unto which he said he was not afraid to give an account of any thing he had done, at that present. The people being called together, the principal of *Tullus*'s faction instigated them against him, but when he rose to speak for himself, those turbulent spirits for shame gave way, and all sober and peaceable men openly declared they would hear him candidly, and judge him according to right and equity. *Tullus* then fearing the man's eloquence, and sufficiently apprehensive how much repute the very Crime objected would bring him (for they could not seem to be injured by him in not taking *Rome*, without considering that he had brought things to that pass by his incredible valour and dexterity, that they were near taking of it) would not expect the judgement of the multitude, but crying out with his complices, that the betrayer of the *Volsci* was not to be suffered to hold the Tyranny over them by refusing to lay down his Office, rushed out, and slew him in the place. Though no man stood up in his defence, yet that this wicked act displeased most, it presently appeared. For upon report of his death they came generally out of the Towns and buried him honourably, adorning his Sepulchre, as of a General and a famous Warrior, with Arms and Trophies. Such was the end of the Eminentest Man of that age for valour, who by his four rigidity procured extreme hazard to his Country, and destruction to himself, whilst he preferred private revenge before public good, and yet would not stoop to any provision for his own safety.

He is slain.

60. At *Rome* upon *Marcus*'s retreat was such exultation, as is suitable to the joy of those that are rescued from utter desolation. The Senate Decreed to the women what honours they would ask, but they only desired they might build a Chappel to *Women's Fortune*, in the place where they had delivered their Country, which was done at the publick charge, and they at their own dedicated the Image. When the death of *Coriolanus* was heard, there was neither expression of joy nor sorrow further than this, that the women were permitted to mourn for him ten months: the longest time allowed by *Numa* for the nearest relations, according to *Plutarch*. The Consuls not long after took the field with a considerable Army, but had no occasion to make trial of it; for the *Volsci* and *Aqui* joyning their Forces together resolved to take the *Romans* unprovided; but in their march they fell out about a General, of whether Nation he should be, and from words to blows, in such a manner that they fought a great Battel, and if night had not severed them, one party had been utterly destroyed. The year following the new Consuls, *C. Aquilius* and *T. Scinius*, overthrew the one the *Hernici* and the other the *Volsci*, amongst whom fell *Tullus Atilius*, a man of personal valour, but no good conduct. Their Successors, *Proculus Virginus*, and *Sp. Cassius* took the field with the Legions; the *Aqui* falling to the former, as the *Volsci* and *Hernici* to the latter. The *Volsci* presently asked Peace, having in the last battel lost the flower of their strength, and after them shortly the *Hernici*, refusing any more to contest for equality with the *Romans*. *Cassius* having received money and provisions, as from such as confessed themselves conquered, gave them truce; and referred them for conditions to the Senate.

61. After a long debate, the Fathers resolved they should be received into amity, and that *Cassius* at his discretion might prescribe the conditions of the League, confirming whatsoever they should be. *Cassius* returning home, asked, and obtained a Triumph, though he had neither taken any City, worsted any Enemy, nor had any Captives or Spoils for ornament of the solemnity, which possessed men with an apprehension of his arrogance, and procured him envy. After his triumph he published as conditions of peace, the very same that were granted to the *Latines*, which gave great distaste, it being conceived an unworthy thing to make strangers equal in privilege with their kinsmen the *Latines*; such as could allege no merit, with those who had exceedingly well deserved of the State: the Patritians took it also disdainfully that he would determine fully on his own head a matter of such weight, without asking any of them his advice. His three Consulships, and two Triumphs, made him seem to himself far superiour to any of the same rank, so that no less than the Principality would now content him. Knowing that the ordinary way to it was to gain the favour of the People, by some great act of kindness, he resolved upon that course, and first to divide amongst them certain publick grounds, which through the neglect of the Magistrates, had been seized on, and possessed by the rich. The success might

Cassius smeth
at the Sovereignity.

Sect. 1.

might have been dubious had he stayed here; but he would also have the *Latines* into the Lot with the *Hernici* his new denizens, that he might procure the Favour of those Nations. The day after his Triumph, calling together the People according to the Custom, he recalled to their memories the great services he had done in his several Consulships: how in the first he had subdued the *Sabines*, in the second reduced the Commons into the City, after the appeasing of the Sedition, as also received the *Latines* into fellowship and Communion: in the third, the *Volsci* of Enemies were made Friends, and the *Hernici*, a great and powerful Nation, received into close and inward confederacy. By these discourses he insinuated, as if above all others he took charge of the Commonwealth, and so would continue to do. And he concluded with a promise to do more for the Commons, than any man ever did who was most in favour, and that should presently appear.

62. The day following, he called together the Senate, which was very much troubled at his Speech, and declared, that because the Common People were very useful both in procuring Dominion, and defending Liberty, it was convenient to divide to them those publick Grounds, which were most impudently held from the State by some Patritians, and pay the money back out of the Treasury, that they had laid out for that Corn, which being given freely to the City by *Gelon* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, ought to have been divided amongst the Inhabitants. The Fathers heard him with great disdain, and rejected the motion, his Colleague *Virginius* grievously accusing him as seditious. For several daies after, *Cassius* discoursed of this to the People, and *Virginius* held the Senate consulting how to withstand him. The Tribunes of the People at length, either for that they were jealous of some design, or were displeased that they themselves had not first proposed this thing, withstood it, alleging it was an unjust thing that what they had dearly purchased with their Labour and Blood, should be common to Strangers as well as themselves. As this raised some dislike, so *Cassius* again drew them to his party, by propounding that the Grounds might be divided amongst such as had most need, and by urging that it was better to have a little, than by expecting much to be frustrated of all. As the People were thus perfwaded to and fro, *C. Rabuleius* one of the Tribunes found out a way, which for the present ended the dispute. *Virginius* pretending that he was for a division of the Grounds, but not unto Foreigners, hoping that these would ever be joined; and *Cassius* being both for Citizens and Strangers; he took them both at their words; for the one and the other yielding there should be a division, he bade the People accept of that, and defer that wherein they differed to another time.

63. For some daies after this, *Cassius* kept his house, pretending sickness, and studied how he might cause his Law, called *Lex Agraria*, to pass by force. For this purpose he sent for the *Latines* and *Hernici* to be present at the Comitia, that he might carry it by greater number of Voices, so as the City was filled with them. *Virginius* hereupon made Proclamation, that all such as dwelt not in the City, should depart within a short time prefixed, and *Cassius* caused it to be proclaimed, that all such as were free should stay till the matter were determined. No end of the contention appearing, the Fathers feared it might come to Blows, or further inconvenience, and therefore assembled to make some effectual provision for the publick Peace.

64. After a little debate they came to this resolution, that ten men of *Consular* dignity should be created to survey the Grounds, and declare how much of them was to be let out to farm, and how much divided to the People. That it should be declared, that for as much as it was inequitable for the new Associates, or Denizens, to expect part in such Lands as were gained to the State before their admission, if any afterward should be got by their assistance, to each several People should be assigned it's portion, according to the League. That for the choice of the ten men, and the distribution of the Ground, the succeeding Consuls should make provision. This Decree being published to the People, appeased all, and frustrated the design of *Cassius*.

65. In the year following, being the first of the seventy fourth Olympiad, wherein *Alypius* of *Syracuse* was Victor, *Leofratus* executing the place of Principal *Archon* at *Athens*, according to the computation of *Dionysius*, in the first year of *Xerxes* his Reign, *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* were Consuls. Now two most noble young men, *C. Fabius*, the Brother of the Consul, and *L. Valerius* the Grand-son of *Poplicola*, being *Questors*, and thereby having authority to assemble the People, let a day to *Cassius* the late Consul to answer in the Comitia to the charge

His design frustrated.

Al. M. 5521.
Ol. 74. 1. 1.
P. C. 259.
vol. 70.
Xerxes 1. vol. 71.

He is condemned, and put to death.

The Consuls evade the interposition of the Tribunes.

charge of affected Tyranny. Then in full Assembly did they lay open his actions; how he had bestowed upon the *Latines* the third part of the Plunder, who thought it happiness sufficient to be made free of the City: then the *Hernici*, who could expect no less than to be deprived of their own Lands, he chose rather to make Friends than Subjects, and Citizens than Tributaries, whence both grounds and plunder being divided into three parts, two of these must go to Subjects, and Strangers, so that if it were found necessary afterwards to give others the same privilege of the City, the *Roman* Citizens being by right Lords of all, should not have remaining one third to themselves. They aggravated this with the management of the business, as his doing all without consulting the Fathers, and against the interposition of the Tribunes. That these things tended to the designed establishment of a Tyranny, they proved from the money and arms wherewith the *Latines* and *Hernici* had furnished him, as also from the company of stout young men of those Nations which he had about his person. In testimony hereof they produced several credible persons, both Citizens and Associates, who averred it. To these the People giving credit, notwithstanding his premeditated Orations, and his three children, who with many Friends and Clients accompanied him in mourning habit, and interceded for him; notwithstanding all his services, and the honour obtained by them, they would not at all pity him, but out of extreme hatred to Tyranny condemned the man, and that to death, left being banished, he should procure the State such trouble and danger as *Marius* lately had done. Therefore judgment being passed, the *Questors* presently led him to the Rock near to the *Forum*, and thence cast him down headlong in the sight of the People, this being the then ordinary kind of punishment. His Estate was confiscated, and his house razed. Some would have had his Sons also put to death, but the Senate refused to use such severity, and at *Rome* the children never suffered for their Father's fault, although for high Treason, till the *Marfan* War, wherein those that broke the custom miscarried, and he who destroyed them restored it to the State, as *Dionysius* observeth, who disliketh the practice of some of his Countrymen the *Gracians*, in killing, or condemning to perpetual banishment the sons of Tyrants themselves.

66. By the death of *Cassius* the Patritians were more elevated, and the Commons grieved after they saw this, and considered how servicable a man to their interest, as they foolishly thought, they had cut off. They now called hard for the Execution of the *Agrarian Law*, but the Senate being resolved to put it off, caused the Consuls to make provision for an Expedition. None would give their names, and the Tribunes interposing hindered the Consuls from punishing any; but it being given out that a Dictator would be created, the multitude fearing to fall into the hands of *Appius*, lifted themselves, and so *Cornelius* waited the Territories of the *Veientines*, as *Fabius* those of the *Æqui*. The year following, being the two hundredth and seventieth of the City, when *Nicomachus* was *Archon* at *Athens*, the Patritians procured *C. Fabius* one of *Cassius* his accusers, and *L. Æmilius*, to be created Consuls, during whose Office all was quiet at home, the *Volsci* renewing the War upon the *Romans*, *Fabius* was sent to the assistance of the *Latines* and *Hernici* whom they had invaded, and *Æmilius* led the other part of the Forces to *Antium*, where he was worsted by the *Volsci*, and being forced to desert his Camp, had with his whole Army been cut off, but that his Colleague in good time sent some choice Companies to recruit him. For the next year *M. Fabius* Brother to *C. Fabius*, and *L. Valerius* Son of *Marcus*, who put *Cassius* to death, being Consuls, proposed it to the Senate to fill up the Army at *Antium*. A Decree passing for new *Legies*, the People refused to be lifted, calling for the division of the grounds, and one of the Tribunes withstood the Consuls. This put them upon this device, to sit in the *Campus Martius*, where whosoever was cited and did not appear, they punished him, if he had any Lands, by cutting his trees, and pulling down his houses; or if he hired grounds, by driving away his Cattel, or other ways, the Tribune not being able to do them any good, for that the power of his Office was confined within the walls, so as it was unlawful for them to lye one night out of the City, except in the *Latine feria*, where all the Magistrates for the common safety were wont to sacrifice in the *Albanian Mount* unto *Favus*.

67. This forced the Commons to submit, and so the Consuls making *Legies* led out the Legions, *Fabius* to the defence of the Associates, and *Valerius* against the *Volsci*; who engaging with him in battle, came off on equal terms; and after

Sect. 1.

Sect. 1.

Commotions
in the City.

afterwards neither part were forward to fight. It was believed in the City, that the Roman Army wilfully neglected an opportunity of Victory, out of hatred against the Consul, whom they despised as a man of no experience, and in revenge against the Fathers who had long frustrated their hopes about the division of publick grounds. At this time one of the Vestal Nuns *Opimia* by name, being convicted of Incontinency, was shut up within the ground in the Forum, and her corrupters scourged and put to death. At the next election of Consuls there was great contention, the Patricians having a desire to prefer some, to whom they could confide, and particularly pitching upon the son of *Appius*, a man of the same temper with his Father, and the Commons as much labouring the Contrary. When the Consuls held the *Comitia*, the Tribunes interposed, and when the Tribunes called the People together, the Consuls would not suffer any thing to be done, contending that it belonged to their Office. Both parties being intercompacted with those of their Factions, railed, and sometimes came to hand-cuffs, so that worse threatening, and the Senate consulting what was to be done, some moved to have a Dictator named, who might first correct all disorders of late brought in, and then deliver the power to men of approved integrity; but a middle way pleased; to create *Interreges* for holding of the Assemblies. The first was *A. Sempronius*, who for his five days governing affairs in a peaceable manner, the other Magistrates having laid down, created according to the manner *Sp. Lartius*. He in the *Centuriata Comitia* made Consuls with the well liking of both sides, *C. Julius* a favourite of the Commons, and *Q. Fabius* now the second time elected, a man addicted to the power of the great ones. In their Consulship the *Æqui* and *Veientes* invaded the Roman Territories, and did much hurt. Against the later they were sent with the Legions, after some content with the People (who were hardly drawn in by *Lartius*, because the Senate had now deferred the execution of the *Agrian* Law five years) and harrying the Country returned home with much spoil; neither was any thing else of moment done that year.

Dionys. l. 9.

Wars abroad.

68. The year following (which was the first of the seventy fifth Olympiad, wherein *Xerxes* made his Expedition into Greece, *Callias* being Archon at Athens) had for Consuls *Cæso Fabius* again, and *Sp. Furius*, to whom came messengers from the *Latines*, desiring assistance against the insolence of the *Æqui*; and all *Hetruria* was reported now to be in Arms at the desire of the *Veientes*. The Consuls were ordered to assist the one, and suppress the other; but when they came to raise men, *Leilius* one of the Tribunes interposed upon the old pretence of the *Agrian* Law. The work being hereby hindered, *Appius* advised the Senate to let one Tribune against another, by drawing over some of them unto their side, as the only way to abate the power of that Office now so sacred and inviolable. This course both at present and afterwards was effectual, and the Consuls with their Armies departed each one into his province; *Furius* against the *Æqui*, and *Fabius* into *Hetruria*. *Furius* harried the Enemies Country, and returned home with great Booty. *Fabius*, though an able Warriour, was so hated by his men, that when they had in battle routed the Enemy, they refused to pursue or do any thing more, but departing against his command to their Camp, thence also marched home, lest they should procure him the honour of a Triumph. The following Consuls *Cn. Manlius*, and *M. Fabius*, again were both sent to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, where they held the Soldiers in the Camp so long, till the Enemy was ready to fall upon it, and for shame they desired to be led forth. *Fabius* taking this opportunity, upbraided them with their disobedience to the Consul the last year, in that place; and shewing them how little cause he and his Colleague had to trust them, having sufficiently humbled them, led them forth. A greater and longer battle was never fought by the Romans, who were thought to be Victors only, because the *Hetruscans*, the night following, forsook their Tents. *Manlius* was slain, and for that cause his Colleague refused the Triumph, saying, it was not right for him to take the Laurel at his Funerals. Having disbanded his Army, he laid down his Office two months before the time, because his wounds disabled him for service; and by the second *Interrex* in the *Comitia*, were declared Consul *Cæso Fabius* his brother (who having extraordinarily deserved in the late battle, was now honoured with this Office the third time) and *T. Virginus*.

69. *Virginus* being sent into *Hetruria* against the *Veientes*, was overpowered by them, and had lost his whole Army, but that *Fabius* upon the intimation of his extreme necessity came out of the Country of the *Æqui*, and brought him

Sect. 1.

The Family of
the *Fabii* in-
gaged against
the *Veientes*.

him off. When the Romans were retreated, the *Veientes* made excursions very near the City, to the great loss and disparagement of the State. The Senate found it necessary to have a constant Guard upon the Borders; but the Treasury was low, the Tributes of private men were not sufficient for this new charge, and it seemed that none would give their Names willingly to so constant a Work. When they were at a stand, the whole Family of the *Fabii*, by the procurement of the Consul, voluntarily offered to take both the charge and trouble upon it self only, which was gratefully accepted. The *Fabii* then under conduct of *Marcus* the last year's Consul, fortified a Castle near the River *Cremora*, and not far from *Veii*. Their whole number was at first four thousand, whereof their Clients and Friends made up the greater part, and of such as bore the name of the Family there were three hundred and six; afterwards another Company followed, being led by *Cæso Fabius* the Consul. Out of this Castle, which they named *Cremora* from the River, they made excursions, and much endamaged the Enemy. This caused the *Veientes* again to implore the aid of all *Hetruria*, which making preparations, news came that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* also had agreed upon an invasion. The Senate hereupon ordered their Armies to be provided, whereof *L. Æmilius* the next years Consul led one against the *Hetrusci*, with whom joined *Cæso Babius* as proconsul. *C. Servilius* the other Consul, marched with another part against the *Volsci*: and *Ser. Furius* with the third against the *Æqui*, having also the power of Proconsul. *Furius* no less happily than lodainly finished his work. *Servilius* rashly managing his affairs lost many men, and not daring to adventure all in a Battle, drew out the War in length; but *Æmilius* giving Battle to the *Veientes* and their Associates, overthrew them, and then storming their Camp, forced them to beg Peace.

70. Having purchased a Truce by the grant of Provisions for two months to the Consuls Army, and six months pay, they had leave to send to the Senate. The Fathers upon reading of *Æmilius* his Letters, who advised them by all means to finish the War, resolved to make Peace, and left the Conditions thereof to him. He having a respect rather to equity than the profit of the Conquerors, made a League with them, neither taking from them any Grounds, nor any more Money, nor receiving any Hostages to secure their obedience, which procured him much evil will, and deprived him of the due honour of a Triumph. They ordered him to assist his Colleague against the *Volsci*; but he complaining grievously of them to the People, and suggesting to the Multitude that they were angry, because the War was finished, out of a desire to have the Peoples thoughts diverted from the *Agrian* Law, disbanded his Army, as also that of *Furius*, and hereby afforded much matter for contention betwixt the Nobility and Commons. The year following, being the first of the seventy sixth Olympiad, wherein *Scamander* of *Mitylene* was Victor in the course, and *Phædon* Archon at Athens, the new Consuls, *C. Horatius*, and *T. Menenius*, found some obstruction in the Levies; the Commons still complaining that the *Agrian* Law was not executed. But necessity cut off the dispute, eleven several Cities of *Hetruria* having declared against the *Veientes*, for making Peace without publick consent, and forced them to break it. The pretence was, for that the *Fabii* were not drawn off from *Cremora*, who sending Intelligence to the Senate of this intended breach, it ordered *Menenius* to march into *Hetruria*, as *Horatius* against the *Volsci*. While *Menenius* loitered in his Expedition, *Cremora* was taken, and the *Fabii* all cut off. Some wrote that it was by an Ambush, as they were returning to Rome, to sacrifice for the whole Family, according to their custom. But others delivered more probably, that being accustomed to make depredations, they were drawn into Snairs by the *Hetruscans* (who caused herds of Cattel to be driven thither, where they had bestowed a sufficient quantity of men) and being overpowered, were all at length destroyed, though with the great loss of the Assistants, except such as they had left to keep the Cattel. These were so far from being discouraged at what had befallen their Fellows, that they also stood it out to the last man, enduring all extremity, and fighting when half dead, with Weapons wrested from the Hands of their Enemies.

All the ad-
venturers are
cut off.

71. A Tradition remained to posterity, that three hundred and six of this Family being cut off, none remained except one Boy, who for his youth could not serve in the Expedition. *Dionysius* sheweth the Vanity hereof, by these reasons. 1. All except one could not be unmarried, or without Children, for an ancient Law commanded all at a legitimate age to marry, and provide for Posterity, which being diligently observed till their age, the *Fabii* alone would not contain;

SECT. 1.

Whether only one Boy remained of the family.

but, 2. Grant this; it is not to be granted, that none of those had a Brother of young years. 3. If their Fathers had been utterly deprived of their Sons, yet certainly all would not have been so old and dry, as to despair of any more Issue, and consequently make no provision for it by marriage. 4. And if they had no Fathers living, yet would it be a prodigious thing to suppose that none of them left any Son as yet an Infant, a Wife with Child, or a young Brother. This is true, that of the three Brothers, *Cæso*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, in the Family of whom the Consulship had continued for seven years, *Marcus* only left a young Son, besides whom none of this Name afterwards being famous, thence the report might rise that none else was preserved. Concerning the time of this Defeat Authors something differ. (a) *Macrobii* maketh the day to have been the seventeenth of the *Calends of Sextilis*; (b) *Plutarch* after the Summer solstice, and about the full Moon in the middle of the month *Quintilis*. (c) *Livy* and (d) *Tacitus* on the fifteenth of the *Calends of Sextilis*, which suiteth with that of *Plutarch*, and (e) *Ovid* on the *Ides of February*.

(a) Lib. 1.
(b) Lib. 1.
(c) In *Caesari*
(d) *Plutarch*
(e) Lib. 6.
(f) Lib. 14.
(g) Epl. 2.

72. The *Vientes* having recovered the Castle, went confidently against the *Roman* Legions, which lay incamped not far off, and as was thought might have relieved the *Fabii*, but that *Menenius* the Consul out of envy would not make use of the opportunity. They took the advantage of his unskilfulness, and seized on an Hill near unto him, where placing a Guard, they made Sallies upon the Camp, and so straightned it, that they brought him to fight upon very unequal terms, and put his Army to the worst. The *Romans* forlook their Camp, and fled in so tumultuous a manner, that had the *Vientes* not been too greedy of Plunder, they might utterly have destroyed them. The day following they invaded the *Roman* Territories, and came as far as the Hill *Faniculæ*, two miles from the City, whereon they seized, and thence made excursions to the great disgrace of the *Romans*. *Horatius* the other Consul returning from the *Folci*, overthrew them twice, and gave the People some respite from their fear. The following year two skilful men in Military matters, *Sp. Servilius* and *A. Virginius*, entered the Consulship after the Summer solstice in the month *Sextilis*. Now the *Hetruscan* War, though difficult enough, seemed profitable, compared with domestic Affairs; for the seizing upon the Mount, and the depredations thence made had hindered Tillage for the last Winter, and no Traffick having been for that time, there was such scarcity of Corn that the City was brought into extrem want, containing one hundred and ten thousand men of ripe age, as appeared at the next *Census*, besides Women and Children, Slaves, Merchants, and Artificers (for no *Roman* Citizen was allowed to keep a Victualing-house, or to exercise any fordid Trade) thrice as many. The People made great Tumults, and were ready to take away violently the provisions of the rich: the *Tribunes* also made great disturbance.

73. The Consuls laboured to satisfy the poorest sort by buying in all they could, and causing such as had Corn to sell it, till their Levies were finished. Then led they out by night against the Enemy, and passing the River before day, unexpectedly fell upon him, and got a bloody Victory: after which the Mount was forsaken by the Garrison, which having no relief sent in, retired to *Veii*. This War being ended, *Menenius* the last years Consul was called to an account, and condemned in a pecuniary Mult for suffering the *Fabii* to miscarry, whom the people so gratefully esteemed, that they hated all who seemed to have been to blame as to their defeat, and placed the day thereof amongst their *Nefasti*, or unlucky ones, wherein no good Work was to be begun. The following year also, when *Servilius* was out of his Office, he was called before the people, for that in the last Battle against the *Hetruscans*, he had so unadvisedly pursued the Enemy, as thereby to lose the Flower of his Army; but the Mans abilities being considered, and his own defence with that of his Colleague weighed (who desired either to stand or fall with him) he was acquitted. This year and that following, the *Vientes* were so overpowered, having been overthrown in Battle together with their Associates the *Sabines*, and now closely besieged, begged Peace once more, and having with a whole years pay for the Consuls Army, and money for two months provision purchased leave to send to the Senate, obtained a Truce for forty years. The next year being the first of the feventy seventh *Olympiad*, wherein *Dates* an *Argive* was Victor, and *Chares* Archon, *L. Æmilius Mamercus* the third time, and *Publius Fulvius* were Consuls. Their Consulship was very turbulent through the attempts of *Cn. Genatius Tribune* of the People, who required them to divide the Grounds formerly Decreed to the people by the Senate.

They

Menenius fined for the carriage of the *Fabii*.

Great fires about the *Ægræia*.

SECT. I.

They denied it belonged to them to execute what had been Decreed in the Consulship of others, and alleged that a *Senatus Consultum* was not of force, but for one year. Because he could not compel his Superiours, he set the day to *Manlius* and *Furius*, the last year's Consuls, to answer before the People, why they did not divide the grounds, pretending some reasons wherefore they ought to be questioned more than others, though it was now twelve years since the passing of the Decree, and alleging, that except the present Magistrates were quickened by a sentence of punishment inflicted upon others, they would never set upon the work.

74. The Patritians exceedingly startled at so bold and impudent an attempt, relieved by force of Arms, if fairer means would not prevail, to protect the accused, and the City might have been in blood had not *Genatius* died suddenly that very morning; no sign of violence appearing on the Body. This allayed the fury of the multitude, and the Sedition might have been quite appeased, had the Consuls born their success with moderation, and considered what was fitting for the time. But making new Levies, they would force one *P. Volero*, who had before time been an Officer, to go in the present expedition as a Common Soldier, and when he alleged that he ought not to be compelled so to serve, for that he had not deserved it by any offence, they commanded him to be strip'd and beaten. He flying to the assistance of the *Tribunes* appealed to the People, where, with they not being at all moved, he became a *Tribune* to himself, with blows repelling one or two Lictors: and when the Consuls sent all their Officers to take him, such *Phœbeians* as stood by calling one upon another refused him from their hands. This diverted mens minds from thoughts of Land, and raised a zeal for privilege and liberty; the Patritians complaining that the Chief Magistrates should be so contemned, and the *Phœbeians* alleging it was a great breach upon their right for a *Roman* Citizen not to be heard when he appealed to the people, but scourged like a Slave; and they demanded Justice of the Senate against the Consuls, with these first, without any other thing of moment, was their Consulship passed over. For the following year *Volero* an impudent fellow, obtained, though a man of meanest condition, to be *Tribune*, having made himself popular by resisting that Office, which was once equal to the Kingly, and promising that he would clip the power of the great ones. He proposed a Law for holding the Assemblies of *Tribes* at the Election of *Tribunes*, instead of the other of the *Curie*, betwixt which there was this difference. In the *Curiate Comitia* were such things treated on, and confirmed by the suffrages of the *Curie*, as the Senate had first Decreed, and that with the *Auspicia*; for except the birds predicted good, the *Comitia* were null and frustrate. But the *Tribute Comitia* were managed without any consulting of the Senate, without the superstitious observation of birds (called *Auspicia*, and observed at the Election also of Patritian Magistrates) and all things were determined by the suffrages of the *Tribes* gathered apart.

75. When the day for determination of the question was come, great endeavours were used on both sides; the whole time consumed in speeches, for, and against the Law. The *Tribunes* then put it off till the *Trinundinum*, against which time the Patritians improving all their interest, *Volero* resolved by force to keep them from the *Comitia*, and the Consuls from diswading the thing, because they carried mighty highly, and with their friends, and Clients, took up a great part of the *Forum*. He was prevented by a grievous plague, which like a Torrent carried away multitudes, so as his year being out before he could accomplish his design, by his great promises he obtained to be *Tribune* again, as also his two Collegues who sided with him in this enterprize. The Fathers to balance him procured to be made Consul *Appius Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*, absent, against his will, and to their own prejudice. His Colleague was *T. Q. Quintus Capitolinus*, of a contrary disposition. *Appius* was all for Wars, that by expeditions the multitudes might be diverted from Seditious Attempts, the effects of idleness; and *Quintius* contended that causes were not to be fought for, left the ordinary sort being forced to unnecessary War, should break out into rage, and trample Magistracy under their feet; and the Government being his, faith *Dionysius*, this month, he prevailed. But *Volero* renewed his endeavour for the Law, and thereto added, that the *Ædiles* should be elected by the *Tribute Comitia*, as also whatsoever should concern the Commons, might be transacted, and passed in them, which tended to no other than to transfer the power from the Senate to the people. *Appius* now earnestly pressed

A Law proposed for Creation of Tribunes in the Assembly of Tribes.

Appius and *Quintus* Consuls.

Sect. 1.

to make Levies, and undertake fome expedition; but *Quintius* prevailed that they should rather go about to diffwade the people by reasons, than to compel them by force.

76. *Quintius* to this purpose made a seasonable Speech in the Assembly, and so far prevailed, that the Law as unjust had been laid aside, but that his Colleague used, though just and true, yet unseasonable words, speaking to the Commons, not as free Citizens, who had an hand in making, and abrogating Laws, but as a rabble of base persons. He upbraided them with untruthfulness, defrauding of their Creditors, revolting from the Consuls, and voluntary Exile; as also perjury, and turning of the Weapons taken up in defence of their Country, into its bowels. He said, it was no wonder that such as they were should proceed thus from one wicked Act to another, insinuating in their seditious Attempts for the gaining of the just power of the Patritians. Having spared no cruel, malicious, or affronting language, he came to that which gave most offence: that the State would never be at rest so long as the Tribunitian power remained; for as much as it was impossible that what took its Original from violence, iniquity, sedition, fear of a Civil War, and other abominable things, could produce any profitable effects. He concluded with an alleviation, that as long as he was Consul, he would neither suffer this, nor any other Law to pass without approbation of the Senate, and this he would stand by, both with Words and Deeds; also if need should require; so that, if never before, they should learn in his Office, of what force was the Consulship. Then stood up *C. Licinius*, the principal man amongst the Tribunes, and in answer to his accusations related what labours the Commons had sustained before, and since the banishment of *Tarquinius*; how, for all this pain and danger, they were not made partakers of any thing which they had obtained by their blood, till forced to separate from the Patritians. That then they got this Office of Tribuneship, as a protection for the poor, with other Laws afterwards, as of judging the Patritians, and translating the suffrages from the *Centuriata* to the *Curiata Comitia*, all which he accounted nothing. Then reproving *Appius* sharply, he told him he would shew him of what force that Office was upon which he had trampled, and the power of the people called by him *furdid*, and without House or Harbour. Having spoken this, he swore most solemnly that he would, and not live except the Law passed, and commanding silence, when all men expected earnestly what he would do, he lawfully required *Appius* to depart the Assembly.

Is commanded to depart the Assembly.

And he is sent to prison.

Is defended.

The People seize on the Capitol.

The Law passed.

Appius his Soldiers refuse to fight.

77. *Appius* not obeying, but incircling himself with a Company he had brought for that purpose, having made silence to be proclaimed by a Crier, he declared that the College of Tribunes commanded the Consul to be carried to prison, and therewith sent an Officer to apprehend him. He was beaten back by the Lictors, whereat *Licinius* himself exhorting the multitude to stick to him, went to lay hands on him. *Appius* being defended with a company of stout young men, a great and unseemly Contest followed with railings and thrustings to and fro, and at length it came to blows, and casting of stones. The Consul *Quintius* by his intreaties throwing himself into the middle, and the more grave Senators hindred the tumult from proceeding to further inconvenience, which was ended shortly after by the night. Several days were spent with mutual recriminations; but as length the Tribunes and People seized on the Capitol, and there kept watch night and day. The Senators were very solicitous what to do, both in respect of the danger, and the difference betwixt the Consuls; for *Quintius* thought the Commons desiring no unjust thing, were to be gratified; but *Appius* would rather die than yield. *Quintius* taking great pains, at length procured the Tribunes to refer the Law to the discretion of the Senate, which after a long diffwasion of *Appius*, and perswasion of the Tribunes, permitted it to be put to the question of the *Comitia*, wherein the Commons readily passed it. After this, the Consuls were sent out with their Armies; *Quintius* against the *Æqui*, whose Territories he wasted, and he returned with honour, which his Soldiers were careful to purchase for him; but *Appius* going against the *Volsci*, bore himself so aufterly towards his men, that they would not obey him, but out of hatred, and to procure him an ignominious retreat, when they came to fight, retired to their Camp without striking a stroke, and no more could he draw them forth against the Enemy, so that he was constrained to depart homewards, and in his way put to death such Centurions and Ensigns, as had been faulty, with every tenth man in the Army. Some were beheaded, and some knocked on the head with clubs: this decimation being an usual punishment amongst the Romans, of such as had forsaken, or lost their Colours.

78. The

Sect. 1.

78. The following Consuls *Q. Valerius* again, and *Tib. Æmilius*, being both well affected towards the Commons (the former out of envy to the Patritians, for that they had denied his Father a Triumph, and the later because he would reconcile himself to the multitude, offended by him for accusing *Cassius* the Author of the *Agarian* Law, when he was *Quæstor*) promised the Tribunes to promote in the Senate the division of publick grounds. The Tribunes in confidence of their assistance, came into the Senate, and spake very mildly in favour of the Law, which the Consuls would not contradict, left they should seem to seek after contention, but asked the ancienter Senators their opinions. *L. Valerius* Father to the Consul, pressed the division of Lands; but *Appius* so severely and plainly withstood it by several invincible reasons, that he carried it against the other, for which the Tribunes set him a day to answer before the People for his life. The crimes were: That he gave ill advice against the Commons, raised Sedition, laid violent hands forth on the Sacrosanct Body of the Tribune, and being General of an Army had received a defeat, and returned with ignominy. The Patritians exceedingly concerned, left nothing unattempted to save him, and desired him, that giving way to the time, he would take the habit agreeable to his condition; but he flatly refused to do any thing poorly, or unworthy of his Ancestors, adding, that he would die a thousand deaths rather than touch the knees of any, as was the custom of Suppliants. He forbade his friends to supplicate for him, saying, his shame would be doubled, if he saw any do that in his behalf, which he himself disdaind to do. Giving out many such like speeches, he neither changed his apparel, nor his countenance, nor remitted any thing of his ancient magnanimity, but when he saw the whole City earnestly intent upon his Trial, a few days before the appointed time he killed himself. His friends gave out that he died of a natural death, and the Body being brought forth into the Forum, his Son was there ready, and asked leave of the Consuls to commend him in a funeral Oration, according to the custom. The Tribunes commanded the body to be taken away without any ceremony; but the People was thereat displeased, and suffered the young man to perform this last and usual Office of honour to his deceased Father.

He crucifixes the *Agarian*, for which he is called to answer for his life.

Before the Trial he kills himself.

79. For this and the two following years the Romans fought successively against the *Æqui*, *Sabines*, and *Volsci*. From the later was taken *Antium*, being surrendered to *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the Consul, who placed therein a Garrison. In the following year, wherein were Consuls *Tib. Æmilius* again, and *Q. Fabius* (son to one of the three brothers, that with their friends and Clients died at *Cremera*) the Tribunes made new stirrs about the *Agarian*, and *Æmilius* furthering the business, the Senate to gratify the multitude, decreed that some part of the Lands lately taken from the *Volsci* and *Antiates*, should be divided. Yet not many would give their names, being unwilling to forsake their native Country, so that the Colony was made up out of the *Latines* and *Hernicks*. The Consuls marched, *Æmilius* against the *Volsci*, and *Fabius* against the *Æqui*; both had success; the later forcing the *Æqui* to beg Peace, the conditions whereof were left to him by the Senate. But the *Æqui* receiving the Fugitives of *Antium*, suffered them to make excursions into the Territories of the *Latines*, and refused to give them up, whereupon succeeded another War, though the Romans obtained a bloody Victory, in the third year after the making of the Peace. In the next Consulship which was executed by *L. Eburinus* and *P. Servilius Priscus*, fell a more grievous plague upon the City than ever before happened. It first consumed almost all Cattel, and from the Country came into the City, wherein it swept away an innumerable company of slaves, and a fourth part of the Senators, and amongst these the Consuls, with most of the Tribunes. *Livy* writeth, that the *Baldies* supplied the place of Consuls. The disease began about the Calends of September, and continued that whole year, sparing no Sex nor Age.

A most grievous plague.

War with the *Æqui* and *Volsci*.

80. When this was known by the neighbour Nations, the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, supposing the time of destroying the Roman Empire to be come, provided all things for a Siege, and to divert the Romans invaded the *Latines* and *Hernicks* their associates. These sending to Rome for aid, *Eburinus* was already dead, and *Servilius* as yet alive, in small hope assembled the Senators, who were brought half dead in their Litters to the Court. They gave them liberty to defend themselves, which doing, when the Enemies had wasted their grounds at their pleasures, they marched for Rome, but contrary to their expectations, found it sufficiently guarded, though with sick and feeble men. When the next Consuls were created, *L. Lucretius* and *T. Petronius Geminus*, the Pestilence ceased; and all things being

Sect. I.

being quiet at home (for the Tribunes making adoe according to the custom about the *Agrian*, were commanded by the people to desert, and expect better times) they invaded those who had taken advantage at the publick calamity. They had good success abroad, and better near home, when the *Equi* in their absence came and thought to have surprized the City. For understanding the Walls to be furnished with armed men, and four Cohorts of six hundred apiece to stand before the Gates, they altered their course when they came to *Tusculum*; but *Lucretius* met and gave them battle, which they were hasty to embrace before the coming of his Colleague. For a time they fought courageously; but seeing a band of men behind them, which came from a certain Castle, they thought it had been the other Consul, and fearing to be inclosed ran away, having lost both their Captains, and many other valiant men. Afterwards without any let, the Consuls wasted the Territories both of the *Equi* and *Volsci*, and returned home at the time of the *Comitia*: *Lucretius* in full Triumph, and *Peturius* in the other called *Ovation*, by decree of the Senate, with the like Pomp in all things; except that he entered on foot, and not in a Chariot; which words conclude the ninth Book of *Dionysius* his Roman Antiquities.

81. For the year following (which was the first of the eightieth *Olympiad*, wherein *Torquatus* the *Thessalian* was Victor, and *Pharsicles* Archon) *P. Volturnus* and *Ser. Sulpitius Camerinus* were created Consuls, who having nothing to do abroad, employed themselves at home in defending the power of the Patritians against the Commons, now much infligated against it by their Tribunes. They were come so far, as to assert, that it was most agreeable with the constitution of a free State, for the Citizens to have equal power in Government. The People now would have all things done by the prescript of Laws, whereof as yet there were none written, the Kings having judged according to their own discretion, and the Consuls by certain prebends of those Princes formerly in power. The least part was recorded in the Books of the *Pontifices*, which none could come at except the *Patritians*. *C. Terentius* or *Terentillus Arsa* according to *Livy*, Tribune of the Commons the foregoing year, had endeavoured to circumscribe within certain limits the power of the Consulship; but left the matter unfinished, because the greater part of Citizens were employed in the War; the Consuls on set purpose drawing it out in length, till the *Comitia*. Now the whole College of Tribunes renewed the attempt by the procurement of *A. Virginus* one of the number; the whole City being divided about it. Much contention there was in the Senate, betwixt the Tribunes and the contrary Faction; but at length, not doing any good in that place, they called the people together, and propoled a Law, that ten men might be chosen in Lawful Assembly, such as were most eminent for Age, prudence, and dignity, and who especially respected their repure, and honour; that these men should publish Laws both concerning private and publick business, by which right should be preferred, both to private Persons and Annual Magistrats. The Question they put off till the *Trinundinum*, giving any one leave to speak freely, either for or against it.

82. The Patritians extraordinarily moved, that the Senate's authority in this matter was utterly neglected, both by fair and foul means laboured to hinder the debate; casting the meanest sort like Slaves out of the *Forum*, who minded their private commodity more than the publick Peace. Amongst those sticklers *Cælo Quintius* the Son of *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, was principal, one of great Nobility, beautiful in person, and very stout and expert in War. Him the Tribunes resolved to make an example to all young men, and called him to answer for his life before the People. He refused to answer, except at the Tribunal of the Consuls; but his Father earnestly intreated for him, recounting the several eminent services he had done for the State, and imputing this miscarriage to his youth, and indiscretion. The multitude plainly declared by signs, that they were ready to gratifie him, which when *Virginus* perceived, knowing, that if *Cælo* escaped without punishment, the insolence of the young Patritians would be intolerable, he procured *M. Volscius*, one of his Colleagues, to tell a feigned story, how in the time of the Plague he and his brother returning from a friends house in the night, were set upon by *Cælo* and his drunken Companions in the *Forum*, who killed his brother outright, and left *Volscius* himself half dead. He added, that both the Consuls dying of the Plague, he could have no satisfaction, and in the succeeding Consulship, whensoever he cited *Cælo* before the Magistrats (as several could bear witness) he received nothing but blows. This so in-

Sect. I.

Flieth and is condemned.

A plot of the Tribunes.

Discovered by the Consul.

Ap. Herdonius seized on the Capitol.

Which is rebeld.

raged the multitude, that they had torn him in pieces, but that the Consuls and some of the Tribunes kept them off. His Tryal then was deferred, not without a great controversy, whether he should lye in prison, or be out upon Bail, the later whereof was at length accepted by the interposition of the Senate, and he fled into *Hetruria*, leaving his ten sureties to pay the money, which was exacted of them by the Tribunes, who also condemned him. His Father sold the greatest part of his Estate to reimburse the sureties, and content with a small quantity of ground beyond *Tiber*, and a little Cottage, sustained himself very laboriously by the help of a few slaves; for grief and poverty abating from the City and his friends, and neglecting to divert himself with publick solaces.

83. The Tribunes were much crossed in their expectations. For the calamity of *Cælo* was so far from moderating the insolency of the young Patritians, that they grew much higher, opposing the Question both by words and deeds; so as in this Consulship the Law could not be preferred. For the following year *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Claudius Sabinus*, were created Consuls; and the Commons made the same Tribunes as the year before, who perceiving the Law was not by persuasion to be enacted, sought to terrifie both People and Consuls. They caused various rumours to be spread, that Enemies had hatched a great conspiracy against the Commons, then coming into the Senate, there affirmed it, pretending they had letters from some friends to assure them of it. They said certain Senators were in the plot, but that the greatest part consisted of the order of the *Equites*, which it was not reasonable then to name; but they had designed in Conjunction with *Cælo Quintius* the Exile, to murder the Tribunes with others by night, and then at their leisure to rescind whatever had been granted by the Senate to the Commons: In conclusion they desired the inquisition of so grievous a design might be committed unto themselves. The Senate being very sollicitous, *Claudius* the Consul (who was fully persuaded that what the Tribunes went about was the only conspiracy) by ripping up their designs concerning the *Agrian* Law, and the bad success of their endeavours which put them upon this Exploit, fully convinced the Fathers how the matter stood, especially when they would neither name their friends from whom the Letter came, nor the Messenger: and though the Tribunes highly complained of him, and the Senate, unto the People, yet the most sober amongst the Commons were satisfied with his reasons. Whilst the heat of this contention remained, the City fell into such danger from outward Enemies as never before, which, saith *Dionysius*, had been foretold by *Sibyll's* Books that it would arise out of intestine division, and was likewise signified by the prodigies of the foregoing year, when besides strange sights and noises, it rained pieces of flesh, of which some were devoured by all sorts of birds before they fell to the ground, and the rest continued long upon the Earth, without either change of colour or smell.

84. *Ap. Herdonius* a Sabine with four thousand men seized upon the Capitol, and called the Slaves to their liberty. At this time of extreme danger, the Tribunes made what disturbance they could, infligating the multitude not to fight against the Enemy, except the Patritians would engage by Oath to create ten men for the making of Laws, and suffer the Commons to live with them upon equal terms of privilege. *Claudius* would have wholly omitted them, and carried on the War by the Patritians, and their Clients only; but *Valerius* thought it necessary to have a closure in the body before it should go about to defend itself from outward attempts, and therefore promised with an Oath, that if the people would cheerfully carry on that War, as soon as peace was restored, he would permit the Tribunes to put the question, and endeavour to satise the desire of the Commons. *Claudius* then being appointed to look to the City, *Valerius* on all sides set upon the Capitol, which was taken by storm, though he lost his life, having omitted neither the part of an able General nor valiant Soldier. For though he had received many wounds, yet he gave not over, till climbing the Walls a great stone was tumbled down upon him, which took away his life. The War being ended, the Tribunes required of *Claudius* to make good the promise of his Colleague; but he deferred the matter by several pretences, and at length alleged he could do nothing of himself. He appointed then the *Comitia* for Creation of a new Consul into the room of *Valerius*. The Patritians were very sollicitous to get some chosen that would defend their interest, and resolved upon *L. Quintius* Father to *Cælo*, lately banished, who at the day appointed was chosen by all the Centuries of the first *Classis*, as well *Equites* as the other,

Flieth flies about new Laws.

Dionys. l. 10.

A. M. 3246.
Ol. 80. et. 1.
P. C. 294.
Anno. Lxxvi.

Cælo Quintius called to an account.

Sect. 1. other, so that the rest of the *Classe* were not called. They that were sent to fetch *Quintius* into the City, found him at Plow without as much as a Coat about him, only in his Truss, and a Cap on his head. Seeing the company make towards him, he wondered what it meant, but being told by a Viator that run before, he put on other apparel, and in a seemlier habit presented himself. Being saluted not by his own name, but by that of *Consul*, invested with Purple, honoured by the Falcates, and other Ensigns of Magistracy, he was desirous to begin his journey, whereat pausing a little he answered with tears : *Then for this year this little field shall be unown'd, and we shall be in danger of want.* After this, taking leave of his Wife, and commending his household affairs to her care, he departed for the City.

85. *Quintius* refrained the *Tribunes* from preferring the Law, by denouncing, that except they were quiet, he would lead out all the Citizens against the *Volsi*. When they said they would not permit him to make Levies, he called the people, and put the younger fort in mind of their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had bound themselves to the Consuls to follow whithersoever he would lead them, and not be wanting to the Majesty of the *Rome* people. He affirmed they were all obnoxious to him by this Oath now he was Consul, and sware he would animadvert upon Offenders according to the Laws. Herewith he commanded the Standards to be moved out of the *Atrium*, and told them that to make them know they should have no leisure for Tribunitian Actions in his Consulship, he let them understand, he would not return out of the Enemy's Country till his office was at an end, and bade them prepare for wintering in the Camp. The multitude terrified heretofore, desired him to forbear this rigour, and he did it upon this condition, that they would not molest him for his whole time, but suffer him to spend it in administering Justice. He behaved himself with such Prudence, Justice, painfulness, and courtesy, that the Commons thought they stood not in need now of any new Laws, and the Senate was desirous to have him Consul for the following year, to oppose him to the *Tribunes*, who executed that Office now the third time. But as he approved it not in them, so he himself would not commit the same fault as he counted it, and in the Assembly speaking much against such as would not quit their Office when their time was finished, swore most religiously, that he would not accept the Consulship till he had laid down his present charge. Having finished a new Election, he betook himself to his little Cottage, and his former laborious course of life.

86. The year following the *Aequi* surprized *Tusculum*, which action caused a War betwixt them and *Rome*, wherein they were worried together with their friends the *Volsi*, and forced to beg peace. But in the next Consulship they were drawn again to revolt, and making War upon the *Latines*, by *Gracchus Clodius* their Captain, an industrious man, who had improved the power granted him by his Country almost to regality. He drew the *Roman* Army into so disadvantageous a place, that it was thought convenient to make a Dictator, which was *L. Quintinus Cincinnatus*. The Messengers found him newly dressed ; for when he was elected the company, suspecting they came to him, he left the Country-work he was in hand with, and put on his better Clothes. Seeing himself made Dictator, by the trapped Horses, the twenty four Axes, the Purple, and other royal Ensigns, he was so far from being delighted with this honour, that he said with indignation : *This year's Crop will also be lost by reason of mine employment, and my family must be famished.* When he came to the City he encouraged the people, and named Master of Horse-men, *L. Tarquinius*, a man of no great esteem by reason of his poverty, but a good Soldier : Having gathered together the Forces, he gave *Clodius* battle, and beat him into his Camp, which having besieged some time, he forced the *Aequi* to give him up, with other incendaries, to be punished with death according to their defects, as also to pass under the *Fugum* (two Spears set in the ground, and a third laid over upon them in form of a pair of Gallows) in token of servitude ; and because they had the year following without any provocation plundered *Tusculum*, to suffer him to deal in the like manner with *Carbia*. The choicest part of the plunder he caused to be carried to *Rome*, the rest he gave to his own Soldiers, and those of *T. Quintinus* the *Questor*, saying, that the other of *Minutus* the Consul, who had been besieged by the Enemy, ought to be content that they tell not as a prey into his hands. Having caused *Minutus* to lay down his Office, he returned to the City with a more illustrious Triumph than any Captain before him, (the General of the *Aequi*

His carriage
in his Office.

He is made
Dictator.

He overthrew
the *Aequi*.

Plunder'd at
Tusculum.

Aequi, and other Eminent Prisoners in Chains preceding his Chariot) having overtaken a strong Army, and plundered, and fortified a City of the Enemy within seventeen days after his Creation. That absolute power which he might have kept for six months he presently resigned, having first given an account of his administration. And when the Senate and his private friends would have enriched him with publick Ground, Plunder, and Contributions, he utterly refused it, and betaking himself again to his small Cottage, preferred a laborious life before kingly power, for that he pleased himself more in his poverty, than others in the abundance of their wealth.

87. The year following, the *Sabines*, whose grounds the other Consul *Nautius* had wasted, as also the *Aequi*, were in Arms, having retaken *Corbio*, against whom when Levies came to be made, the *Tribunes* again withstood them, being all new Created the fourth time. Hereupon the Fathers with weeping eyes signified to the People, that being forsaken by them, who hitherto had shield themselves their Children, they would go forth and fight against the Enemy in their own persons, wherewith the multitude being fore moved, and *Virginius* seeing that do he what he could they would give their names, he averred it to be the resolution of the Commons to live and die with them ; only they desired some reward for all their pains and danger, which was, that they might live in equal freedom. If this could not be granted, they waved it, and desired another thing, which he was sure would not intrench upon the Senate's privileges. The Consul affirming the thing should be proposed if they would but refer it to the Senate, he desired that the number of the *Tribunes* might be increased unto ten. The Senate debating the matter, *C. Claudius*, the son of *Appius* the Elder, spake against it, alleging, that the Commons would never be satisfied ; but *Quintius*, who now bore the greatest sway, commended the opinion of *Appius*, that the * only way to cross the design of the *Tribunes* was to set them one against another ; and if so, it would make more for the Interest of the Senate to have their number increased. Accordingly a *Senatus Consultum* was drawn, that it should be lawful for the Commons to increase their College of *Tribunes* to the number of ten, and it was presently confirmed by the People. After this the Sedition being appeased, the Consuls levied Forces, and managed the War successfully against the *Sabines* and *Aequi*.

88. The ensuing year, being the second of the eighty first *Olympiad*, and the two hundred and ninety seventh year of the City according to *Cato*, as the two hundred and ninety eighth after the account of *Varro*, had for Consuls *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginius*, who having nothing to do abroad, had too much employment in the City. Before this time, the *Tribunes* only reigned in the Assemblies, neither taking upon them to call together the Senate, nor give their voices therein : But now they ventured to assemble the Fathers, by the procurement of *Julius* principal of the College, an industrious and eloquent man, who presumed to make a further innovation in the State, requiring the *Aventine* Mount for the People to build upon, which being a mile and an half in circuit, was not as yet fully inhabited, but publick, and full of wood. The *Tribunes* moving the Consuls to procure a Decree of the Senate for his new project, and they deserring the matter, an Apparitor was sent from the College to cite the Consuls before it. He applying himself to one of their Licitors, was beaten, and sent back, which incensed the *Tribunes*, that apprehending the Licitor, they led him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, the Consuls, though much troubled, not being able to rescue him ; for that none could hinder the execution of what the whole College resolved ; all they could do was to desire some of the *Tribunes* themselves to interpose. But this could not be effected, they having resolved at the beginning not to dissent from one another, that thereby they might preserve their Authority inviolable. As concerning the Licitor, then they answered they were resolved, yet they put not the man to death, giving his life to the intreaties of the graver fort of Patricians, lest that order should be driven by just indignation to attempt some thing extraordinary. Having then assembled the Senate, the Consuls sharply reprehended them, but *Julius* excused what had been done to the Licitor, by the sacred Laws, which forbade all, both publick and private, to cross a *Tribune*. By a premeditated Oration he endeavoured to shew, that he had not unjustly assembled the Senate, and when he had seemed sufficiently to have answered the charge of the Consuls, he mentioned the Law : That what private men were possessed of, and was justly gotten, should remain unto them ; what ground by force, or fraud, was already furnished with buildings ; the expense of building being considered by

The number
of *Tribunes* in-
creased to ten.

Their in-
creasedness.

A Law for di-
vision of cer-
tain grounds.

Sect. 1.

A. M. 3350.
O. V. 490. A.
P. C. 280.
An. Longin.
10.

M m m

arbitration,

Sect. 1.

arbitration, should be recovered to the use of the People, and what was yet publick be divided amongst them. He shewed that this Law would be exceedingly profitable for the suppression of all Agrarian Seditions, so far as the Commons would be satisfied with possessions at home. No man dissenting, except C. Claudius, a Decree of the Senate passed for it accordingly.

Dissensions renewed.

89. The remainder of the year was spent in building. For the next were created Consuls T. Romulus and C. Petrus, and his Colleague being continued in their Office: The civil dissensions supposed to be removed by the late Law, were again revived, and the foreign Enemies of the Commonwealth were in Arms, to the greater profit than discommodity of it. For such a vicissitude now there was, that Peace brought Sedition, and War procured Concord, which the chief Magistrates apprehending, wished for nothing more than external motions, and when there was Peace abroad, sought occasion for War; as understanding the growth of the City's prosperity to be procured thereby. The present Consuls were of this mind, being jealous of the beggerly and idle multitude. And their opinion was right, that they were to be diverted; but there they failed, that whereas in so ill a Crisis of the State, they ought to have proceeded gently, they admitted the excuse of none who desired exemption from the War, but severely inflicted penalties upon all; which gave occasion to the Tribunes to make disturbance, crying out, that they violated the privilege of their Office, by imprisoning such as appealed to it. From mutual revilings sometimes it came to blows, both parties being surrounded with those of their faction, and the people not fully complying with the Tribunes in their demands, they went into the Senate, where they required, that the Consuls might either lay down their Offices, or answer to their Crime against the Sacrosanct Tribunal power before the People. The Senate determined nothing, seeing it dangerous to diminish the power either of the Consuls or Tribunes, at which the later much discontented, returned to the multitude. Some were for departing again from the Patritians; others more moderate, would expect the course of Law against those who had violated so sacred an Office; and a third (the most sober party) disliked this as well as the other, for that the Consuls were the Supreme Magistrates; and thought it meet to punish their Abettors. If the Tribunes had not at length restrained their anger against Senate and Consuls, the City that day had destroyed it self, so intent were both parties upon Arms and War. But they set the Consuls a day to answer before the People, and then were prevailed with to let the matter fall, telling the Commons that they remitted what concerned themselves for their sakes whom they ought not to deny it, but would revenge the injury done to the whole, to prevent an ill example.

The Agrarian Law after 50 years with another of equal right published.

90. This was by promulgating the Agrarian Law, which hitherto had lain dormant for thirty years, to which another was added of equal right, which the former year could not be passed. Having with an oath promised to prefer these Laws, they appointed a day for the Comitia, wherein having first themselves spoken largely, several others related what good service they had done for the Commonwealth, and laboured to shew how unworthy a thing it was for them to be defrauded of those grounds, which by their labour and danger they had gained, and admitted to no part of reward. The multitude gladly hearing such discourses, none more affected mens minds than L. Siccius Dentatus, a man of admirable shape, fifty eight years old, and furnished with military eloquence, for a seditious attempt. He told them, he had served his Country in the Wars forty years, and been an Officer thirty; sometimes a Centurion, afterwards a Tribune. He was raised to that honour by Siccius the Consul, for defending the Ensign of his Cohort, when the Centurion was slain, for which he was also adorned by his fellow Soldiers with a golden Crown. In another battle, wherein the Tribune of the Camp was struck to the ground, and the Eagle (or Standard) taken, fighting for the whole Legion, he recovered it and saved him, for which the Tribune would have given him his place, but he refused it, and the Consul made him Tribune of the first Legion, which Office was then void. Having thus purchased himself honour; to maintain his credit he spared no labour, nor refused any danger, being ever rewarded by the Consuls with spoils, crowns, and other rewards and honours.

The achievements of Siccius Dentatus.

91. In short; during those forty years, he had fought one hundred and twenty battles, received forty five wounds, all before and none behind, whereof twelve that day wherein he fought against Herdonius, who seized upon the Capitol. As for re-

wards

Sect. 1.

wards after the several battles, he had obtained fourteen Croick Crowns (which faith Gellius, were bestowed upon him who had preserved the life of a Citizen, and were made of Oak, because the most ancient meat was thought to be the fruit of that tree;) three Murals (which were given by the General unto him who first mounted the walls, and entered a Town, being adorned with an image of the battlements) and eight Golden Crowns; besides eighty three Golden Chains, sixty Golden Bracelets, eighteen pure Spears, (which were Spears having no iron at the ends of them, being also called Hastæ donatica, and Hastæ gramineæ,) and twenty three Horse trappings, whereof nine were for killing Enemies that he had challenged to single Combats. To this relation of Dionysius, Gellius addeth a Crown, called Obsequialis (which was given to one who had freed the prisoner from a Siege) and increaseth the number of Bracelets to above one hundred and sixty, that of Spears to twenty two, and the other of Horse trappings to twenty five. He calleth him L. Siccius Dentatus, and writeth, that for his incredible achievements, he had the appellation of Achilles Romanus.

Lib. 5. c. 6.

Lib. 2. c. 11.

92. Siccius proceeded, saying, that though he had fought so many years, served in so many Expeditions, received so many wounds, and helped to gain such large Territories for the Roman People, yet neither he, nor his fellow-soldiers partakers with him in the same dangers, had received any portion of those Lands, being possessed by others, who could neither shew title nor merit for them. After this, he accused the Patritians of having put Cassius to death, for no other cause than favouring the Commons, as also of privily murdering Genucius the Tribune, eleven years after, which had terrified others since from such attempts as his were. He mentioned the affronts lately made to the Tribunes, and concluded with an exhortation to the multitude, to free themselves from this Tryanny of the great ones, by passing the Law without giving heed to the disfavours of any. The Assembly was so moved by his words, that they seemed impatient of any thing to be said against it; but Siccius rising up, after he had extolled the worth of the man, said, it was neither just, nor agreeable with the custom of the City, to hinder any one from speaking against the Law, especially such an one as asserted right, and opposed violence. He adjourned then the Comitia till the next day, when he commanded all to be present, who would speak any thing against it. The Patritians meeting at the Consul's house in the evening, resolved, if they could not with words, by deeds to hinder the passing of the Law, and betimes in the morning took up the Forum, spreading themselves all over to hinder the uniting of the Commons. The Comitia being full, those that spake could not be heard, some encouraging, and others interrupting them with great clamours. The Consuls protested against this carriage, and that if any violence succeeded, the Commons were the procurers of it; and the Tribunes answered, that they had heard long such discourses as they were now making. The day being far spent, the People required the ballots; but then the young Patritians hindered them from uniting in their Tribes, and snatched away the pots and ballots, beating out of the Forum the Officers attending for the gathering of Suffrages. The Tribunes crying out, and casting themselves into the throng, they gave way to them, where ever they went, but hindered such as would have followed, and rendered their Office thereby unserviceable. At length the Patritians prevailed against the passing of the Law, by the means of three Families especially, viz. the Postumii, Sempronii, and Clavii, most eminent for Nobility, Riches, and Clients, who also, especially hindered the confirmation of the Agrarian by a Plebiscitum.

Tumults about the Law.

Directed by War.

93. The Tribunes consulting how to vindicate their cause, the most moderate opinion prevailed, that neither the Consuls, nor any other Patritians, save those of the three Families now mentioned, should be called to answer before the People; and not for their lives, but estates, for resisting the Tribunes in preferring the Law. The Patritians gave way to it, and having redeemed the estates, restored them to the owners. Afterwards, when the Tribunes again went about to prefer the Law, news came that the Enemy was on his march to Rome, as far as Tusculum, which place only stopped him, but could not long hold out. Levies now being to be made, according to a Decree of the Senate, the Tribunes endeavoured to hinder them, but another Decree being published, that the Patritians with their Clients, and such as voluntarily came in, would undertake the War; some for shame, some for plunder, and others to gratify the Nobility, gave their names; and amongst the rest Siccius himself, whom followed a Cohort of eight hundred old Soldiers to do him honour, though excused

M m 2

from

Sect. 1.

A plot against
Sticcius.He escapeth
as Conquer-
or.He revengeth
himself upon
the Consuls.

A new Law.

Romulus per-
suadeth the
Senate to sub-
mit to new
Laws.Commission-
ers choicely
sent from
out of Greece.

from warfare by the Laws. A strong Army being presently raised, the Enemies retired, and were followed by the Consuls to *Antium*, where the Armies lying incamped one against the other, the *Æqui*, confident of their strength, at length provoked the *Romans* to fight. *Romulus* having then the command, sent for *Sticcius*, as the story goes, and gave him order with his Cohort to go a certain way, and fall behind upon the Enemies Camp; intending either to disgrace him upon refusal, or destroy him by so impossible an undertaking. When *Sticcius* laboured to shew him that the thing could not be done, he upbraided him with his speeches used in the Comitia concerning his own exploits, and objected to him pretended valour. Herat he undertook the matter, and giving all to understand his case, departed with his men all weeping, to the regret of the Army, who expected of these eight hundred to see no man return alive. *Sticcius* led them not the same way as the Consul thought, which being mountainous, would have brought certain destruction to them ascending, but another through a Wood, by which they came upon the Camp of the *Æqui*, where it was forsaken of the guard, now gone to behold the fight of the two Armies, before this time joyned. Falling in with a shout, the *Æqui* supposing the other Consul present, forsook the Camp and fled, after which *Sticcius* and his Cohort marched down towards the battel, whom the Enemy discovering on their back, and knowing their Camp to be taken, were also discouraged and fled: The *Romans* pursued them till night, and did great execution, but none so valiantly demeaned himself as *Sticcius Dentatus*.

94. *Sticcius* having lodged himself and his men in the Enemies Camp, the next day set it and all the stuff therein on fire, and with haste marched for *Rome*, on purpose to deprive the Consuls of the honour they expected. Coming into the Forum, he related to the Tribunes and People the whole passage, how he and his old men being destined to ruin, had obtained the Victory. Hereby he not only ingratiated himself with the People, but procured the displeasure of the Senate also against the Consuls, who were denied the honour of a Triumph. The Commons gratified *Sticcius* in the highest measure they could, making him one of their Tribunes for the following year, wherein *Sp. Tarpius*, and *A. Terentius* (or *Thermus* rather as *Gellius* hath it) were Consuls. The first he did relating to his Office, was to set the former Consuls a day to answer before the People, for violating the power of the Tribuneship, and devising the destruction of him and his Souldiers: and so resolved was the whole College, that the judgment passed without interruption intended by the Patritians, and they were both condemned in a pecuniary mulct. The present Consuls were hereby rendered more inclinable towards the Commons; so that they procured a Decree of the Senate, and a Law passed in the *Centuriate Comitia*, that *All Magistrates should have liberty to punish such as violated their authority*, which was formerly the privilege of the Consuls only. But the mulct was not left to their discretion, provision being made, that it should not exceed the worth of two Oxen, or thirty Sheep; which Law was long observed by the *Romans*. After this, the Tribunes propounded to the Senate, that Laws might be made, which the Cite should use for ever. After a grave debate, the advice of *Romulus* the late condemned Consul prevailed, who contrary to the expectation of both parties spoke in behalf of the thing propounded. He said, he was for the interest of the Patritians as long as there was any hopes of its continuance, but finding things in such a condition, as it must necessarily decline, he thought it wisdom to comply with that necessity, and advised that Ambassadors might be sent to the *Greek Cities in Italy*, and to *Athens*, thence to fetch such Laws as were most excellent, and befitting the Commonwealth. After their return was to be propounded to the People the choice of Law-makers, what their power should be, for how long, and what other things should appertain to them. *Sticcius* extraordinarily affected with the mans ingenuity, said he was now friends with him, and remitted his fine; but he refused to forbear the payment of it, because already sacred to their gods. A *Senatus Consultum* being made, and confirmed by a *Plebscitum*, Ambassadors were chosen to fetch Laws from the *Greeks*. These were *Sp. Posthumius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius*, to whose use Gallies were assigned, and furnished at the publick charge, as was suitable with the Majesty of the *Roman* People.

95. For the following year, being the first of the eighty second *Olympiad*, wherein *Lyons a Thessalian of Larissa* was Victor in the course *Charephanes* exerci-

Sect. 1.

sing the Office of principal *Archon*, the three hundredth year of the City being now ended (as *Dionysius* computeth, following the account of *Cato*) *P. Horatius* and *Sext. Quintilius* were Consuls. Now fell a greater plague than ever had been known, upon both City and Country, which swept away *Quintilius* the Consul, and *Sp. Furius* chosen in his place, with four Tribunes, and many Senators. The succeeding Consuls were *L. Menenius* and *P. Sextius*, who took care for Corn to supply the City, which laboured under a famine, by reason that the grounds lay untilld the former year. In their year the Ambassadors returned out of *Greece* with Laws, presently after which the Tribunes required, that according to the Senates Decree, law-makers might be appointed. The Consuls knowing not how to deny them, yet unwilling to weaken the interest of the Patritians, deferred the matter, saying, that the time of the Comitia was at hand, after which they would labour, joyntly with the Consuls Elect, in the business. The Tribunes were content; but when the Comitia were past, wherein *Appius Claudius*, and *T. Gentius* were chosen, they grew idle, and neglected the administration of affairs, as now belonging unto others; and *Menenius* was sickly, pining away, as was thought, by melancholy; of which *Sextius* took advantage, pretending he could do nothing by himself. The Tribunes then betook themselves to the Consuls Elect, and though they had not yet entered upon their Magistracy, importuned them to gratifie the Commons, by proposing great honours and rewards. *Appius* being elevated with the hope of a new kind of Magistracy, grew popular, and persuaded his Colleague to a compliance, so that *Sextius* was forced to call together the Senate, and propound concerning Laws.

96. Many things were spoken, as well by those that desired a new model, as others, who thought it sufficient to rest satisfied in the customs of their Country. But the opinion of the designed Consuls prevailed, which *Appius* the principal of the two delivered, being asked his advice, according to the custom, before any other Senators. Their sense was, that ten men out of the chief of the Senate were to be Electd, whose power continuing for a year should be the same with that of the Kings and Consuls, and all other Magistracies cease till they might be renewed according to Laws: in the mean time the ten men, or *Decemviri*, were to administer Justice to private men, and model the Commonwealth. When the day came wherein this *Senatus Consultum* was to be confirmed by the People, the designed Consuls resigned their Office, for which they were exceedingly admired, and remembered in the choice. In the *Centuriate Comitia* were created *App. Claudius* and *T. Gentius*, late Consuls Elect, *P. Sextius* Consul for that present year, the three Ambassadors who fetched Laws out of *Greece*, *P. Posthumius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *A. Manlius*, and one of the former year's Consuls *T. Romulus*, who had been condemned by *Sticcius* the Tribune, and afterwards was the author of this popular act: besides these, out of the Senate *C. Julius*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*, all of Consular dignity. The Tribunes, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, and all other Magistrates were for a time deposed of all power. Instead of *Horatius*, *Livy* mentioneth *P. Curiatius*.

The Decemviri
chosen.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

From the Creation of the Decemviri to the War of Priverna, which fell out the same year that Darius Codomanus died.

Containing the space of one hundred and twenty one Years.

The second change of Government when,

1. **T**He second change in the Government (from *Consuls* to *Ten Men*, or *Decemviri*, as the first was from *Kings* to *Consuls*) hapned in the three hundred and second year of the City, according to the account of *Cato*, and the three hundred and third after the computation of *Tarrutius* and *Varro*, which fell in with the second and third years of the eighty second *Olympiad*, the fourteenth of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, four hundred and forty nine before the *Era* of Christ, A. M. 3554. and, as may be gathered both out of *Dionysius* and *Livy*, on the *Ides* of *May*.

The acts of the Decemviri for the first year.

2. The *Decemviri* having taken upon them the Government, in reference to a new constitution, agreed that only one of them at one time should have the *Fasces* and other consular Ensigns. He assembled the Senate, confirmed the Decrees, and did other things agreeable with chief Magistracy. The rest (to lessen envy) differed little in habit from private men, having only an *Acensulus*, or sort of Beadle, going before them, which *Livy* addeth to the relation of *Dionysius*. They succeeded by turns, for a certain limited time, till the year went about. The present Possessor of the *Fasces* only saith *Livy*, but all of them as *Dionysius* seemeth to mean, judged private causes together with publick ones belonging to their Subjects, and associates. All things they managed with such Justice and moderation, that the Commonwealth seemed most happy under them having no need of appeal. *Appius* above the rest grew exceeding popular by his familiarity with the ordinary fort; so as in a manner he carried away the praise from the whole College, for he had a further design than any of the rest.

3. At length having made a model out of such Laws as were brought out of *Greece*, and their own Country's Customs, they proposed it to the view of all men in ten Tables, that any one might make exceptions; liberty being given to private persons to inform the Law-makers, who consulted much with the Nobility about the work. When all approved of them; a *Senatus Consultum* passed, *nemine contradicente*, for the ratifying of these Laws, and the question being put to the People in the *Centuriate Comitia*, they were confirmed most religiously in presence of the Pontifices, Augurs, and Priests. Then were they engraven in brass, saith *Dionysius* and others, in Ivory saith *Pomponius* the Lawyer, and proposed to the publick view in the most conspicuous part of the *Forum*, as *Minors* of old, according to *Plato*, and long after him *Solon* caused his Laws to be written in Tables by the *Athenians* called * *Cybes* and *Axones*. The year being almost out, the *Decemviri* moved the Senate about the *Comitia*. After a great debate it was resolved to continue this kind of Magistracy for the following year; because something seemed yet wanting to the new model, through the shortness of time allotted to the work; but especially for that by this Office the Tribuneship was suspended, of which the Patritians had cause to be most jealous. The Commons thought they had good reason to concur with the Fathers in this choice, and the day for holding the *Comitia* was appointed.

4. The most ancient and honourable of the Fathers stood for this Office, fearing that if turbulent spirits were possessed of it, they might have a great advantage against the State. Above all others was *Appius* extolled

A. M. 3554.
O. E. 282.2
P. C. 320.
A. C. 147.
A. C. 147.

* *Cybes* et *Axones*.
A. C. 147.

Appius obtained to be *Decemvir* the second time by cheating the credulous multitude.

extolled to the Skies, the Commons labouring earnestly to retain him in his place, for that none had behaved himself better than he. He desired to be excused, pretending he had rather be discharged of so troublesome and ingrateful a work. At length overcome as it were by the intreaties of the people, he professed himself amongst the Candidates, and by accusing all others, as owing him ill will for his publick spirit, made way for himself and his friends: In the *Centuriate Comitia* he was made *Decemvir* the second time, and with him was joined *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had been Consul three times, a man hitherto of unblameable carriage: out of the other Patritians by the procurement of *Appius* were created *M. Cornelius*, *M. Servilius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *Manius Rabuleius*, persons of no great Eminency, out of the Commons *Q. Petilius*, *Cato Duellius*, and *Sp. Oppius*, whom he took in, the more to ingratiate himself with the rabble, saying, it was just that the Commons should share in that Magistracy, which was to govern and command all.

He and his Collegues laboured to establish themselves.

5. *Appius*, a man more popular than any Magistrate that ever governed, either King or Consul, with his nine Collegues, entered his Office on the *Ides* of *May*, which saith *Dionysius* hapned in the full Moon, according to the course whereof months at that time were observed. The first thing the *Decemviri* did, was mutually to agree and confirm by Oath to be of one mind, not to hold the *Assemblies*, but perpetually to retain the power in their own hands: to admit none into their number, and to be of equal power and authority amongst themselves: to make use of *Senatus Consultum*'s, and *Placitum*'s, but rarely, and never except in case of necessity, alting most things by virtue of their own power. On the first day (which to the Romans was ever Festival and Religious) after their superstitious Ceremonies were over, they all appeared with regal Ensigns, which exceedingly terrified the People, especially the Axes added again to the Rods, which *Poplicia* had laid aside, and none of his Successors the Consuls used in the City. By this fear they sought to procure themselves security, each of them getting about him a company of stout young men, such as were most addicted to him.

6. Some preferring their private commodity before the publick good flattered them, and even amongst the Patritians themselves those were not wanting, who though Eminent both for Birth and Estate patiently bore the oppression of their Country. The *Decemviri* indulging their pleasures, exercised now their authority with all licentiousness, nothing valuing the *Roman* Senate and people. Being both Legislators and Judges, many Citizens they unjustly put to death, and deprived others of their Estates, whose causes were all formally judged, that they might have some shew, and pretence of Justice, accusers being suborned out of their Dependents, each one affording all assistance herein to his Collegue. Such private persons as in their lutes feared their cause were constrained to join themselves to the party of their Judges; so as it came to pass in a short time that most of the Citizens were also corrupted. Such as were offended with the extravagancy of the ten retired themselves, expecting the *Comitia* for the Creation of new Magistrates.

They add two Tables of Laws to the ten.

7. The *Decemviri* added two Tables of Laws to the ten that were made the year before. Amongst these new Laws there was one which forbade marriage betwixt the *Patritians* and *Placians*, for no other cause as *Dionysius* conjectureth, than lest the families being joyned together, concord should ensue betwixt the two orders. These Laws thus by accident, saith (a) *Pomponius*, came to be called the *Laws of the twelve Tables*, being written by the *Decemviri*, through the perversion of one *Hermodorus* an *Ephebian*, as some reported, then banished into *Italy*, concerning which person (b) *Cicero* and others are to be consulted. These Laws being established, it followed, that disputations and controversies of the Court should be necessary, for as much as an interpretation was to be built upon the authority of the Learned. This disputation, or this unwritten Law, framed by the Learned, was not called by any peculiar name, as all other parts, but by the common one of *Fus Civile*, or *Civil Law* only. Besides, out of these Laws, at the same time almost, were composed certain cases, wherein men contended one with another, which cases, lest the People should make them at their pleasure, were to be certain and solemn; and this part of Law was called *Actiones Furis*; or *Cases at Law*. Thus almost at the same time these three sorts of Laws arose, viz. the *Laws of the twelve Tables*; from these flowed the *Civil Law*: and from the same

(a) Lib. 2. dig. de origin. juris.
(b) Testam. lib. 9. de lib. 84. c. 1. Strabo lib. 14.

were

Sect. 2.

were composed *Cafes* at Law. But the knowledge of expounding all these, and the *Cafes* themselves, were kept by the College of *Pontifices*, who appointed yearly those that judged *Private Persons*; which custom the People used almost one hundred years. Afterward, when *Appius Claudius* had propounded, and reduced these *Cafes* into form, (c) *Gnaeus Flavius* his Scribe, and the son of a *Libertine* (or of one whose father was once a Slave) stole the Book, and gave it to the People, which accepted so thankfully of the gift, that he was made *Tribune* of the Commons, a *Senator*, and *Adilis curulis*. This Book was called *Fus Civile Flavianum*, as the other *Fus Civile Papirianum*. Yet *Flavius* added nothing of his own to the Book. The City increasing, and there being as yet wanting certain sorts of *Cafes*, nor longer after *Sextus Ailius* composed other *Cafes*, and gave a Book to the People called *Fus Ailianum*.

Now the parts
of it came in
by degrees.

8. There being now in the City, the *Lex*, or Law of the twelve Tables, the *Fus Civile*, or Civil Law, and the *Cafes* of Law, it came to pass, that the Commons disagreeing with and separating from the *Patritians*, appointed Laws of their own making, called *Plebiscita*. After their return there being a great controversy about these, it was thought good to receive them also for Laws, and so it was enacted by a Law preferred by * *Hortensius* the Dictator; so though there was a difference in the form of making a Law (called *Lex*) and a *Plebiscitum*, yet the authority was the same. Then for that it was difficult for the People to meet, because of its multitudes, necessity it self devolved the care of the Commonwealth upon the Senate. So the Senate began to interpose, and whatsoever it resolved was observed; and that Law was called *Senatus Consultum*. At the same time the Magistrates also administered Justice, and that the People might know what they would determine concerning any thing, and to fore-arm themselves, they published *Edicts*, which *Edicts* of the *Prætors* constituted the *Fus Honorarium*, so named from the honour and authority of the *Prætor*. Lastly, as the course of affairs reduced the making of Laws to fewer fashions, at length it came to pass through several Factions, (viz. of *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*) that there was necessity of the Commonwealth's being governed by a single person. For the Senate not being able to govern all the Provinces, a Prince was ordained, and what he appointed was taken for Law. So that in the Commonwealth of Rome, all Law was either constituted by a Law called *Lex*, as that of the twelve Tables; or properly called *Fus Civile*, which being unwritten, consisted in the interpretation of the Learned; or *Cafes* of Law, which contained the form of Pleas; or a *Plebiscitum* made without the authority of the Fathers; or the *Edict* of a Magistrate, called *Fus Honorarium*; or a *Senatus Consultum*, which without a Law (*Lex*) was ordained by the sole authority of the Senate; or *Principalis constitutio*, which the Prince himself enacted.

9. These things are written by *Pomponius* in this narrative of the Original of Law, for the better understanding whereof, it is to be noted, that the word *Fus* signifieth all Law or Right in general, and is that *Genus* whereof *Lex* is but a Species, being defined by (a) *Fufinian* the Emperor to be that which the People of Rome upon the question put by a Senatorial Magistrate (for example a Consul) did enact. As for the twelve Tables, they were furnished with Laws, partly borrowed from the *Græcians*, partly added at the discretion of the Lawmakers, and partly the same as formerly were in use. Of the first sort were such especially as concerned private interests. Of the second was that which forbade marriage betwixt the Nobility and Commons. And of the third, that Law which from *Dionysius* we formerly mentioned to have been made by *Romulus*, giving power to a man to call together his Wives Kindred, and judge her for drinking Wine, or dishonesty: this is attested to have been taken into the twelve Tables by (b) *Pliny*, and (c) *Gellius* also hinteth as much. From (d) *Aufonius* is observed, that these twelve Tables were divided into three parts, whereof the first contained what belonged to the Religion of the Romans, the second what concerned the publick, and the third the rights of private men. Great are the commendations which many give of them, but the most Eminent is *Cicero's* *Encomium*, that we name no more. Disputing under the name of *Crassus*, in (e) one place he thus speaketh: If diversity of Studies please any, in the twelve Tables there is a great Image of antiquity: because the ancient use of words is known, and certain kind of action declare the Life and Custom of our Ancestors. If any look at Policy, you shall find it all in the twelve tables, which describe all the interests and parts of the State.

Cicero his
commendation
of the 12 ta-
bles.

or if any one be taken with this glorious Philosophy, I will speak more boldly, these are the fountains of all his disputes contained in the Civil Law (Jure Civili) and Laws (Legibus.) Though all be displeased, I will speak what I think: that little Book of the twelve Tables alone, in my opinion excelleth the Libraries of all the Philosophers (if one view the Fountains and heads of Laws) both in weight of authority and copiousness of advantage. In another (f) place he writeth, that when he was a boy, they were wont to learn the twelve Tables as some necessary Poem. Lastly, a Collection of the fragments of these Tables out of approved Authors (such especially as conduce to the explication of the Institutions, and of Antient Law with deep Antiquities) hath been made by *J. Crispinus*, to which the Reader is referred.

The Decemviri
retain their
power.

10. But (to return) the *Decemviri* at the usual time of the *Comitia* bidding farewell to the Customs of their Country, and the new Laws, neither regarding the approbation of Senate nor People, continued themselves in power for the year following, which was the third of the *Decemvirate*, the first of the eighty third Olympiad, according to *Dionysius*, wherein *Criso* of *Himera* was Victor, *Philiscus* being Archon at Athens. They lo ordered the matter shortly, as even all the considerable part of the Citizens, (*Patritians* and others) they either killed, or forced to quit the City. This pleased them well enough, but the *Sabines* and *Æquii* thinking it a fit time to attempt some great matter against Rome, invaded the Territories thereof, and of the *Latines*. The *Decemviri* much troubled hereat, after a consultation how to make resistance several ways, found themselves constrained to assemble the Senate, wherein *Appius* with a premeditated Oration propounded the matter of the War. *L. Valerius Potitius*, the Son of him that besieged the Capitol, and Grandson of *Poplicola*, first arose, and though he was commanded by *Appius* to forbear, flew high against the tyranny of the present Usurpers. He being forced to silence, was seconded by *Marcus Horatius Barbatus*, great Grandson of the Colleague of *Poplicola*, who having expressed great indignation, the *Decemviri* incensed with his biting words, threatened to cast him down headlong from the Rock. All the Senators at this cried out as at a breach of their privilege, and made a tumult, whereat the Ten repented of what they had said, and excused themselves, saying, they deprived none of the liberty of speaking to the matter in hand, but interrupted Seditious Orations, which they might do by their power of Consuls and Tribunes received from the People, not for a year only, nor any limited time, but till the work of Laws should be finished, until which time they were resolved to act, and then give an account of their administration. *Appius* having delivered this in the name of all, asked the opinion of *C. Claudius* his Uncle.

Sins in the
Senate.

11. *Claudius* beginning his Oration with the occasion of their meeting, fully shewed what was the occasion of it. The War he demonstrated to be begun by no other inducements than what the present distempers of the State afforded, which were bred by the arbitrary and tyrannical carriage of his Nephew, and his nine Companions. He made out what these distempers were, and by virtue of his relation to *Appius*, took upon him, after a sharp reproof, by the nearness of their blood, their Ancestors, and the *Decemvir's* Father with all that was dear ad religious to them both, to conjure him, that putting a stop to his ambitious course (destructive to himself as well as the publick) he would resign his usurped power, and restore the Commonwealth to its former government and liberty. *Appius* answered him not a word, which so moved him, that with tears he signified he would depart to *Rhegium*, the seat of his Forefathers, and there continue till that fell upon the *Decemvirate*, which he guessed would happen in a short time; for as much as he could not endure to behold his Nephew degenerate so much from the ancient worth of their Family. As concerning the War, he advised the Fathers to resolve nothing, till the accustomed Magistrates were first created. The graver and more eminent sort of Senators that spake after, were all of this opinion, which made the Ten resolve to ask none now according to their age, as the Custom was, but *M. Cornelius* called upon his Brother *Lucius* to deliver his opinion. He attributed all that had been said against the *Decemviri* to envy, saying, it was because the speakers themselves could not compass the Office, and laboured to shew, that it was most foolish Counsel to resolve upon new elections; which would require time, and defer the War that threatened ruine and desolation. By pressing the danger very close, and urging what necessity there was of committing the War to the management of the *Decemviri*, he drew almost all the younger

Sect. 2.

fort to his party, there being many even in the Senate from whom fear wrested compliance. After all these, the *Decemviri* gave *Valerius* leave to speak, whom first of all they had interrupted. He professed he was of *Claudius* his judgment as to the whole, and answered all the reasons of *Cornelius* by one proposal; that a *Dictator* might be instantly named, shewing, that if they missed of this opportunity, they could not expect again to be assembled by the *Decemviri*.

12. Few that delivered their opinions after him remained unconvinced, and many were changed from the sense they had before delivered. He required then of the Ten, that the matter might be further considered of, and all might have liberty to recall their votes, which caused a great contest betwixt him and *Cornelius*, who desiring that the *Decemviri* might have the command in the War, cried out, that the thing was already decided in a legal manner, and desired the parties might be counted. Much heat being shewed by both, the *Fathers* were also divided, which advantage the Ten took to do what they pleased. *Appius* then formally declaring for what cause they had been assembled, told them they were divided according to the three several opinions of *Claudius*, *Cornelius*, and *Valerius*, every one having had liberty to speak his mind freely: and seeing that most had approved of what *Cornelius* had propounded, he declared his party to have overcome. Then commanded he the Clerk to draw up a *Senatus-Consultum*, whereby power of raising Forces, and commanding them, was given to the *Decemviri*; and therewith the Senate was dismissed. They were by this kind of Victory rendered more confident, and imperious, as having now in their own thoughts established themselves, by having an Army at their command, which *Valerius* had advised the *Fathers* earnestly to beware of. *Horatius* and *Valerius* made provision for their own defence, by gathering together their Clients and dependants, and *Claudius*, as he had said, departed into the Country of the *Sabines*; whose example multitudes following, left their native seat, with their Wives and Children going into voluntary exile. The *Decemviri* troubled hereat, endeavoured at first to hinder them by shutting the Gates, but again fearing they might out of fury attempt some dangerous thing, they let them depart, but seized on such goods as they left behind, having accused them of defection. These things being added to the former misfortunes, incensed much more both *Patritians* and *Plebeians* against them. Yet had they proceeded no further in such like outrages, they might probably for a much more longer time have secured their power, through that influence which the mutual emulation of these orders afforded. For the *Plebeians* were glad to see the high spirits of the *Patritians* dejected, and the Senate void of all power: on the other side, the Nobility rejoiced that the Commons had lost their former liberty, having not the least help, because the *Tribunitian* power was taken away. But they neither using moderation in War, nor temperance at home, constrained all to unite for their destruction, which followed certain heinous offences committed against the Commons.

13. They divided their Army into three parts, whereof one remained with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City, the two other their Collegues led forth against the *Sabines* and *Æqui*. The latter forced the *Romans* to forsake their Camp, and shamefully to fly, which caused great rejoicing in Rome amongst the Enemies of the *Decemviri*, so that *Appius* fearing some attempt, wrote to his Collegues in the Army, by one means or other to destroy their known adversaries, which was effected upon divers. But at Rome, *Sicius Dentatus*, the Roman *Achilles* as he was named, amongst others spake much against the Captains as Cowards, and unskilful, which *Appius* understanding, with good words persuaded him to go as Lieutenant or *Legatus* to the Army then lying at *Crustumeria* against the *Sabines*. He not suspecting what was designed, undertook the employment, for that the Office of *Legatus* was most sacred and honourable amongst the *Romans*, having the authority and power of a General, and the inviolableness and veneration of a Priest. When he came to the Camp he was sent out with one hundred men upon service, who had order to kill him. He fought with them all, slew fifteen, and wounded twice as many, so that finding it too difficult a task to kill him by hand-strokes, they threw Darts and Stones at him, and thereby at length, and at a distance, performed what he enjoined them. Though the murderers according to agreement gave out he fell by the Enemy's hand, yet the Soldiers fetching him off to give him honourable burial, by several circumstances plainly perceived the truth, and demanding Justice against

Sect. 1.

against the instruments, when that was put off, and they concealed, they easily understood who were the principal cause, and thought of nothing more than how to revolt.

14. The Army lying at *Crustumeria* and *Fidene* being thus incensed against the *Decemviri*, another wicked act of *Appius* caused the other which lay incamped at *Agidium* against the *Æqui*, not only to think of, but fully to effect a revolt. There was one *L. Virginius* a *Plebeian*, who had a Daughter the most Beautiful of all Roman Women. The Maid being but young and at School near the *Forum*, *Appius* as he passed that way fell in Love with her in such a measure as by no means could he allay his brutish passion. Marry her he could not, being a *Plebeian*, neither could he hope to obtain her for his Concubine: there remained then no other way for him to enjoy her, than by procuring *M. Claudius* one of his Clients to challenge her as his Slave, so that the matter being brought before him to judgment, he might judge her to be. *Claudius* laid his claim, by affirming she was the true and natural Daughter of his Slave, and that the Wife of *Virginius*, now dead, her self being Barren, procured the Child, and brought it up for her own; which though he and others knew well enough; yet being young, he had not opportunity till now to right himself. The presence was so impudent, as raised the indignation of all persons no otherwise concerned than as in the public liberty. *Numitor* the Maid's Uncle by her mother, and *Julius* the Son of *Julius*, one of the first *Tribunes* of the Commons; to whom she was already contracted, sufficiently evidenced the truth; but *Appius* being bent upon his lustful design, would hear no reason, and had not a tumult hapned out of the indignation of the multitude, would have given her up in the hands of *Claudius*, till such time as her Father could be sent for from the Army to defend her cause. Being hardly drawn to put off the matter till the next day, and not giving any more time, wrote to *Agidium* to hinder *Virginius* from coming, bidding *Antonius* Commander of that Legion to confine him, lest he should hear any thing of his Daughter. But *Numitor*, and the brother of *Julius*, prevented the Letters, and *Virginius* pretending the death of a near Relation, getting leave to depart, through by-ways returned to the City, fearing a pursuit after the arrival of the Letters, which accordingly hapned, but he thus evaded it.

15. *Virginius* then was present in the morning to the great astonishment of *Appius*, when his Daughter was commanded to be brought forth. He proved the Maid to be his own Daughter, and no supposititious Brood: but *Appius*, a man of no great natural abilities, besides the brutish, corrupted by the greatness of his power, and inflamed with the excess of his passion, neither considered the defence of *Virginius*, nor was moved by the bitter tears of the Virgin, being angry at the pity of the standers by, who apprehended the case of Father and Daughter no otherwise than as their own, as if he himself were more to be pitied, enduring more for her beauties fake than she herself. Interrupting those that spake in her behalf, and commanding them silence, he told them, that this was not the first time he had had knowledge of this matter, for that *Claudius* his Father being a Client to their Family had committed him yet a Boy, when he died, to his protection. In the time of his Guardianship he said it had been cleared to him how *Numitoria* had procured the Girl of *Claudius* his Slave, but he thought it more convenient to let the matter rest till *Claudius* was grown up, either to take, or sell her as he should like best. Since he came into imprisonment he had not meddled with his Clients affairs, but he himself it seemeth making an inventory of his goods, and having notice of this Slave, now challenged his right, and accordingly he both witnessed, and judged him to be the right Lord and owner of her. Great our cries and lamentation being made, as well by the by-standers as the Virgin's relations, *Appius* commanded all to depart, and gave order to *Claudius* to take possession of his Slave. *Virginius*, seeing there was no way but to yield to the Tyrant's lust if his Daughter lived, desired he might speak with her a little aside, as to take his farewell, which being granted, he drew her, hanging upon him, and pitifully bewailing her condition, towards a Butchers stall, whose knife taking into his hands, he said, Daughter, I will send thee to our Ancestors; both free, and of honest repute; for the Tyrant will not suffer thee to be either here; and therewith he stabbed, and dispatched her.

16. With the bloody Knife in his hand he ran through the City, calling the People to their liberty; and coming to the Gate, rode Post to the Army; a company

They make use of the Senate to their own advantage.

They lead out an Army against the Sabines and Æqui.

Sicius Dentatus made away by them.

Appius his ambition while practices for Virginius.

Sect. 2.

of four hundred *Plebeians* following after. In the same posture he came to the Camp at *Agrium*, holding the knife, which together with his Cloaths was all bloody. Calling the Soldiers together, he took occasion from his own misfortune to let them see in what condition their liberty stood, and with urgent reasons persuaded them to revolt from the ten, and redeem their country. They being conscientious, as to their *Sacramentum*, or Military Oath, whereby they had sworn not to forsake their Leaders, but follow them whithersoever, he told them they were discharged from any Obligation, because the Law for the Oath supposed the Captains should be created according to the Laws, which the ten were not, having usurped the power ever since the last time for the *Comitia*. Being satisfied herewith, the Army departed, some few Centurions only remaining, and took up its station in the *Aventine Mount*, and the next day fortifying the Camp chose ten Captains, whereof *M. Oppius* was the Chief. Presently there came a great party from *Fidena*, and joyined with them, being offended with the murder of *Succius*, and they chusing also ten men out of their Body, to the twenty the whole matter now contended for was referred. *Appius* in the mean while having gone by force to suppress the tumult he had raised in the City, was overpowered by the faction of *Valerius* and *Horatius* formerly mentioned, and now perceiving that most of the *Oidium* lay upon himself as the principal cause, he kept himself in his house. *Sp. Oppius* therefore assembled the *Fathers*, at which time came the Captains from *Fidena*, requiring that the revolvers might be punished. *L. Cornelius* accordingly moved that they should all be remanded back to their charges, which if they obeyed, the Ring-leaders only were to be punished, but if they refused, the Senate then should consider how all those might be dealt with, who had betrayed their trust. But the *Fathers* were too sensible of present grievances, to hear the motion of such corrupt interest, and were prevailed with by *Valerius* and *Horatius*, to make Peace with the Army (which by this time was departed to the *Holy Mount*) on condition that the same form of Government should return, as was in being before the creation of the *Decemviri*.

Procureth the
definition of
the Decem-
viri.

The next
Consuls pro-
fec Popular
Laws.

17. *Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Horatius Barbatus*, both Inheritors of popularity, were created Consuls in the *Centuriate Comitia*, who (according to their promise to the *Commons* when they procured them to lay down Arms, that they would by all means possible procure their benefit) preferred divers Laws to the regret of the *Patritians*. One was, that such Laws as the *Commons* enacted should pass in the *Comitia* of the *Curie*, where-in they were more prevalent than the *Patritians*, as those in the *Centuriate*, by reason of their influence upon the *Equites*, and the richer sort of *Plebeians*, were ever too strong for the multitude, by reason of the distribution of the several *Classes* into *Centuries* formerly shewn. After this the *Tribunes*, whereof *Virginius* was one, thought fit to call the *Decemviri* to an account. *Virginius* being appointed the accuser of *Appius*, insisted most, faith *Livy*, upon that Law, which commanded the defendant to have liberty till such time as his or her Slavery was proved, which *Appius* had gone about to violate in his Daughter's case. Before the Tryal, being committed to Prison, for that no Bail would be taken, he was there found dead, as some thought secretly made away by the *Tribunes*, but as they and others gave out, having hanged himself. After him *Sp. Oppius*, as next to him in guilt, was accused, and being condemned, died the same day in Prison by his own hands, faith *Livy*. The other eight banished themselves, and *Claudius* the pretended Master of *Virginius* was driven out after them: with which Justice the State was satisfied, and indemnity given to all others. Things thus seeming to be settled, the Consuls took the Field against the *Æqui*, *Volsci*, and *Sabines*, against whom their success was such, as deserved a Triumph, but the Senate gave them a repulse, being grieved at the Laws they had made in behalf of the *Commons*. *Claudius* also the Uncle of *Appius* accused them of the murder of his Nephew, and other violent courses taken against the *Decemviri*, and their party, whereas all ought to have been (according to agreement) buried in oblivion. The Consuls appealed to the People, and complaining much of the Senate, procured by the help of the *Tribunes* a Law to pass for their receiving the privilege of Triumph from the People.

18. The *Commons* by all the privileges already obtained, were but more inflamed with a desire of greater, each mortel out of the prerogative of the *Patritians*, adding unto their appetite. After three years they required to be made partakers of

Sect. 2.

Yet the mul-
titude being
instigated and
reflexed de-
mand the
Consulship.

Publick buff-
oons hereby
hindred.

An excellent
found out by
Clandius.

The fields and
inconstant
humour of
the multitude.

of the Consulship, which hitherto the other had enjoyed, being elected in the *Centuriate Comitia*, wherein they themselves had the power. The *Tribunes* provided a bill for making the People free, and at their own choice, whether they would create *Patritians* or *Plebeians* at every election, which thing the *Senators* bearing most haينously, as seeing their privileges utterly ruined thereby, thought all things to be endured, rather than the Law should pass. The Allies of *Rome* now sent for aid against the *Æqui*, and *Sabines*, who invaded them, and news was brought that the *Veientes* and *Ardeates* would revolt; but the *Tribunes* those Popular Tyrants hindred all Levies, suffering none, that refused to be lifted, to receive punishment; neither could the Senate prevail with them, to defer the matter till the War should be ended. The Consuls in so difficult a time held a private conference of certain Senators, whereof *Claudius*, according to the genius of his Ancestors, was all for resistance, urging that nothing was in this matter to be yielded to the *Commons*, who went about to change the constitution of the State, and thereby were Enemies to it. But *T. Quintus* shewed what inconvenience force and Civil War might bring, and the rather, for that their Ancestors had made the *Tribunes* inviolable, by a Curse laid upon themselves and Posterity, in case their persons were hurt, or the conditions then sworn to in their behalf should be broken. When the rest were all of his opinion, *Claudius* proposed an expedient as seasonable in so great necessity. He advised by no means to suffer the Consulship to come into the hands of *Plebeians*, but to create certain Governors in the room of Consuls, six, or eight, whereof an equal number at least should be *Patritians*; for hereby they should seem not to take too much power to themselves, and yet not give up the other Office, wherein lay the secret of their prerogative, to be managed by base and unworthy men. When this project marvelously pleased all, that nothing might seem to be designed beforehand, he advised the Consuls not to ask them the graver men their opinions first, as the custom was, when the Senate should meet, but the younger and most popular: and he appointed *T. Genutius* the Consul's brother to propound this way of reconciliation at his private fence.

19. When the Senate was assembled, *Cannuleus* the Tribune, who chiefly prosecuted the matter in hand, without pressing it, inveighed against the Consuls, as holding secret meetings, and hatching clandestine designs against the State: and those Senators who had not been called took the thing in some disdain. But the Consuls protesting their innocence by an Oath, said they would also by deeds declare it, and therewith gave any of the younger sort leave to speak, and when none rose up asked *Valerius* first of all his opinion. He advised the *Fathers* to favour the *Commons*, who had deserved to well both in acquiring dominion, and in getting and preserving liberty, and urged that the City could not be free if there were not an equality of right; yet for that the War was now urgent, he desired the thing might at present be forborn till that was finished, upon promise that then the Law should be propounded. *Horatius* being asked next, and others, seconded him; and at length *Claudius* being desired to speak, that he might conceal the design, according to his own custom, and that of his Family, flew out into invectives against the *Commons*, and advised that the Law might never pass, neither then nor ever after. A greater tumult following, *T. Genutius* was asked his opinion, and as of himself propounded the expedient, that six Governors might be chosen, three out of each order, who having consular power, when the time of their Magistracy should be expired, then the Senate and People meeting together, might resolve whether they would have the same Office or that of Consuls for the following year; and what was concluded by most voices, should prevail at the end of every year. This was gladly embraced, both by *Senators* and *Tribunes*, and leave given to any *Plebeians* to stand for the new Office. But so fickle a thing is desire without reason, and so easily changing into the other extreme, especially of the multitude, that those who so earnestly before sought that the chiefest Magistracy might be communicated to their body, threatening else to leave the City as formerly, and take Arms, when they had their desire, were glutted with it, and changed into the other extreme. For many *Plebeians* standing for the Office, and using their utmost endeavours to be preferred, they thought none of them worthy of that honour, but bestowed it upon eminent *Patritians* only, who appeared as *Candidates*.

20. This third change of the Government at *Rome*, happened in the third year of the

Sect. 2.

The third grand change of Government to the *Tribuni Militum*.

the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, as *Diomijus* computeth, *Diphilus* being then *Archon* at *Athens*; but as others, in the first year of that *Olympiad*, which fell in between the three hundred and tenth year of the City, and the twenty first of *Atraxerxes Longimanus*, *M. Grentius* and *C. Quintus* according to him, but *L. Pappius* and *L. Sempronius* according to them, being Consuls. These new Magistrates called *Tribuni Militum*, were *A. Sempronius Aratinus*, *L. Atilius Longus*, and *T. Claudius* (or *Caelius*), as *Livy* hath it *Siculus*. Thus at first they were but three in number, afterward it arose to six, and at length to eight. *Pomponius* the Lawyer writeth, that sometimes there were twenty, and sometimes more, which seemeth incredible, no other Author agreeing with him herein, so that *Baudeus* with reason thinketh the place to be corrupted from *Seni* to *Viceni*. This number of Collegues, together with the mixture of *Plebeians* who afterwards pressed in, procured, that although they had both the power and ensigns of *Consuls*, yet their privilege and dignity seemed unlike, whence a *Tribune* in way of contempt called them a *Proconsular Image*, and *P. Manlius* the Dictator, shewing that a Master of horse-men was inferior to a *Consul*, compareth his power to that of theirs. Having been for some years created, and for others laid aside, at length in the three hundred and eighty eighth year of the City, they were quite cast off, at what time *Q. Sextius* a *Plebeian* was admitted to the Consulship. But these first *Tribunes* having held their Office seventy three days, then were constrained to lay it down, for that the *Augures* found some flaw in their election, and the Government returned into its former course, the Senate naming *T. Quintius Barbatus*, who in the *Comitia* created *L. Pappius Mugillanus*, and *L. Sempronius Aratinus*, although it be doubtful, to say truth, whether there were *Tribunes* only, or *Tribunes* and *Consuls* both for this year.

Another
change after
73 days to
Confuls
again.

Conflicts

The Censors, and here *Dionysius* his history is broken off, the following part being lost

Its commen-
dation.

21. But to be sure, for the year following the People having it in their power whether to elect *Tribunes* or *Consuls*, resolved upon the latter, and created in *December*, the Moon being then full, *M. Geganus Maecurius* the second time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* the fifth. This year were the *Censors* made, Officers who but for contemptible at the beginning, rose to great dignity and power. Their original and power might have been more clearly discovered, but that *Dionysius* his History is here in the beginning of this story broken off, the remaining part being lost, to the great damage of the studious in Antiquity. For not to speak of his smooth style, and the Attick purity thereof, he hath therein delivered the Antiquities of *Rome* from the first Original, with such diligence, that he seemeth in this respect to have excelled all Writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*. For what *Latin* Authors have neglected, as vulgarly known amongst themselves, as *Sacrifices*, *Games*, *Triumphs*, *Ensigns* of *Magistrats*, the universal discipline of the *Roman* Commonwealth, the *Census*, *Auspices*, *Comitia*, that difficult distribution of the whole People into *Curiae*, *Classes*, *Centuries*, and *Tribes*: further, the authority of the Senate, and Commons, with the power of *Magistrats*, he of all others hath delivered most accurately. That these things may be better understood, he compareth them with the Customs of *Greece*, as where he speaketh of *Clients*, he occasionally maketh mention of this relation amongst the *Athenians* and *Thessalians*, as *Cesar* also writeth it to have been ordinary amongst the *Galls*. He compareth the *Roman* Dictator with the *Harmostes* of the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Archons* of the *Thessalians*, and the *Alphymetes* of the *Mistlemanni*. The *Laws* of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius*, had perished but for him, as also the knowledge of the Original of *Rome* in a great measure: and lo choice are all his Collections, that they tend, as to the intrusion of the Reader in the depth of State Mysteries, lo also to his acquiring or retaining a religious awe of Providence. Such is his History (saith * one well able to judge) that if it had been kept entire (for it consisteth of twenty Books, as *Photius* informeth us) there would have been no cause of bewailing the loss of *Varro's* treasures, with whom he was very familiar, as well as *Pompey* the Great and *Taberno*, and from whom he seemeth to have derived his choicest Antiquities. These things render a sufficient account, why he is made use of in the History of *Roman* matters, rather than any other.

* Bodinus M.
ibid. Hister.
cap. 4.

22. *Servius Tullius* the sixth King of *Rome* first instituted the *Census*, as was shewn before, and did the work himself, without any peculiar Officer, as also did the *Consuls* untill this time. But now in the sixty sixth year from the banishment of *Tarquinius*, and the three hundred and eleventh of the City, there having been no *Census* for seventeen years, for that the *Consuls* were necessarily diverted from that work by more

Sect. 2.

more urgent business, the Senate procured out of their own order two peculiar Officers to be created, who were called *Censores*, because according to their *Censo* or estimation the People was censored, saith *Varro*, or because every one accounted himself worth so much, *quanti illi censuissent*, as they judged, or estimated, according to *Festus*.

**The duration
of the Office
of Censors.**

Their power.

23. At the beginning they were created for five *Annis*, because according to *Scævius* his constitution the People were to be celled at ever *Lustrum*, which contained so many. But their dignity and power so increasing, that they seemed of too long a continuance, nine years after, in the three hundred and twentieth of the City, by a Law which *Mamercus Aemilius* the Dictator preferred, the duration of their Office was confined within the term of one year and an half. Though their Office at first was only to take an estimate of mens Estates, and describing all publick and private riches, to distribute the People according to their wealth into *Classes* and *Centuries*; yet within a while they came to have inspection upon manners also. For they upon middlemeaneour put out of the Senate, took away publick *Horses*, and cast out of the Tribes. The former kind of punishment was inflicted upon *Senators*, the second upon *Equites*, and the last upon meer *Plebeians*. Their removing *Senators*, was by passing them by at the new election. For, such *Senators* faith *Fefus*, as were passed by in former times, were lyable to no disgrace, because as the Kings chose and substituted whom they pleased, so after them the Consuls and Tribunes Military, such as they had greatest interest in; first *Patricians*, and then after *Plebeians*, till by the *Tribunial* Law of *Ovinus*, it was ordained, that the *Centors* out of every order or rank, should (*curiam*) elect the most worthy into the Senate, whence it came to pass, that such as were passed by or removed, were noted with ignominy. This note out of *Fefus* hinteth to us the ancient power of the *Roman* Kings in making *Senators*, one of the greatest supporters of the Throne of their Empire.

Li-jius lib. 3,

In voll Pracht
Sinn

24. As for the disgrace which they put upon *Equites* ; It was the custom for every *Eques* at the publick *Comitia* to appear before the *Comitia* with their Horſes in their hands. If they approved of them, they bade them paſs by and lead away the Horſe ; if they determined otherwiſe, they took away the Horſe, and commanded him to be ſold. The third note of diſgrace concerned the *Plæbeians*, whom they either removed from their own Tribe into another leſs honourable, according to *Livy*, or made them *Æſtrarii*, and regiſtred them in the Tables of the *Centes*, whereby they were deprived of their *centurie*, and remained Citizens only in this reſpect, *ut pro capitibus ſuis tribus nomine ara Jolocerent*, as writeth *Alconius Pedianus* upon the Oration of Cicero againſt *C. Cælius*, called *Dinatino*, which diſputeth who ought to be admitted the Accuſer of *Perres*. *Gellius* telleth us what was meant by the *Tabula Cæſtrium*. The *Cæſtrii* (inhabitants of *Cære* in *Tuſcany*, once called *Apyla*) we underſtand to have been firſt of all made *Municipals*, without any right of *Suffrage* : and it was granted them that they might receive the honour of being free of *Rome*, without any trouble or burthen, for that they received the *Roſe* (or *Idols*) of the *Romans*, and preſerved them in the *Gallick War* ; that is, when *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*, as *Livy* hath the ſtory allo in his fourth Book. Hence were thoſe called *Tabulæ Cæſtrium*, *vice verſa*, wherein the *Centors* cauſed ſuch to be regiſtred as they deprived of the right of *Suffrage*. Although theſe ſeveral degrees of puniſhment reſpectively the ſeveral ranks of men, yet ſometimes thoſe of higher degree taſted of all or moſt of them, ſo that *Senators* might not only be paſſed by, and *Equites* deprived of their Horſes, but loſe their Tribes alſo, and be reduced to the condition of *Æſtrarii*.

Vide Platarchum historiam
narrantem in
Pompilio.
Livium lib. 2.
Festum in vi-
cinitate.

2 Lib. 16. esp. 1

Living lib. A

The effects
of it

25. This Officer being committed to the prudent management of able persons, became effectual to the repression of such vice, as fell not under their particular cognizance of penal Laws. Private faults and domestic quarrels were by them noted, with such actions sometimes as now would not simply incur the censure of precise illegality or indecency. Some of their questions upon Oath were such as these: (A) *Hast thou a Wife according to thy mind?* to which one once making a jesting answer, was made an *Erastus*. A certain man yawning before the *Censors*, had been punished in that sort, but that he swore he did it unwillingly, being troubled with that disease which the *Romans* called *Opicudo*. P. *Scipio Nasica* and *M. Pomptilius* being *Censors*, and finding a certain Knight very fat and comely, whose horse was exceeding lean and ill favoured, they asked him the reason of that difference, to which he answered

(a) *Leg. A.*
Gellium l. q.
c. 12. ult.

SECT. 2.

Because he looked to himself, but Statius to his horse; for which irreverent answer he was registred amongst the *Ararii* according to the custom. Now Statius was a servile name, given by the antients to most Slaves, whence *Cælius* the famous Writer of *Tragedies* was called *Statius*, though it was afterwards as it were turned into a surname, and he called *Cælius Statius*. They were wont also to take away honours from very big and corpulent men, as unfit for service, but (*b*) *Gellius* observeth, that this was no punishment, as some thought, but a taking away of the employment without ignominy. This *Census* was managed in the *Campus Martius*, and it being compleated, the *Lustrum* was made, with prayers for the publick safety, and a sacrifice of the *Suovetaurilia* formerly mentioned. Besides these employments, the *Censors* (*c*) let to farm the *Loges*, and sent (*d*) out their confituitions throughout the Provinces, called *Leges Censorie*. They erected (*e*) publick buildings, made other publick works, and took care for their repair, as also of the high-ways, in, and about the City more early; and in other places afterwards: they also provided for the expence of publick sacrifices. But not onely were there *Censors* at Rome (as the *Gracians* also used the *Census*) but the Colonies also had their *Sub-censors*, who gave account to the other, what numbers of men, and what wealth they found in the several places, which upon information was registred in the publick Tables.

26. The power of the *Censorship* remained untouched (although the power of the *Censors* was weakened by restraining their time to a year and a half, though they were named every fifth year) until the Tribuneship of *P. Clodius*, who by a Law which he preferred (*a*) forbade any Senator to be passed by, or any of the other Ranks to be noted with ignominy, except lawfully accused, and condemned by sentence of both the *Censors*. He took an advantage (as it seemeth from (*b*) *Pedians*) at the hatred which had possessed the multitude against the severity of the Office, which procured it to be intermitted for certain years. But afterwards (whether by reason of the corruption that was crept amongst Judges, or for other reasons) *Metellus Scipio* the Consul procured *Clodius* his Law to be abrogated, and so the ancient Vigour of this office returned. *Lipfius* writeth, that under the Emperours it was diminished, and lay for dead till the time of *Decius*. But *C. Cæsar* the Dictator, that he might better execute the *Census*, went to every ones house; and because the principal part of the Office consisted in forming of manners, he called himself *Magister Morum*, not *Censor*. Then the form of the State being changed after the victory of *Actium*, *Augustus* having the care of manners committed to him by the Senate, looked to nothing more diligently than the *Census*, for thrice he performed it, not onely in reverence to *Roman* Citizens, but all Subjects of the Empire, with such care and diligence as none ever before him. Under *Tiberius* and *Caligula* the *Census* was not observed; but under *Claudius* the seventy fourth *Lustrum* was celebrated. Being intermitted during the reign of *Nero*, *Vespasian* renewed it, and celebrated the seventy fifth *Census*. *Domitian* named himself amongst his other titles *Perpetual Censor*, but made no *Lustrum*, so that for an hundred and sixty years the *Census* was intermitted till *Decius* the Emp. created *Valerian* Censor with unlimited power. After this the *Censorship* was utterly omitted to the great detriment of the *Roman* Empire, which being at length broken into Eastern and Western, the Emperours of the former (Greekish Emperours) made use of it, as others also of later times, and it appeareth that in the intermission thereof, in the days of *Trajan*, particular Provinces and Towns had their *Censors*, who made choice of their Senators. Lastly, the *Censors* during the popular Government were of *Consular* dignity, ever after the second *Punic* War, though it was otherwise sometimes before. The same persons were never created twice. And in case one of them died in his Office, his Collegue continued not therein, neither was any put into the place of the dead, because in that year wherein *Rome* was taken by the *Galls* it had so hapned; whereupon it was counted ominous, and a Law made against it for the time to come. Their dignity was exceeding great, they being therein though not in power above the Consuls, and having all other Ensigns the same with them except *Ætator*.

27. The *Fathers* rejoiced they had got these Officers Created out of their own body, and the *Tribunes* counting that power inconsiderable, which at first was pretended to, gave way unto it. But the commons egged on by the continual complaints of the later, proceeded in their grudge against the Patricians, taking

Sp. Melius his attempt for the Sovereignty baffled.

it in ill part that marriage was forbidden betwixt the two orders, and breathing after no less than equal power in the State. This animated *Sp. Melius*, a rich Knight, by his large bounty towards the poorer sort in time of a great dearth, to hunt after popularity, and through it to aspire to the Sovereignty. He was hereof accused by *L. Minucius*, to whom the care of provisions was committed, and the Senate affrighted with the frangeness of the matter, by the advice of *T. Quinctius* the Consul, commanded a Dictator to be named. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* now eighty years old was the man, who chose *C. Servilius Ahala*, for his Master of horse-men. The Dictator summoning *Melius* to appear, when he would not obey, *Ahala* killed him in the Forum, and was justified for so doing by *Quinctius*, who commanded his goods to be sold, and his house razed. It should seem from *Livy* that *Ahala* escaped without punishment: But *Cicero* and *Valerius* on the contrary affirm, that he was banished by the incensed multitude. This hapned in the three hundred and fiftieth year of the City after *Arro's* account. *Valerius* and *Livy* say, that the Area of his house for a memorial of his punishment had the name of *Æqui-Melium*.

28. The *Tribunes* enraged about the death of *Melius*, procured for the year following *Tribunes Military* with Consular Power to be created now six years after their Institution, hoping that into the number of six some *Plebeian* might creep, which thing would give them an opportunity to revenge the death of *Melius*: But three only were created, and their expectation unanswered thereby. This year *Fidena*, a *Roman* Colony, gave up it self to *Tollumnus* King of the *Veientes*, and by his Infatigation murdered the Ambassadors sent thither. For this War *Mamercus Æmilinus* was named Dictator, who overcame the *E-nemies* in battle, wherein *Cornelius Cossus* a Tribune in the Army, slew, and spoiled *Tollumnus*, thereby obtaining *Opima Spolia*. *Varro* thought they were called *Opima* ab opibus for their riches; but *Plutarch* thinketh rather ab opere, because the consecration of them was granted to a Captain, who with his own hand slew the General of the Enemy. They were consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so called, because the Trophy was carried in a *Feretrum*, or certain little carriage, as some thought, at that time there being many *Greek* words in use with the *Latines*, or a *Feriendo*, from *Jupiter* his limiting with Thunder-bolts, or else from the blows given in battle. This honour of carrying in Triumph the *Opima Spolia* hath only thrice hapned to *Roman* Captains since *Plutarch* untill our time. First to *Romulus*, who slew *Acror* King of *Cemina*; Secondly to *Cornelius Cossus*, who killed *Tollumnus*, (the *Etruscan* in one place he calleth him, and the *Tyrrhenian* in another) and thirdly to *M. Marcellus*, who so killed and spoiled *Britomartus* (in one place, but *Virdamarus* in another) King of the *Galls*. A controverfie there was of old, whether any but a General from a General could take *Opima Spolia*, which maketh *Livy* Apologize for what he writeth in honour of *Cossus*; but *Varro* wrote, as (*) *Festus* witnesseth, that a Manipular Soldier might rightly be said to take them, so it were from a General of the Enemy.

29. Two years after this, *Fidena* was taken by another Dictator, *A. Servilius*, through the working of a Mine. But when the Consuls had kept the power four years, they were forced to give way to the *Tribunes Military*, for the Creation whereof, though the *Tribuni Plebis* prevailed, yet the Chief of the Commons missing all this while of being joined with the Nobility in the honour, were much offended. At the end of two years the Senate took occasion from the War wherewith the *Æqui* and *Volsci* threatened *Rome*, to bring in Consuls, which also gave way to a Dictator, *A. Posthumus Tiberio*, against their wills, through the power of the *Tribunes*. He finishing the War successfully, laid down his Office. And in this year wherein *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus* the son of *Lucius*, and *Cn. Fulvius Menio*, were Consuls, *Livy* by a gross mistake would have the *Carthaginians* to have passed over into *Sicily* the first time, by an occasion of the disagreement of the Islanders amongst themselves. After five years the Commons prevailed to have *Tribunes Military* created the fifth time, four in number, who shewed how unprofitable the equal command of many in an Army is, and gave occasion to the making of a new Dictator. For, *Fidena* having now again revolted, and joined with the *Veientes*, three of those *Tribunes* were sent against it and them, and the fourth left to Govern the City. When they came to engage with the Enemy, One cried *Fight*, but another said *Stay*, and each one being of a several mind, matters were at length brought to that pass, that the *Roman* Army fled. The City was struck

SECT. 2.

The Tribunes seek to revenge his death by bringing in Tribunes Military again. The second Opima Spolia.

In Romulus & Marcellus.

* is Plu. Opima Spolia.

The various fortune of the Censorship.

Diod. lib. 44. pag. 527.

Sueton. in A. gellia.

Idem in Domitiano.

Tribunus.

Cæsar lib. 4. cap. 3. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Elio. l. 5.

Leg. lib. 4. Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 3. E. cap. 2. lib. 6. c. 3.

Exemp. i. Plutarch lib. 1. cap. ult.

Cicero, pro domo sua & pro M. Antonio.

After four courses of Consuls Tribunes Military again.

Consuls again.

Tribunes Military again.

A passage shewing the excellency of Monarchy.

SECT. 2.

with great amazement at the report, and was in an uproar, which caused *Manner-culus* the third time to be named *Dictator*, though the *Censors* had removed him from his Tribe, for that in his second Office (to which he was called, because of the stir made by the *Hetruscans* upon the taking of *Fidena*) he confined their Office to the term of one year and an half. *Emilius* being named *Dictator*, appointed for his Master of Horse *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who obtained the *Opima Spolia* of *Tolumnius* King of the *Volscians*.

Consuls.

Tribunes Military.

Consuls.

Tribunes Military.

Consuls.

Disturbances made by the *Tribuni Plebis*, the Grand Popular Tyrants.

Tribunes Military.

The first Plebeians amongst the Tribunes Military.

30. By the prudence and valour of these two *Fidena* was retaken, and sacked after the *Hetruscans* were overthrown; and the *Dictator* returning to *Rome* in Triumph, laid down his Office when he had held it seventeen days. For three years the *Tribunes Military* continued, at the end whereof the Senate took occasion at the War which threatened from the *Volsci*, and at their absence, to bring in the Consuls again, notwithstanding the *Tribunes* of the Commons opposed it. But *C. Sempronius*, one of these Consuls, managing this War very carefully, the *Tribunes* thence took advantage, and the *Tribunes Military* again resumed the Chief Power. This was for one year, at the end whereof the Senate again procured Consuls to be made. When this year was expired, there was to great contention about two *Questors*, which the Commons would have created out of their body, that the State fell into an *Interregnum*. *L. Papirius Mugillanus* being *Interrex* for a Compromise procured the *Tribunes Military* to be again admitted, and four *Questors* for the following year to be created, either out of *Patricians* or *Plebeians*, as the People should think fit in their *Comitia*; but this satisfied not the *Tribunes*, nor the better sort of *Plebeians*, nor one of this order being preferred (though some flood) either as *Tribune Military* or *Questor*. In the second year after this, the Slaves conspired to set fire on the City, and seize upon the Capitol; but the plot was timely discovered. The *Tribunes Military* held the Government for seven years, and then another *Interregnum* because of the Contention following, *Fabius Pibulanus* the *Interrex* brought in Consuls again.

31. The *Tribuni Plebis* according to their custom made a bad construction hereof, and having now and then mentioned the division of publick grounds, pressed it earnestly with an extent now to all that at any time had been gotten by War. The *Patricians* no less vigorously opposed it, and the *Tribunes* hindered the Levies of Soldiers, so that with much ado, and upon extrem necessity only could the Consuls procure any to oppose the *Equi* and *Volsci*, who now made incursions. In the fifth year the Commons being crossed in their intentions by the Senate, of refusing the *Tribunes Military*, created three of the *Questors* of their own rank, and the chief amongst them designing to be created *Tribune Military* for the next year, tickled hard for that kind of Government. The Senate at length was constrained to yield; else no opposition could be made against the former Enemies, who now again made inroads into the *Roman* Territories, and by confederacies exceedingly strengthened themselves. For this cause also, though much against the mind of the *Tribunes*, a *Dictator* was named, who overthrowing the Enemy in one battle, waisted his Country and returned. In the third year after this, the two orders were something reconciled, by the Plunder of a Town taken from the *Volsci*, and especially by a Decree of the Senate for the publick pay of the Armies (with brass money) before which time every one bore his own charges in the War. But such was the contentious disposition of the *Tribunes*, those grand incendiaries, that they drew this into *Odium*, as grievous to such who had formerly maintained themselves in the Wars, and now were to pay others. They effected, that for a time the pay was denied, and after three years they procured a *Plebeian* (*P. Licinius Calvus*) to be chosen amongst the *Tribunes Military*, wherein they mightily applauded themselves, and readily permitted the pay of the Army to be gathered. *Licinius* carried himself so well in the Office, that for the year following all the *Tribunes Military* save one, were *Plebeians*.

32. For these several years the War abroad was carried on with the *Hetruscans*, with various success, and *Veii* the principal of their Cities was besieged, no less in compass than *Athens*, and exceeding wealthy, being within twenty miles of *Rome*. Its Inhabitants, called *Veientes*, had in behalf of the *Fidencates*, waged War with *Romulus*, afterwards when conquered, had seven times rebelled, and ever perfidious in time of Peace, always waisted the *Roman* Territories. They compelled the *Fidencates* also to rebel, persuaded them to kill the Ambassadors, and the *Romans* thither sent to inhabit, for, they vied with the

Romans

SECT. 2.

Romans themselves for power and riches. They had moreover injured the *Roman* Ambassadors, and not once procured *Hetruria* to rise against the State; wherefore the People offended with so many injuries, resolved utterly to destroy *Veii*. Whereas the Soldiers until this time, were wont in Summer only to be abroad in War, and Winter at home in the City, now were they constrained both Winter and Summer to continue the Siege. The seventh year thereof drawing towards an end, the *Tribunes Military* were blamed of remissness, so that for the following year new ones were created in their rooms. Amongst them was *Furius Camillus*, who having got much credit in the battle fought with the *Equi* and *Volsci* under *Posthumus Tubertus* the *Dictator*, was honoured other ways, as by being created *Censor*; in which Office he caused the Bachelors to marry the Widows of such as had lost their lives for their Country, and first of all others obliged Orphans to pay Tribute, for that the depending Wars, especially the Siege of *Veii*, were very chargeable to the State. Being now *Tribune Military* the second time, he did nothing against *Veii*, it having fallen to his lot to repress the *Falerioncs* and *Capenates*, who disturbed the *Romans* in their enterprize. At length in the tenth year of the Siege, they created him *Dictator*, as the most fit person they had to finish it.

Made Dictator.

Surprised *Veii*.

Incurt the displeasure of the multitude, for hindering the separation of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, and otherwise.

33. *Camillus* appointed *Cornelius Scipio* to be his Master of Horse, and first overthrowing in a great battle the *Falisci* and *Capenates*, went against *Veii*. Finding it full of difficulty to take a place of such strength by storm, he wrought a Mine up into it, through which his Soldiers insinuated, he easily surprized it. Being elevated by so great an achievement, whereby he had thus subdued the cornival of *Rome*, in the tenth year of the Siege, he triumphed in a Chariot drawn by four white Horses, which his Country-men thinking proper only to the King and Father of their gods, were much offended at it: and indeed no man neither before nor after him (saith *Plutarch*) assumed to himself so much honour. Being offended with this carriage, they found themselves as much concerned in another matter. The *Tribunes* of the Commons propoled a Law for dividing aunder the Senate and People, whereof the one should stay at *Rome*, and the other remove to *Veii*; this parting as they thought, being a ready means for the enrichment of both, by the possession of two such considerable Cities. The *Plebeians* now many and rich vehemently pressed it, and the *Patricians* judging it would prove the overthrow of the State, as earnestly opposed the Law, betaking themselves to *Camillus*, who put it off by diverting the multitude into other courses. Having contracted an alienation of mind from them upon these accounts, another thing cast him into an absolute hatred, and that if not upon a just, yet a plausible pretence. He had made a vow, that if he took *Veii*, he would dedicate the tenth part of the Plunder to *Apollo*, but when the City was taken, either because he was unwilling to displease the Soliery, or forgot it, the thing was omitted. After he had laid down the Office of *Dictator*, he moved the People in it, and the Priests reported that the sacrifices portended the anger of their gods, which must be appeased by gifts; so that the Soldiers who had already spent what they had got upon their necessary uses, were forced upon oath to restore the tenth part, wherewith a present was made to *Apollo*. Because there was little Gold in the City, the women contributed their ornaments, in way of requital whereof the Senate decreed, that at their burial they should also be commended by funeral Orations, which before this had not been in use.

34. The *Tribunes* again moving for a separation, the War with the *Falisci* opportunely fell out to divert the multitude, for which *Camillus* was chosen *Tribune Military* with five others. He besieging the *Falerii*, who inhabited a strongly fortified City, the School-master thereof drew out his boys into his Camp, and offered to give them up into his hands, which treachery he so far detested, as to cause the Pedagogue to be stripped, and put Rods into the hands of his boys, wherewith they drove him back into the Town. Herewith the *Falerii* were so affected that they yielded, and the Senate referring them for conditions to *Camillus*, he only fined them a sum of money, and received them with all the *Falisci* into friendship. But the Soldiers who hoped to have enriched themselves with the plunder of this place, envenomed grievously against him, and now the *Tribunes* pressing again the Law for separation, he used such freedom in opposing it, that they out of revenge accused him of having pillered the plunder in the *Hetruscan* War, whereof some brazen dories had been, as they said; seen in his house. The multitude now upon several accounts

O o o

exasperated

Sect. 2.

He goeth in-
to exile.

exasperated against him, resolved to shew their spleen. So that not having any way to evade their displeasure, he went into exile, lifting up his hands towards the Capitol, and praying, that if he was unjustly and merely by the lust and malice of the multitude banished, they might suddenly repent it, and that it might appear to all men, how much the Romans stood in need of, and desired his presence. Being gone, he was fined fifteen thousand *Ars.* which summ in silver made up one thousand and five hundred *Denarii*. For *Ars.* or brass was then used for money, and *Denarius* thence had the name, for that it contained ten *Arses* thereof. But within a while it fell out, that *Camillus* was both misfed and desired according to his wish.

35. Many thousands of the *Gallies* called *Celte*, finding their own Country too narrow for them, with their wives and children left it, to seek out new fears. Some of them passing over the Sea, pierced as far as the *Riphaean* mountains, and placed themselves in the utmost limits of *Europe*; others took up their habitation betwixt the *Pyreneans* and the *Alps*, near the *Senones* and *Celtorii*. These a long time after having tasted of some *Italian* Wine, were furiously transported with a desire of inhabiting so rare a Soil, as brought forth such fruit, and passing over the *Alps*, got into their power all that Country once belonging to the *Etruscans*, and which reached from the *Alps* to both the Seas: for, that the *Etruscans* once inhabited all this Country, *Plutarch* proveth thence, that the Northern Sea was named *Adriatick*, from *Adria*, one of their Towns, and the Southern, *Tyrrhenian*, from the *Tyrrheni* the same with *Hetrusci*. At this time the posterity of those *Galli Senones* under the conduct of their King *Brennus*, besieged *Clusium* a City of *Etruria*, whose inhabitants sent to *Rome*, desiring of that State to interpose, by sending Ambassadors and Letters to their unjust oppressors. The Senate performing this neighbourly part, the *Gallies* required part of the Territories of the *Clusini*, who were, as they said, unable to manage them all, and *Brennus* not condescending to any other conditions, the Ambassadors (all three of the *Fabian* Family) in great anger went into *Clusium*, and caused the Inhabitants to make a fallu out against the besiegers. It happened, that in the fight *Fabius Ambustus* one of the three killing a *Gall*, whilst he disarmed him, was discovered; whereupon *Brennus* conceiving just indignation, broke up his Siege, and marched towards *Rome*.

36. Yet because he would not seem to proceed unjustly, he sent thither, requiring that the Ambassadors might be given up to him, as having broken the Law of Nations. But favour so far prevailed above equity, that the matter being referred from the Senate to the People, no satisfaction could be had from either: nay the Ambassadors on the contrary, were with three others created *Tribunes Military*, for carrying on the War. *Brennus* then continuing his march, and breathing revenge, was met by the *Tribunes* at the River *Alia*, eleven miles from the City, who scarcely striking one stroke, quickly betook them to their heels, and their Army after them. The *Gallies* pursued them, being amazed at the flight and cowardize of those who had already obtained for their valour a great name in the World; but were astonished when they found the gates of *Rome* open, and none upon the walls to make resistance, for it had been resolved to quit the City and secure the Capitol. The greater part of the People departed into the adjoining Country; the rest possessed themselves of the Capitol, all but certain old men of Senatorian degree, who in their robes placed themselves in the *Forum*, resolving to take such quarter, as the disposition of the Enemy would afford them. *Brennus* at first fearing some stratagem, after he perceived all to be clear, entered the City. His Soldiers were amazed, to see the grave Senators sitting without fear in the *Forum*, and hurt them not, till one handling the long beard of *M. Papirius*, the old man struck him with his staff upon the head, whereupon the *Gall* slew him, and then all the rest were killed, with all of both Sexes and all Ages that were found about the City, which was also now burnt to the ground, and the Capitol closely besieged.

37. While the *Galls* lay before the Capitol, they carefully demeaned themselves, as secure of any Enemy, and were scattered into the Country adjoining. *Camillus* at this time living in exile at *Ardea*, procured the Inhabitants of that City to issue out upon them, and killed many; which the *Romans*, who lay at *Veii*, understanding, chose him for their General, desiring him to forget injuries, and succour his distressed Country. He objected his condition of banishment, and refused to act, except by commission from those in the Capitol, whom he considered to be the body of the *Roman* State yet surviving. There was one

Sect. 2.

Camillus made
Dictator.

one *Pontius Cominius*, who undertook to procure him leave from their friends in the Capitol, whither by a strange adventure he got, passing by the Enemy, and swimming the River till he came to the Rock, which then he made a shift to climb, and having procured the Senate to pronounce *Camillus* Dictator, returned in the same manner. By this time as well the besiegers as besieged were well wearied, both parties for want of provisions, and the *Galls* by reason of a Plague which raged amongst them; so as (having once attempted to surprize the Castel, by climbing up the Rock, they were discovered by the crying of the Geese, consecrated to *Juno*, and repelled by the valour of one *Manlius* especially) they agreed for fifty Pounds of Gold to arise and depart. Yet so covetous were they, that they took out the God as it was weighing, and added to the weight, which being complained of, *Brennus* cast in his Sword also, crying *Ve victis*, which afterwards became a Proverb. But in the mean time came *Camillus*, and nulling this compact, as made without his consent, who before was Dictator, and therefore alone had power of making Peace, overthrew them in fight, and did such execution upon them in pursuit, as what remained of them, was overpowered and cut off by the Country. Thus *Rome*, which was unexpectedly taken by the *Galls* about the Ides of the month *Quintilis*, was more unexpectedly recovered about the Ides of *February*, so that as *Plutarch* writeth, the *Barbarians* held it seven months, in the three hundred and sixty fifth year of the City, and the sixteenth of *Antaxerxes* *Memon*.

38. The *Tribunes* now renewed their importunity about removing unto *Veii*, which caused the Senate to procure *Camillus* his holding of the Office of Dictator, though contrary to the custom, for the whole year. He with gentle language appeased the multitude, shewing them, how unworthy a thing it was to forsake the seat of their Ancestors, and of their Country rites (which were appropriate to the same place) for to inhabit a conquered and enslaved City. Then was *Rome* rebuilt in great haste, whereby afterwards it became rather an heap of houses than a well ordered Town, and that the watercourses formerly laid in the streets, now ran for the most part under private houses. *Camillus* having laid down his Office was forced the year following to reassume it, because of the *Volsi*, who now took Arms, as also the *Æquii* and *Etruscans*, all which he overthrew, and forced the *Volsi* to yield themselves after the War had continued with them for seventy years. In the third year after this he overcame them again, and with them the *Hernici* and *Latinæ*, whereof the later had ever from the battle at *Rhegillan* Lake been, trusty and faithful until now: and from the *Etruscans* he recovered two Towns which they had taken from the Allies of *Rome*. This he did being *Tribune Military*, though envied by *M. Manlius*, who having done special service in the Capitol, by repelling the *Galls*, obtained the Surname of *Capitolinus*. Being naturally haughty and ambitious, he was herewith puffed up, so as to extenuate the deserts of *Camillus*, and by ingratiating himself with the common sort, through paying their debts, and railing against the great ones, plainly to aim at the Sovereignty. This together with the War depending with the *Volsi*, which was also aggravated by the defection of the *Hernici* and *Latinæ*, caused the Senate to resolve that a Dictator should be created.

39. This was *A. Cornelius Cossus*, as *Livy* writeth, though *Plutarch* nameth *Quintilius Capitolinus*, whom the other reporteth to have been Master of the Horse-men to *Cossus*. He triumphing over the Enemies from without, called also by the help of the *Tribunes Manlius* to account, and shut him in prison. The multitude much afflicted hereat, took mourning Garments, and made such disturbance, that after some time he was set at liberty. But holding private meetings in the night, and growing more bold in his design, the Senate committed it to the care of the *Tribunes Military*, whereof *Camillus* was one, (as afterward in cases of great exigency to the Consuls) to take care that the Commonwealth should receive no damage. Being then brought to his Trial again in that place, whence a view of the Capitol might be had, he would ever point to it, and put the People in mind of what he had done there for them; whereupon *Camillus* caused his Judges to remove without the gate, into the grove called *Lucus Petelinus*, where being no sight of the Capitol, he was condemned. He was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock, the place both of his honour and infamy: and it was decreed, that none of the *Manlii* should afterward be called *Marcus*.

40. After these things the *Latinæ* rebelling, and the *Volsi*, were severally over-

Overthroweth
them and re-
ceth *Rome*.Hindereth
the multitude
from depart-
ing to *Veii*.

Livy lib. 2.

Plutarch lib.
Camillus.Manlius
thrown from
the *Tarpeian*
Rock.A. M. 2516.
Ol. 97. an. 3.
P. C. 354.
Antax. 360m.
15.Defeat the
Romans at *Alia*.Come to *Rome*
which is for-
saken all but
the Capitol.

other had twelve. In respect of their power and honour, as also because they were created by the same *Auspicia*, *Livy* calleth them the *Collegues of Consuls*.

44. The first Consul out of the body of the Commons was *L. Sextius*, by whole Law the privilege was obtained; the first *Prætor Sp. Furius*, the son of *Camillus*, and the first *Ædiles Cærules* were *Cn. Quintus Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. To *Sextius* was given as Collegue from amongst the Patritians *L. Æmilius Mamercus*, and so the Consuls again returned after twenty three years, these being the eighty eighth pair as they are found in *Livy*, and the *Tribunes Military* were for ever laid aside after forty eight courses of that Office, and fifteen changes from the Consulship to it, and from it to the Consulship. Besides these changes of Government in *Rome*, there were the two Grand ones from Kings to Consuls, and from Consuls to the *Decemviri*; and to this time from the first of these alterations had intervened twenty Dictatorships, besides the several *Interregnums*. The first *Interregnum* was extraordinary, being betwixt the reigns of *Romulus* and *Numa*, when the Senate governed for the space of a year: the other were ordinary, and continued but for five days under particular men, at the end whereof another was elected, and called *Interrex*, having for that time the power of Consuls. All these changes of Government, except the *Interregnums* betwixt the Reigns of the Kings (whereof none but one is considerable) hapned to the Commonwealth of *Rome* within the space of one hundred and thirty four years, scarce so many having completely passed from the banishment of *Tarquinius*, to this alteration in the Consulship. It is not in vain to have made these observations, that the Reader may plainly see the ridiculous sickness, weakness, and danger of the *Roman* Government after that it came to be Antimonarchical.

45. In the beginning of the year, news came of the *Galls* their meeting together, who had before been dispersed through *Apulia*, and of the intended revolt of the *Hernici*; but all preparations were deferred by the Senate, because it troubled them that any thing should be done by a *Plæbeian* Consul, and there was a great silence with a general intermission of business as in some great Vacation. Only the *Tribunes* were not silent, because that for one *Plæbeian* Consul the Nobility had got three Patritian Magistrates, who sat as Consuls in their *Cærule* Chairs, and their *Prætexte*: especially were they concerned about the *Prætor*, who administered Justice, was a Collegue of the Consuls, and created by the same *Auspicia*. Modesty therefore suffered not the Fathers to create both the *Ædiles Cærules* out of their own body, so that it was agreed first that every other year they should be chosen out of the Commons; but afterwards they were elected promiscuously. The year following fell a grievous Plague upon the City, which took away, besides great multitudes of the common sort, One *Censor*, one *Ædilis Cærule*, and three *Tribunes*: And who was more than all, *Camillus* himself now died, having born the Office of Consul more than once, been five times Dictator, having Triumphed four, and done such things as he deservedly was written the second founder of *Rome*. The Plague raging both in this and the following year, gave place to no means that were used, so that all mens minds being superstitiously bent, the Stage-plays were brought up to appease their impure gods. The Actors were sent for out of *Etruria*, in the language of which Countrey *Hister* signifying a Player, thence was derived the *Roman* word *Histrion*: these Players were very barbarous and antick at the first. Two years after this the ground cleaving asunder in the *Forum*, *M. Curtius* is said to have rode into the hole, and so being swallowed up, purchased conquest for his Country, according to the Declaration of their gods. After this there was action abroad with the *Hernici* and the *Galls*. One of these provoking any one *Roman* to a single Combat, *T. Manlius* accepted of the challenge, and killing his Enemy took a *Torques* or Chain from his neck, whence he and his posterity obtained the Surname of *Torquatus*. In this fight the *Galls* had the worst, so also three years after, and eight years after that, when *M. Valerius* a young man, and Tribune of the Soldiers, fighting with another *Gall*, as *Manlius* did, had the same success. As he was fighting a Crow came, and sitting upon his head, with beak and wings assisted him in his Combat, whence he had the Surname of *Corvinus*. At this time also were several Victories obtained against the *Latines* and *Hernicans*.

46. But, (that we may joyn domestick affairs with those of the Camp) after the Commons

Commons had enjoyed the Consulship nine years, the Patritians took it from them again, out of disdain that the year before *C. Marcus Rutilius* a *Plæbeian* had been Dictator. Hereat the multitude was so enraged, that at the end of three years more, the Senate was forced to restore the Office, and because Usury again was grown exceeding burthenfome to the poorer sort, they appointed five men to order the payment of debts out of the Treasury. For the following year also one of the *Censors* was chosen out of the *Plæbeians*. Hitherto were the Wars of the *Romans* as it were at their Gates: now they were removed further off, and henceforth continued longer: For in the four hundred and twelfth year from the founding of the City, and the forty sixth from its reftauration, began the War with the *Samnites*, a People of *Italy*, so defended from the *Sabines*, from whom also they had their name, or from *Saunia* or *Sannia*, which in the *Greek* Tongue signifie *Spears*; or from the Hill *Samnium*, where, as they came from the *Sabines*, they seated themselves according to *Festus*. They had the *Sabines*, *Peligni*, and *Æqui* on the West, the *Picentini* and *Apuli* on the East, on the South the *Campanians* and *Sidicini*, and on the North the *Marcini*, *Dauni*, and *Apuli*, as is observable out of History, faith * *Fob. Stadius*. It was the Custom of the *Romans* to be helped by others to elpouse quarrels. The *Samnites* having unjustly molested the *Sidicini* with War, they betook themselves to the *Campanians* for succour. These being luxurious and effeminate, were easily won, and sent to *Rome* for aid, their Ambassadors imploring it with tears, and giving up themselves and Country into the hands of the Senate and People. The Senate was at first unwilling to use any force, for that the *Samnites* were their friends in confederacy; but upon the importunate cries and prayers of the Ambassadors, and the scornful denial of the *Samnites* to abstain from the Territories of *Capua* and *Caupania*, their request was granted, and the Consuls sent forth, the one to *Capua*, and the other into *Samnium*, where the *Samnites* were overthrown in both places, and many thousands of them slain: For, in *Campania*, *Valerius* after a bloody Battel became Master of their Camp. In *Samnium* *Cornelius* having unwarily led his Army thither where they lay in wait for him, *P. Decius* a Tribune in the Army, possessed himself of an hill above the Enemy, who much wondering thereat, applied themselves thither, and so gave liberty to the Consul to draw forth his men into a more convenient place. Then brake he through, though besieged, whereat the Enemy was so much astonished, that the Consul falling on obtained so great a Victory, that thirty thousand of the *Samnites* were slain.

47. This defeat, together with the inroads made upon them the next year, drew them to a Peace, the *Sidicini* being left to their mercy. They desired that the *Latines* and *Campanians* might be commanded not to assist the *Sidicini*; but because the Senate would not deny that these Nations were under their command, and were also afraid to provoke them, so ambiguous an answer was made, that the *Samnites* being left but dubious, the *Latines* and the other thought themselves so far disobliged as to rebel. *T. Manlius Torquatus* now Consul the third time, with *Decius Mus* his Collegue, was sent to chastize the *Latines*. Upon dreams which they both had, that one General on the one part, and the Army on the other, belonged to the *Dii Mares* and *Tellus Mater*, they agreed, that in what part the *Roman* Army should be distressed, he under whose command it was should devote himself, and that strict discipline should be observed, so that all were forbidden to fight without orders. The Army being sorely put to it in *Decius* his wing, he devoted himself, and rushing into the midst of his Enemies, after great laughter made lost his life. *L. Manlius* the other Consul's Son, passing with his Troop, before the battel, near the Camp of the Enemy, was challenged by *Geminus Metius* Captain of the *Tusculans*, whom when he had slain and stripped, his Father for a reward caused him to be put to death; whence cruel Commands were wont to be called *Manliana Dicta*. Of the manner of the Combat * *Aulus Gellius*, or *A. Gellius* is to be consulted. The *Latines* being overthrown were wholly subdued, and begged Peace; which being given to them, though not with the same conditions to all, *Manlius* returned, and was met by ancient men only, the young ones refusing to do him that honour, who ever after both hated and cursed him in reference to his fon.

48. After his return, the *Antiates* and *Ardeates* made incursions into the *Roman* Territories. Being by sickness rendered unfit for War, he named *L. Papyrius*

A Plæbeian Dictator made which causeth great discontent.

The War with the Samnites.

Strabo l. 5. p. 228. c.

* *Festus* l. 1. c. 16.

Camillus with many others died of the Plague.

M. Curtius.

Torquatus.

Corvinus.

Decius Mus devoted himself.

A. M. 3566. O. 110. c. 2. P. C. 415. O. 11. 23. Philippi 22. * *Lik. 9. c. 13.*

Sect. 2.

The Latins
overthrown.

Papirius Crassus for Dictator, who appointed *L. Papirius Cursus* his Master of Horse-men; but nothing memorable was done. The Consuls for the following year, *T. Amilius Mamercus* and *Q. Publius Philo*, overthrew the *Latines*, who had rebelled because of the grounds taken from them. *Publius*, by whose conduct and auspicious the Victory was obtained, receiving into amity such Cities as had been worsted, *Amilius* led the Army against *Pedus*, which received supplies from several places. Though he had the better in all skirmishes, yet the Town holding out, and he hearing that his Collegue was returned home to his decreed Triumph, he also left the Siege, and departed to demand that honour. The Senate was offended, and denied to permit him the honour, except *Pedus* was either taken, or surrendered, which caused him out of revenge all the year following to join with the Tribunes against the Fathers, his Collegue not opposing it, because a Plebeian. The Senate having a desire to be rid of them, commanded a Dictator to be named, but it belonging to *Amilius* to name him, he whole were the *Fasces* for this month, named his Collegue, who appointed *Furius Brutus* his Master of Horse-men. And his Dictatorship was very grievous to the Nobility, being full of invectives against them, and procured three Laws, whereof the first altered the very constitution of the State. This was, that the *Placita* should bind all the *Quirites*, or the whole People comprising all ranks, and degrees. The second, that such Laws as passed in the *Centuriate Comitia*, should be proposed by the Fathers before the Suffrage. The third, that one of the *Censors* at least should be a Plebeian, whereas now it was come to that pass, that both might be such. Thus did the Government of Rome devolve fast to a Democratical temper, the interest of the *Patritians* being now quite broken by the force of the former Law (which proved as a *Lex talionis* to them, and as a punishment for their rebellion against their Kings) in the four hundred and sixteenth year of the City, after *Varro's* account, which fell in with the first of *Astes* King of *Persia*, and the twenty third of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*.

The very con-
stitution of
the State
changed.All Latins
subdued.The *Rostres*
were whence
so called.

49. In the following year, wherein *L. Furius Camillus* and *C. Menius* were Consuls, *Pedus* was taken by storm, and the Consuls in pursuit of the Victory subdued all *Latium*, for which they triumphed, and had Statues on horseback set up in the *Forum*; an honour but rare in those days. The several People of *Latium*, had several conditions of Peace set them. To *Antium* was sent a new Colony, and the old inhabitants were forbidden the Sea, had all their long-ships taken from them, had leave to enter themselves in the Colony, and were made free of the City. The ships were partly brought into the *Roman* Arsenal, partly burnt, and with their *Rostres* or beaks was the Gallery or Pulpit for Orations adorned, which was built in the *Forum*; whence that Temple was afterwards called *Rostres*. The year following *Minutia* a Vestal Nun was buried quick in the *Campus Sceleratus*, which I believe, saith *Livy*, had its name from *Incubi*; for so the fault of incontinency in those women was termed. And in this same year *Q. Publius Philo* was made the first *Prætor* out of the Commons; the Senate not regarding now what hapned in this kind, because they had been overpowered in things of greatest consequence. Now also a War arose betwixt the *Aurunci* and *Sidicini*, whereof the former were constrained by the other to forsake their ancient seat, and depart to *Suessa*, which was afterwards called *Aurunca*. The *Aurunci* had given up themselves to the *Romans*, who thereupon ordered them relief, but the Consuls deferring it, this fell out in the mean time. But the next year the *Sidicini* and the *Aufones* who inhabited *Cales* were overthrown, and *Falerius Corvinus* now the fourth time Consul for the following year, and the greatest *Roman* Captain of this time, took *Cales* also, where a Colony was placed. In the second year after the taking of *Cales*, the Census was solemnized, and two Tribes added, *Metia* and *Scaptia*, for the newly admitted Citizens: the *Acerani* were also made free of the City, without the privilege of Suffrage, by a Law preferred by *L. Papirius* the *Prætor*.

50. In the year following, above one hundred and seventy women were put to death for the art of poisoning, being discovered by a free Slave, whereas heretofore there had been no inquisition made after this crime, which therefore was accounted such a prodigy, that a Dictator was made for fixing of a nail, which they had read in their Annals to have been a remedy for the distempers of the State, when the Commons separated from the *Patritians*. For the two suc-

ceeding

Was with the
Privates.

ceeding years a War was managed against the *Privernates*, who were drawn into it by *Vitruvius Vallas*, a man of principal note amongst the *Fundani*. In the first year they were overthrown, in the next he was either taken or delivered up, and *Privernum* either stormed or surrendered, both being affirmed by Writers, of whom *Livy* is to be consulted: the principal actors were together with *Vitruvius* put to death, and the rest of the Inhabitants made free of the City. The first year of this War fell in with the last of *Darius Codomanus*, the last King of *Persia*, being the four hundred and twenty fourth of the City, when *L. Papirius Crassus* the second time, and *L. Plantius Vexos* (or *Pennis*) were Consuls.

A. M. 3575.
Ol. 122. 25.3.
P. C. 424.
Darius 7.
Alexander 7.

AN

A N
INSTITUTION
O F
General History.

The First Part.

BOOK III.

Of the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and Affairs of the
World Contemporary with it.

CHAP. I.

*From the beginning of the Monarchy of Alexander to his Death, contain-
ing the space of Six Years and Ten Months.*

1.

*Alexander be-
wailed Dar-
tus.*



Alexander riding hard after *Dartus*, came a little after he had expired, saw the Body, and bewailed his Death with tears: he cast his own Garment over him, and sent him to his Mother to be Royally Interred amongst his Ancestors. His Brother *Oxyathres* he received into the number of his own Friends, and maintained him in his former Dignity. Then did he begin to

purſue *Bessus*; but finding that he was fled far before into *Bactria*, he left off his Purſuit, and returned to *Hecatompolis* in *Parthia*, where his Soldiers being tickled with a Rumor that the *Macedonians* ſhould have leave to return home, roused him up from his Idleness and Luxury, to which now he began to give way after the *Perſian* fashion: but they were at length quieted, and persuaded by him to perfect the work thus far carried on in *Asia*. Leaving then *Craterus* in this Country with some Forces, he marched into *Hyrcania* which *Nabarzanes* had seized on, who yielded it up, and himself to him. After this he invaded the *Mardi*, a neighbouring People, who, not being wont to be thus provoked by any, made resistance with 8000 Men, and intercepted *Bucephalus* his most beloved Horse, which, being given him by *Demetrius* the *Corinthian*, when unfaded, would suffer none to come on his back, and when adorned, none but the King himself, whom to receive he bowed down. *Alexander* exceedingly moved with the loss of him, after he had slain, and taken most of these Men, cut down all the Trees, and threatened the Nation with utter destruction in case they did not restore the Horse; so that for fear they did it, and with him sent their Presents, and asked Pardon by 50 Messengers.

*Marcheth in-
to Hyrcania.*

*Corinus lib. 5.
cap. 14.
Diodorus ad
Olymp. 112.
ann. 3. & 4.*

*Corinus lib. 6.
Cap. 2. 3.*

*A. M. 3676.
Ol. 112. ann. 4.
V. C. 425.
Alexand. 8.*

A a a

2. Returning

Whether the
Queen of the
Amazons ever
came to him.

He cometh
into the Coun-
try of the
Arii.

That of the
Zarangei.

Philotas put
to death for
Treason.

And Parmenio
his Father.

The King
Marcheth a-
gainst Iffus.

2. Returning back, he received 1500 Men which had been sent out of Greece to *Darius* with 90 Ambassadors. Over this Party he made Captain *Andronicus*, who brought them to him, and then went on to *Zadracarta*, the Principal City of *Hircania*, where he staid 15 days. Higher *Talestirre*, Queen of the *Amazons*, is said, with 300 Women, to have come to have Issue by him, which Story, though it be delivered for a truth by some, yet is the better ground to suspect it, if it be true, neither *Pholony* the Son of *Lagus*, who was then with him, and wrote his Acts, neither any other good Author of those times approved of it: and *Alexander* himself in his Letters to *Antipater*, wherein he gave him an account of his Affairs, mentioned how the *Scythian* King offered to him his Daughter in Marriage, but not a word of this Matter. After this, he returned into *Partbia*, and purposing now to go against *Bessus* (who in *Bactria* had taken upon him a Royal Robe, and the Name and Title of *Artaxerxes King of Persia*) he thence removed into the Country of the *Arii*. *Satibarzanes* the Governor thereof meeting him at the City *Satira*, he confirmed him in his Place, but after his departure he revolted from him, whereby the King was constrained to March back against him, which he hearing fled with 2000 Men towards *Bessus*; so as *Alexander* following him some time, but in vain, reduced the Country to obedience, and returned to his former Expedition. Then came he into the Country of the *Zarangei*, which was governed by one *Barlaemes*, who having had an hand in the Murder of *Darius*, now lived in *Exile*, when he was afterwards sent, and put to death. Here in this Land of the *Zarangei* (or *Diages*) was a Conspiracy against *Alexander* discovered; first by *Dymnus* to *Nicanor*, though he swore secrecy, communicated it to *Ceballinus* his Brother. *Ceballinus* (or *Ceballinus*) acquainted with it *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, who, delaying till it to the King, either through heedlessness, or on purpose, thereby procured the destruction of himself and family.

3. For, *Ceballinus* suspecting him to be in the Plot, because of his delay, discovered the matter to *Metro* a young Noble-man, and Master of the Armory, who acquainting the King therewith, he presently caused them all to be apprehended. *Dymnus* knowing wherefore he was called, killed himself. *Ceballinus* cast all the blame upon *Philotas*, who denied not that he had been told of such a Business; but said he revealed it not to the King only through neglect, and because he esteemed it of no Consequence. Being brought to the Rack, he either confessed the thing as it was, or feigned a Story, and wrongfully accused himself to escape the extremity of Torment; after which he was put to death. Now was *Parmenio* his Father, a Man of 70 Years of Age, Governor of *Media*, one who had done especial service for the King, and his Father *Philip*. *Alexander*, either for that he feared he was privy to the Conspiracy, or thought it not safe that he should out-live his Son, sent one away with speed, who delivering a counterfeited Letter to him as from *Philotas*, slew him as he fled. Amongst others that were put to death for this Conspiracy, was *Alexander Lynceus* the Son-in-law of *Antipater*, who had conspired the destruction both of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and for his Treason been kept in Durance now Three Years. This being done, the King proceeded in his Expedition against *Bessus*.

4. Though the Soldiers condemned *Parmenio*, and his Son while living, yet they pityed them when dead, and conceived great Indignation against their Judges. *Alexander* understanding this, that he might know their several Minds, gave out, that he was sending into *Macedonia*, and whosoever would, might have an opportunity thereby to write to their Friends. By their Letters, all which he caused to be opened, he knew who were discontented and ready to Mutiny, and all those he gathered into one company, lest they should corrupt the rest, setting over them one *Leonidas*, an intimate friend of *Parmenio*. The King in his March came to the Country of the *Arimajpi*, or *Agriape*, called also *Euergete*, by the *Greeks*, by *Cyrus* the Great for that when he went against the *Scythians*, they furnished him with Provisions in his great necessity. He used them very courteously, bestowing upon them Money, and as much Ground as they would ask, which was not much: And here he heard that *Satibarzanes*, being returned from *Bessus*, had withdrawn the *Arii* from obedience. Against him he sent 6000 Greekish Foot, and 600 Horse, under the Command of *Eryxus* and others, who joining Battel with him, he pulled down his Helmet, and challenged any one to a single Combate. *Eryxus* accepting of the Challenge, slew him in the Place, and then his Soldiers, who had followed him rather by Constraint, than out of any good Will, yielded themselves. *Alexander* having staid amongst the *Euergete* 60 days, passed on, and in his way subdued the *Gedrosians*, the *Drang* and

Castle Phi-
larchus in
Laranda &
Laranda in
Asia.

Left Caria
in the Sea,
Philotas &
Dymnus
Arrianus in
Asia.

Diadema at
Iffus.
Curtius lib. 7.
cap. 3.
Arrianus.

and *Drangoi*, as also *Arachobis*, where he got that Army into his Power of which *Parmenio* had the Command, consisting of 6000 *Macedonians*, and 200 Gentlemen, besides 5000 other *Greeks*, and 600 Horse.

5. The next People he passed through were the *Paropamisadae*. This being in the Winter-Season, his Army suffered extremely through the Coldness of the Climate: Thence he came to the Mountain *Caucasus* or *Paropamisus*, (as that part of it was called) which he passed in 17 days, and built some Cities about it. *Bessus* had now in *Bactria* about 8000 of the Inhabitants up in Arms, who thinking that *Alexander* would rather turn towards *India* than come against them, kept with him, till they plainly perceived that the King invaded their Country: Then they all betook them to their own Homes, and *Bessus* with his other Followers passed over the River *Oxus* into the Country of the *Sogdians*, being still accompanied with *Spitamenes* and *Oxyartes*, in whose fidelity he confided. But *Alexander* invading *Bactria*, after he had taken divers Cities, had the whole Country yielded to him; after which he passed to the great River *Oxus*, but in his way was so distressed for Water, that his Army languished; and when it came to the River, so many drunk intemperately, that he lost more Men thereby, than he had formerly done in any Battel. Ere he passed the River, he sent home 900 *Macedonians* and *Volunteers*, the former being Old and Wounded, and the latter the remnant of the Volunteers: those he rewarded, and gave thanks to such of the rest that remained as were willing to serve in the Wars yet behind. He passed over the River upon Skins and Bladders joined together, wanting Materials to make a better Bridge, and came to the place where he heard *Bessus* lay with all his Forces. *Bessus* was now forsaken by his Friends, for *Spitamenes* conspiring against him with *Dataphernes* and *Catanes*, snatched the Diadem from his Head, tore *Darius* his Robe from off his Back, and gave notice to *Alexander*, that if he would send any of his Captains with some Forces, they would deliver him up. *Alexander* sent *Ptolome* the Son of *Lagus*, and one of his Guard, who brought him to his Presence in an Halter, whence he was delivered to *Oxyartes* the Brother of *Darius*, to be tormented to death in that Place where he had most wickedly slain his Sovereign, his Lord and Master.

6. About this time he utterly destroyed the City of the *Branchidae*, with all its Inhabitants, in revenge for a fault committed 150 years before. For, *Xerxes* flying out of Greece, they betrayed the Treasures of *Didyme* and *Apollo* into his hands; and for this, not daring to stay behind, they left *Miletus* and followed him, who gave them this place, where their Posterity dearly paid for their fault. After this, he marched to the River *Tanais*, (another than that which leaveth *Europe* from *Asia*) falling down from the Mountain *Caucasus* into the *Hyrcanian* Sea. Here some of his Soldiers going forth to gather Forage, were intercepted by the Enemy, which to the number of 20 or 3000 betook himself to an Hill, and thence was beaten down and wasted to 8000, yet with great difficulty, and hazard to the King himself, who received a Wound in his Thigh. Thence in four days he marched in a Litter to *Maracanda*, the chief City of *Sogdiana*, where leaving a Garrison, he over-ran the neighbouring Territories; and shortly after came an Ambassage from the *Scythians*, called *Arii*, who thereby gave up themselves into his power. But in the mean time the Barbarians of *Maracanda* slew the Garrison of the *Macedonians*; being, together with the greatest part of the *Sogdians*, drawn back by those that took *Bessus*, who also got to their Party some of the *Bactrians* and *Sakans*. *Alexander* sent to suppress them *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had delivered up *Bessus*; but they confirmed them in their Rebellion, and became Leaders in the Revolt, giving out, that the *Bactrian* Horse was sent for by the King on purpose to be made away.

7. To reduce these Revolters, *Alexander* presently sent *Craterus*, who besieged *Cyropolis* the chief City, so called, because built by *Cyrus* the Great; and he himself besieged another called *Gaza*, which he took, and put all of ripeness of Age to the Sword, for a terror to their Country-men. After this he reduced several other Cities, and then went to the Assistance of *Craterus* against *Cyropolis*, which was defended by 18000 Men. Here he lost many a valiant Soldier, and by a froak of a Stone on his Neck was fell'd down senseless; but this excited his natural Vigor, so that out of Indignation he set furiously on, and presently took the Place. Eight Thousand of the Inhabitants were slain, and the rest retiring into the Castle, shortly after yielded for want of Water; and then one City remaining only of Seven, whither the Barbarians had fled, he reduced that also in a short time. *Spitamenes* now had thrust himself up in *Maracanda*, where he besieged the *Macedonians* in the Castle. Against him he sent a Party, and began to build a City upon the River *Tanais*, which being raised

A. M. 3697.
Pl. 112. ca. 1.
P. C. 425.
Alexander 9.

Curtius l. 7.
Strabo l. 11.

Curtius & Ar-
rianus.

in few days, with a Wall six Miles in compass, he called after himself *Alexandria*. His design was to have a convenient Fortress for the Invasion of *Scythia*, which the Scythian King, inhabiting beyond the River, suspecting, sent his Brother with a Party of Horse to beat away the Macedonian Forces, and demolish it. Coming to the narrowest place of the River, they not only cast over their Darts, but opprobrious Speeches, which so incensed *Alexander*, as though he was yet more ill, and for some time had not been able as much as to speak to his Soldiers, yet he resolved to pass over against them.

*Curios at the
River, l.
12. d. 12. d.
14.*

*Marched
against the
Scythians.*

8. With admirable industry he got over his Men, partly in Boats, and partly upon Bladders, notwithstanding the earnest opposition of the Enemy, whom he put to the Rout, and, though he was very much incensed in his own person, pursued them 20 Furlongs, then fainting, he commanded his Men to follow the Chase as long as they would permit. The want of Water in this Place was such, that the Army was thereby exceedingly distressed, and the King himself drinking of some that was corrupt, fell into a Diarrhea. But not long after the Scythians sent to excuse themselves, denying that the War had been undertaken by their general consent, but only by a certain Party that lived upon Robbery. Giving themselves up into his hands, he dismissed the Ambassadors courteously, and with them the Prisoners he had taken. By this time *Spitamenes* had cut off the Party sent against him, which *Alexander* understanding, in three days time marched 1500 Furlongs to *Maracanda*, whither he had notice that he was returned; but hearing of the Kings coming, he fled again, and was pursued for some time, but to no purpose. *Alexander* then dividing his Forces, over-ran the Country which had revolted, and gave Command, that all of ripe Age should be put to the Sword, for a terror to others, with which severity fell 120000 of the Inhabitants of *Sogdiana*. Leaving *Pecolus* there with 3000 Foot, he departed to *Bactra*, (a City so called from the River *Bactrus*, which runneth through it, being otherwise named *Zartasp*) where he caused *Bessus* to be brought to the Head of his Army: Here he made his Nose and Ears to be cut off, and then sent him to *Ecbatane* to be judged and Executed by Sentence of a Council of *Medes* and *Persians*. Thus *Diodorus* relateth the Story; but *Plutarch* writeth, That by *Alexanders* Command, the Boughs of two Trees being first drawn together, and he made fast to them both, they then were suffered to return to their natural size, and he was thereby pulled asunder.

*Cometh to
Bactra.*

*First punishment
of the ex-
ecrable Treas-
on.*

9. Having much encircled his Forces by the coming in of fresh Supplies, he once more over-ran the Country of the *Sogdians*, as yet not fully subdued, and the five parts of his Army afterwards met and united at *Maracanda*, whence he sent *Hephestion* to lead out Colonies into the Cities of *Sogdiana*, as *Census* and *Artabazus* against the *Scythians*, for to them he heard that *Spitamenes* wastled, who with a Company of *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, and about 800 Horse of the *Massagetes*, got a Castle near *Bactra* into his Hand, then came against *Zartasp*, or *Bactra*, and by an Ambush cut off many of the Defendants in their Sally out against him. Upon *Census* his Approach the *Massagetes* fled, but he pursued and killed many of them. *Alexander* having subdued most of the *Sogdians*, returned to *Maracanda*, whither the King of the *European Scythians* inhabiting above *Bosphorus*, sent to him, offering his Daughter in Marriage, or if this liked him not, he desired, that the principal Macedonians about him might contract Affinity with his Nation; moreover he offered to come in Person and receive his Commands. After this, *Alexander* hunted in the Forrest of *Bazaria*, which had been untouched for four Ages. Here in a Lion coming upon him, *Lysimachus* (who afterwards Reigned, and had slain a Lion ere this) went about to slay him off; but the King forbade him, and receiving the Beast, slew him at one stroke. Four Hundred Beasts more being killed, he Feasted his whole Army, and again repaired to *Maracanda*, where he slew *Clytus*.

*Alexander
killeth a Lion.*

Killeth Clytus.

10. In a Feast (to which he had invited him) being heated with Wine, he fell of commanding his own Acts, and therein farcely high, as to speak scornfully of the things performed by his Father *Philip*. *Clytus* having also drunk sufficiently, was nettled with this, and defending *Philip*, in his Replies plainly reproached *Alexander*; who therefore ran him through, and killed him our-right, having a little before designed him to the Government of *Sogdiana* in the room of *Artabazus*, who excused himself by his Old Age; For being the Son of *Droph*, and Brother to *Hellenica* *Alexanders* Nurse, he had done good Service to both Kings, and was now an Old Soldier. *Alexander*, when he came to himself, considering what he had done, would have made way for following him by his own Hands, and when he was hindered by his Friends from violent Attempts, would have done it by fasting four days. On the fifth, *Atten-*

*idem. lib.
Arrianus lib.
4. C. 10. l. 4.*

Attendans brake into his Tent, and comforting him, caused him to eat. The Macedonians judged *Clytus* richly put to death, and decreed he should not be buried; but he commanded this Office to be performed to him. Leaving a good Guard with *Census* to defend *Sogdiana*, and take *Spitamenes* if he should come that way in Winter, he marched to *Xenippa*, where, after a sharp Encounter, he received the *Bactrian* Exiles, who having revolted, had betaken themselves to that Place, lying upon the Confines of *Scythia*. In the Spring following, being the Tenth Year of his Reign, he set upon a Fort in *Sogdiana*, situate upon a Rock, so strong by Nature through its excessive height, that the Defendants counted it invincible, (many having fled thither out of the Country) and upon his Summons, *Arrianus* the Governor, who held it with Thirty Thousand Armed Men, demanded if the Macedonians could slie? But he proposed large Rewards to such as would fit mount it, whereby certain young Men being Animated, made a shift to climb and help one another up, and being got to the top, the Besieged were amazed, and thinking their Number greater than it was, yielded the Place. In this Fort amongst others was *Oxyartes* the *Satrapa* or Governour (who had revolted from *Alexander*) with his Wife and Children. Of his Daughter *Roxane* the King was so enamoured, as he shortly after Married her, and perfwaded the great ones about him to take them Wives out of that Place.

*Cometh to
Xenippa.*

*Narrith
Razat.*

*A. M. 3598.
Ol. 113. an. 2.
C. 427.
Alexand. 10.*

*Arrianus.
Curios.*

11. He thence departed into *Naura* (or *Parataca*) where he understood that many Barbarians had possessed themselves of another Fortress, situate as the former, and Fortified moreover with an exceeding deep Ditch. This yielded to him through the perswasion of *Oxyartes*, and then with his Horse he cleared the Country of the Revolters. About the same time *Spitamenes* coming into *Sogdiana*, was encountered by *Census*, who drew from him the Naturals of the Place, and the *Bactrians*, so that he had only left him a Company of *Massagetes*. Those flying with him into the Wilderness, when they heard that *Alexander* pursued them, cut off their Captains Head, and sent it to the King, though some write, that his own Wife cut it off, and presented it to *Alexander*, who detecting the Treason, commanded her to depart his Camp. After this the *Dabe*, who had revolted by the procurement of *Daphnophorus*, delivered him up, and returned to obedience, and *Craterus* with *Polyperchon* having finished the War against the Revolters in a short time, they all met at *Bactra*. *Alexander* was now so puffed up, as to require Divine Honours from his Followers; which *Callisthenes* the Philosopher stily refusing to give him, felt the effect of his Ambition.

12. It hapned that the King hunting on a time, one *Hermolus* a Gentleman of his Guard, and Scholar to *Callisthenes*, killed a wild Boar, which *Alexander* himself intended to have struck, for which he was beaten by his Command. The Young Man bearing the disgrace most heavily, as also *Satratrus* his inward Friend, they conspired with others of the Guard to kill the King, who to perform, they agreed, that one night they would all watch together. It was long ere they could fo change their courses as to bring this about, but at length having done it, it chanced that the King sat up drinking all that night, so then the matter being frustrated, was revealed by one of them, and they were all ftoned to death. Now wherethany of them accused *Callisthenes*, as some reported, or *Alexander* did it himself, he was made away, though as to the manner of his death, they who were present themselves agreed not in their Relation. *Callisthenes* was the Scholar of *Aristotle*, and the Son of his Cousin germane, of so severe a temper, that he could not order himself according to his Masters directions, who when he sent him to *Alexander*, advised him, *Either very pleasantly, or very rarely, to converse with him, that so he might be either more acceptable* *Valer. Max. lib. 7. cap. 24.* *for his discourse, or safe by his silence.* *Aristotle* also himself seemeth to have been threatened in a Letter written by the King to *Antipater* in Macedonia.

*Callisthenes
put to death
with others
for Treason.*

*Alexander
marcheth
for India.*

*Curios at the
River, l.
12. d. 12. d.
14.*

13. *Alexander* had ere this time resolved to make War upon *India*, and bound his Conquests with the East. That he might not leave any impediment at his back, he commanded 30000 Men to be raised out of the Provinces, that he might have them both as Soldiers and Holdtages. Out of a conceit of the glory of the Expedition, he adorned the Shields of his Soldiers with Silver Plates, their Horses with Golden Brides, and their Armour was set out with Gold and Silver. Leaving then *Antipater* in *Asiatica* with 3500 Horse, and 10000 Foot, he set forwards in the Spring, leading an Army of 120000 Men. In ten days he passed over *Caucasus* and came to *Alexandria*, which he had caused to be built in the Country of the *Parapamisadae*, whence he marched to the River *Cophenes*, and sent to *Taxile* to meet him, who came with such Presents as *India* afforded. Dividing now his Army, with one

one part of it he sent *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* another way, with Command, that when they came at the River *Indus*, they should provide things necessary for passing over it. He with the other invaded the *Assians*, *Thyreans*, and *Arabicans*; and crossing the River *Cloe*, the first City he came at opposed him. He himself and *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus* were wounded in the Storm, but he took the Place, and putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, burnt it. In the Country of the *Assians* he got a Booty of 40000 Men, and 230000 head of Cattel, whence marching toward the *Grimeans*, with difficulty he passed over the River *Grimeus*. Invading the *Assicenses* he took the City *Maffiga*, the King whereof being lately dead, his Mother *Cleopis* Reigned, and by the prostitution of her Body to *Alexander*, procured a confirmation in the Kingdom.

14. After this, he took *Bacina*, and *Nora* was forsaken by its Defendants, who betook themselves to a strong Rock called *Avorns*. This Place was exceedingly Fenced by its wonderful height, and the River *Indus* which ran by one side of it; as also by deep Pits and craggy Rocks, by reason whereof the report went, that *Hercules* himself attempted, but could not take it. The Story of *Hercules* inflamed the King with a desire to master it, who having first taken several other Places, brought his Forces hither, and by means of an Old vian, who shewed him the only Passage, closely Besieged it. By incredible diligence he filled up the Ditches, so as he could bring his Men to fight, but yet he was not able to storm the Rock, and therefore resolved to starve them out, leaving a way for their Escape; and they seeing his Resolution, took the advantage but many were slain in the Pursuit. Taking order then for the full clearing of the Country, he passed on to the River *Indus*, near to which he hunted Elephants, and continuing in the Plains thirty days for the Refreshment of his Army, Sacrificed to his gods, and Celebrated Games and Exercises. Now *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* had finished all things necessary for passing the River; and not of this only, but others also with one (almost) and the same labour. For, divers Rivers running through *India* (as besides *Cophenes*, *Coer*, and *Indus*; *Hydaspes*, *Aceles*, *Hyaroth*, *Hypanus*, and *Ganges*) they lo framed the Boats, as they might easily be taken in Pieces, and being conveyed in Carriages, be as easily, upon occasion, again joined together.

Crosseth the River *Indus*.

15. In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, and the Fourth after the Death of *Darius*, in the Spring, *Alexander* passed over the River *Indus*, and was received above his Expectations. For, *Ompis*, or *Mopsis*, King of the Country, had persuaded his Father, when yet living, to submit himself, and now having succeeded in the Kingdom, met him in the way, and gave up into his Hands, who restored it to him, and permitted him to assume the Name of *Taxiles*, common to all Kings of that Country, of what Family soever. Coming to *Taxila* the Metropolis, he was sumptuously entertained, and receiving great Gifts, gave also very liberally, to the disdain of those about him, of whom *Meleager* in his Cups congratulated with him, that at length in *India* he had found a Man worthy to receive from him in way of free Gift 10000 Talents. *Alexander* remembering how he had repented the killing of *Clytus*, contained himself, but not impertinently answered him, that *Eurious Men are nothing else than their own torment*. The next day *Abiarnus* King of the *Indians* inhabiting the Mountains, and who together with *Porus* had Wars with *Taxiles*, by Ambassadors gave up himself and Kingdom. *Alexander* leaving a Garrison in *Taxila*, marched towards the River *Hydaspes*, beyond which Reigned *Porus*: Thinking by the terror of his Name to affright this Prince into obedience, he sent to him before-hand, willing him to pay Tribute, and meet him on the Frontiers of his Kingdom, to which he answered, that he would do the latter only, and that Armed. Near unto *Porus* Reigned another of his Name, and his Nephew, who out of hatred to him, sent Ambassadors, and gave up all he had into the hands of *Alexander*.

16. The Boats formerly spoken of being conveyed from *Indus* to the River *Hydaspes*, *Alexander* with *Taxiles*, several other great Persons of the Country, and 5000 *Indians* more came thither: *Bayanetes* the Governor of the *Drange* being presented to him in his way, whom he afterwards put to death for his Treason towards *Darius*. On the opposite Bank of the River lay *Porus* with an Army very great indeed, though the diffidence of Writers about the numbers almost equal the bigness of it. He had his Elephants ready to affright the Horses, and keep the Army from landings, which *Alexander* perceiving, made as if he intended to pass the River at the place over against which *Porus* stood, leaving some there to make a noise, as if he still remained, and in a dark and rainy night got into a little Woody Island, which lay lower down the River, whence in the morning, though with much diffi-

And *Hydaspes*.

curtus Jofius lib. 12.

A. M. 3659.
O. 113. an. 3.
P. C. 428.
Alexand. 11.

curtus ut p. Diador. Arianus l. 4. Ompis l. 2. c. 19. c. 15. c. 16. Plutarch in Alexander.

difficulty (through the rising of the Water by abundance of Rain) recovered the further Bank, where he defeated a Party led by *Porus* his Son, who by some is said in this Engagement to have lost his Life. *Porus*, understanding this, drew down his Battle in the form of a City, whereof the Elephants, being many in Number, were as Walls. They grievously distressed the *Macedonians* for some time, and the *Indians* continually retired to them as a Bulwark; but at length being driven up close together, they made great slaughter of the *Indians* themselves, whom *Alexander* also encompassing with his Men, did great Execution upon them. *Porus* himself, a Person terrible to encounter (his height, as is said, being five Cubits, and his breadth such as his Armour extended it to the proportion of two lusty Men) fought himself most valiantly, and encountering *Alexander* hand to hand, slew his Horse under him, so that he was saved merely by the interposition of his Guard, many of his Men having slain at his side.

17. *Porus* gave not over as long as he had any to stand to him; when all had left him, he retreated on his Elephant most stately to behold. As many of the *Indians* were slain in the Chace as had been in the Battle, by reason that *Craterus* and others, who had been left behind, came in afresh to the Pursuit. *Alexander* having a great desire to save their King, out of respect to his great Valour, sent after him *Taxiles* the *Indian*, whom perceiving to come towards him, he ran at him with his Lance as his Ancient Enemy. But others being still sent, and amongst the rest *Meroes* an *Indian*, *Porus* hearing his Voice, and being fore distressed by thirst, food still, and then alighted from his Elephant. *Alexander* coming on spake to him first, and asked him what the thing was which he desired, to whom he answered, that he might be used like a King. The other replied, that this should be done for his own sake, and bad him ask for his own Commodity what he pleased, to which he made answer, that all things were contained in his former demand. "With this the Conqueror was so well pleased, that he received him into the number of his Friends, and restored to him his Kingdom, enlarged with new Territories. *Alexander* hoping that by his late Victory all *India* was laid open to him, intended to sail into the Ocean; and perceiving there was in this Place much Wood, he caused such a quantity to be cut down, as might suffice for the building of Ships. He gave order also for the building of two Cities: one in the place where the Battle was fought, which he called *Nice*, and another on the other side of the River, named *Bucephalea* after his Horse *Bucephalus*, who here died, being about thirty years old.

18. Leaving *Craterus* to perfect these Cities upon the River *Hydaspes*, he marched into the Country adjoining to that of *Porus*, which having subdued, he bestowed on him, and also the Kingdom of the younger *Porus*, who out of fear of his Uncle had now fled, with as many as he could draw after him to the *Gangaride*. After this he conquered several Nations beyond the River *Hydrates*, and invaded the *Cuthians*, who together with the *Oxydrace* and *Malli* opposed him, of whom in the Siege and Storming of the City *Sangala* perished 17000, and about 70000 were taken Captives. These *Cuthians* had a Customs, that when any Man died, his Wife was to be buried with him, to which the wickedness of one Woman that poisoned her Husband gave occasion. The City *Sangala* was destroyed, and their Lands given to certain *Indians*, who lived in the form of a Common-wealth, and had formerly given themselves up into the hands of the Conqueror. This severity made other Cities without any resistance surrender themselves. Then advanced he into the Kingdom of *Sopithes*, who meeting him with his two Sons, with a Rod of Gold Adorned with Precious Stones, delivered up into his Hands himself, his Children, Kingdom, and all he had. Having received back his Kingdom, he magnificently entertained *Alexander* and his whole Army. Amongst several other Presents, he gave him 150 Dogs begotten of *Tigers*, as is reported, and of great strength and activity, as appeared by four of them which were let out upon a Lion extraordinary for strength and bigness.

19. Ere *Alexander* stirred from this Place, *Hephestion* returned to him from his Expedition, (having subdued *India* in a great compass that way he was sent) whom he received with Honour suitable to his worth. Afterward he departed into the Kingdom of *Phlegens*, (or *Phegelus*) who also submitted himself, and receiving the Conqueror, entertained him very magnificently: After two days he marched toward the River *Hyphasis* (or *Hyphis*) taking *Phlegens* and *Porus* along with him. At the River side he enquired of *Phlegens* what Countries lay beyond it? He answered, That there was a vast Wilderness of 11 or 12 days journey, and next to that ran the River *Ganges*, beyond which inhabited, besides others, the *Gangaride*, over whom Reigned *Agy-*

Overthroweth and taketh Forts.

Sopithes yielded etc.

The River Hyphasis the Eastern limit of the Expedition.

curtus lib. 9. c. 27. 1.

curtus lib. 9. Arianus l. 6. c. 1.

curtus lib. 9. Arianus l. 6. c. 1.

Aggrammes (or *Xandrames*) provided of 30000 Horses, 200000 Foot, above 2000 Chariots, and about 4000 Elephants. These things seeming incredible to the *Macedonian*, he asked *Porus* of the truth of them, who confirmed what the other had said as to the strength of that King, but withal added, That being by a Barber begotten on the Queen, who had killed her Husband that he might Reign, he was for this cause despised by his People. *Alexander* now considered the labours and perils undergone by his Soldiers, who from the beginning of his Reign had followed him Eight Years; withal, how of late for 70 days together they had been forely distressed by Rain, Thunder, and Lightnings; that he might oblige them, he gave them the Plunder of the Enemies Country, being very Rich; and in their absence gratified their Wives and Children. Then after their return to the Camp, with a premeditated Oration he laboured to persuade them to undertake the War with him against the *Gangaride*, but in vain.

20. For, *Cennus* the Son of *Polycrates*, answered him in such a manner, as he might easily perceive how contrary the affections of the Soldiers were to the Expedition. After which, as *Arrianus* writeth, he kept himself close in his Pavilion for three days, and would admit none of his Friends to his Presence. Then sending for his Officers, he told them, That seeing the Minds of his Men were averse from proceeding any further, he intended to return home; yet, ere this, he had Sacrificed for passing over the River, but finding that the Intrails of the Beast were not lucky, he felted himself in a purpose to retreat. He caused twelve large Altars of fifty Cubits height, like to some Wandlike Towers, to be erected near the River, whereon he Sacrificed according to the custom of his Country, and he celebrated Games in the Grounds adjoining. After this he caused to be made a Ditch 15 Foot broad and 10 Foot deep, whereon, of the Earth, he raised a considerable Wall, making the compass of his Camp seem three fold larger than indeed it was. He commanded the Foot, that each one in his Tent should fet two Bedsteads of five Cubits apiece, and the Horsemen to make theirs with the Mangers of their Horses as big again as they were wont to be. He caused Arms, Bridles, and other things to be framed after the same proportion, to amuse Posterity with a false appearance of a Gigantick proportion of his own Person and his Followers.

21. He returned the same way he came, setting the Government of the Provinces in his passage, till he arrived at the River *Hydaspes*. Ever since his departure hence, the weather had been rainy, which spoiled much of his new City *Bucephalus*; but he caused it to be repaired; and here died *Cennus* his trusty and faithful Friend, but one who had grieved him by his Answer to his late Oration. Down this River *Hydaspes* he resolved, according to his former purpose, to Sail into the Southern Ocean, and therefore providing for such Places as he should leave, he reconciled *Porus* and *Taxiles* by affinity contracted betwixt them, and made the former, King, not of that Country only lying betwixt *Acefines* and *Hydaspes*, which formerly he had given to him, but also of such free Nations, as lying betwixt *Acefines* and *Hydaspes* he had lately subdued. Having increased his Army by a new supply sent him out of the *West*, he divided it into three Parts, whereof two he committed to *Craterus* and *Hephæstion*, commanding them to march on either side the River, down which he sailed with a third in a Fleet of 1000 Vessels. Looing from shoar about the beginning of November, he first landed upon the Coasts of the *Sihari*, who being reported to be descended of those *Greeks* that with *Hercules* attended the Storming of the Rock *Aornus*, claimed Kindred of him, and submitted themselves. Making Excursions into the neighbouring Countries, he destroyed many thousands of the Inhabitants that would not yield; and then returning aboard, halted against the *Oxydrace* and *Malli*, who, as he heard, had carried their Wives into their strong Towns, and intended resistance.

22. Coming down thither where *Hydaspes* and *Acefines* meet, the Channel being narrow, and the Stream exceeding great, two of his tallest Ships miscarried, and he himself mislaid narrowly of being Shipwreck'd: Here his Soldiers also began to murmur that they should begin a new War, but he quieted them easily by a Speech. The *Indians* having gathered together 80000 Foot and 10000 Horses, shewed themselves near the River, having chosen their General out of the *Oxydraces*, who made many Fires, and used other vain attempts to affright the *Macedonians*; yet as soon as these began to Arm, either out of fear, or by reason of diffidence amongst themselves, away they fled to the craggy Mountains. *Alexander* then marched with all speed, through a large, dry, and barren Country, against the *Malli*, to defeat them ere they should join with the other; and coming unexpectedly upon them,

them, many he flew, both in the Country, and those from places which he storm'd. After this he marched to the River *Hydrates*, where he killed many of them, and thence to a City of the *Brachmans*, whither he heard that some of them had fled: This he took, with the Cattle into which they retired, as also the chiefest City of the *Malli*, whence they fled beyond the River *Hydrates*, on the Bank whereof they drew up into a Battalia. He followed, and with his Horses skirmish'd a little, not thinking it fit to engage with them in Battel, being 50000 in number, till the Foot came up. Then they betook themselves to the next fortified Town, where by his hardships he ran into extreme danger.

23. *Demophon* his Priest acquainted him, how that by his art, great danger was portended to his Person, and therefore he advised him, either to omit, or at least to defer the siege. But he rebuked the man, because hereby he weakened the Valour of his Soldiers, and dividing them into two parts, set upon the Town, whereat the Defendants left it and fled into the Castle. The King with those about him broke open a Gate, and entered first; Then he commanded Ladders to be fet to the Castle-wall, which being but slowly performed, he took one from a *Macedonian*, and rearing it mounted himself; after him went up *Pencestes*, who bore usually his Shield before him, (which being taken out of the Temple of *Pallas* at *Ilion*, he would always have carried) and after him *Leontas* by the same Ladder, and one *Abreas* by another. The *Argasphids* also, (or those who used the silvered Shields) solicitous for the Kings safety, mounting hastily broke the Ladders, and thereby hindered others as well as themselves. The King upon the Wall was laid at with Darts on every side, and when his left arm was wearied with holding his Target, his Friends would have had him leap down again unto them, who were ready to receive him in their Arms. But by an unparallel'd attempt he leaped down on the other side into the Fort, where if he had not by good chance light upon his feet, he might presently have been slain or taken. But casting himself to fall upon them, and seeing a Tree hard by, he applied himself to it, so as he had it on his right hand, and the Wall on his left.

24. None of his enemies were so hardy as to come near him, only they plied it with Darts afar off, whereof the greatest part being kept off by the Boughs and Leaves of the Tree, the rest he received on his Target. But the *Indians* drawing nearer, threw showers of Darts upon him, and with stones broke his Helmet. Being spent, and no longer able to stand, he fell upon his Knees, whereupon despising him they came to him; and yet he so received them with his Sword as two fell down dead before him, and after this he killed their General who boldly set upon him; then none would venture to approach nearer, but plied it with Darts afar off. By this time those three that mounted the Wall after him were got down, and fought stoutly for him, of whom *Abreas* was shot in the Face and fell the King also in the Breast with an Arrow, which piercing through his Armour near his Pap, some affirmed, that Blood and Breath issued together out of the Wound, and he swooned, being covered by *Pencestes* with his Shield. Now the *Macedonians* brake into the Castle, and put all to the Sword, sparing neither Sex nor Age. They carried their King out on a Target, not knowing whether he was alive or dead; but shortly after he came to himself, and his wound was dressed, (some say by *Critobulus* the Physician, others by *Perdiccas*) out of which much Blood issuing, he swooned again, and that very thing stanch'd the bleeding. While he lay'd a little in this place, a report flew to the Army then lying with the Fleet at the meeting of the two Rivers *Hydrates* and *Acefines*, that he was dead, and it gained such belief, that the Letters he sent were taken but as counterfeit. Therefore he halted to the Camp, where he presented himself to the view of them all there.

25. Having escaped this great danger amongst the *Malli*, (for amongst them it was, and not amongst the *Oxydraces* as some have mistaken) and returned to his Fleet, he sailed down the River, and on the fourth day came to a place forsaken of its Inhabitants, but convenient for to make some stay in. Here he rested many days for the better curing of his Wounds, and employed his men this while in building of Ships. Hither the *Malli* and *Oxydrace* sent to ask pardon, and submit themselves. After which he sailed further, and came to the confluence of *Hydrates* and *Acefines*, the former whereof loath it self in the later. Proceeding further, he came through *Acefines* into *Indus*, subduing a certain People in his way who lived in a Free State; and here he made *Philip* Governour of the *Malli* and *Oxydrace*, with all the Country down to this place, wherein he also gave order for a City to be built. Following on his voyage, he arrived at the Country of the *Sambites*, (or *Subrace*) who living also in a popular way of Government, were very populous and strong, and hearing

Cattleh slain into extreme danger.

Slain into Indus.

He retreateth.

He sailth down the River Hydaspes.

He fighteth against the Malli and Oxydrace.

Carried & Dismembered at the foot of the Mountain, as before.

Upon which
he buildeth an
Alexandria,
and subdueth
Mufcenus.

hearing of his coming had got together 60000 Foot, and near 8000 Horfe, but upon a fight of his Fleet they let fall their courage, and sent fifty of their Principal men to ask Peace. From this place on the fourth day he came to the Seat of the *Sagde*, who also yielded themselves; and here by the River *Indus* he caused to be built another *Alexandria*, which he furnished with convenient Havens and Arsenals. Thence he failed down with such expedition into the Country of *Mufcenus*, that he was upon him before he heard of his coming; therefore the *Indian* met him with such Gifts as his Country afforded, and gave up himself with all he had into his hands, acknowledging his fault that he had no sooner done it.

26. Having here commanded *Tereytes*, whom he had set over the *Paropamisadae*, to be put to death, for abusing that People by a covetous and tyrannical Government, he caused a Fort to be raised in the chief City of *Mufcenus*, wherein he left a Garrison, because the place seemed very convenient for keeping the Neighbouring Nations in Obedience. Leaving *Mufcenus* in his former power, though not authority, he failed down to the *Præstis*, another *Indian* Nation, over which ruled *Oxyccenus*. Here he stormed two Cities, in one whereof their King being retired into the Castle, sent to him to beg pardon, but too late; for ere the Messengers could come at *Alexander*, two Towers fell down, which made way for the *Macedonians*, who entering, killed *Oxyccenus* amongst the rest; which being reported to the other Cities, they all yielded themselves. After this he came into the borders of the *Brachmans*, whose King *Sabus* (or *Sambus*) caused the Gates of his Principal City to be opened, but afterwards revolted at the intigitation of his Subjects, some of whom paid dearly for it in a certain Town wherein they were taken, *Sambus* himself with thirty Elephants escaping. Some of them were upon pain of death to answer to certain hard Questions, which having done, they were dismissed with rewards, as *Plutarch* informeth us. But ere this, *Mufcenus* had revolted, against whom *Pithon* was sent, who overpowering him took him Prisoner. He was Crucified in his own Country by *Alexander's* Command, with all such *Brachmans* as had drawn him to revolt.

27. Returning to the River *Indus*, in the fourth day he came to a City of the *Brachmans*, called *Hamatelia*, the Inhabitants thereof hearing that he was invincible, poisoned the Heads of the Arrows, trusting to their own valour, and the natural strength of the Place. He sent a party, which by approaching their Walls, and then retreating, drew them forth, by which stratagem, of 3000 he took 1000, and killed 600. Many of his own men died, and those who survived were brought into extreme danger, amongst whom was *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*. He being almost ready to dye, the story goeth, that *Alexander* in a Dream had an Herb shewed to him, which drunk, and outwardly applied, helped against the Poyson; the truth being, that the virtue of this Plant was by some declared to him, and this story feigned out of flattery. For all this, the besieged yielding, had indemnity granted to them, and then came *Meris* King of the Island *Pattalena*, which he gave up into the Conquerors Power. *Alexander* restored, and sent him back, commanding him to provide all necessaries for his Army; but failing down thither he found that he had left the City, and retired to the Mountains, with all his Subjects, both of Town and Country. *Alexander* sent some Horsemen to perswade them to return, which accordingly divers did. Then did he order *Hephestion* to build a Fort in the City, and sent a party to dig Wells in that Coast of the Country which wanted Water. The Enemy fell upon these men out of the Wilderness, and killed many of them, which forced the King to send others for a supply. Now had he almost failed 10 months when he came to *Pattalena*.

28. At this Island the River *Indus* parteth into two branches, whereof both retained the name as far as the Sea it self. *Alexander* taking the right hand failed down that Channell, his Army being led according to the custom, near the Rivers side. The next day arose such a Tempest, as exceedingly distressed the Fleet, some Ships being driven so far as scarcely could they be recovered; whereupon for some time the King stayed here at a certain Island, and sent men on shore to take up some Natives to be their Guides. Coming lower, where the Channell was very broad, another Tempest forced them into a certain Creek, where as great a fear seized on them, and so much the greater, because they were unacquainted with the occasion of it. It happened, that the Tide being exceeding high (as it is at this day at *Cambaja*, where the River *Indus* falls into the Sea) all the Grounds near the River were overflowed, except certain Hills, which appearing like so many Islands to them, the *Macedonians* swam, and left their Boats. When the Water fell again, the Vessels were left on

He faileth to
the Island
Pattalena.

Is distressed
upon the Wa-
ter.

on the dry ground, some being overwhelmed, and others turned upon their sides. But the River according to the course of the Tide overflowing again at the due time, such Vessels as stuck fast in the Mud were lifted up unhurt, but those that the Water found otherwise placed, were either dashed against one another, or miscarried after some other fashion.

29. Repairing his Navy, as he could, he sent before two Boats to make discovery of another Island below, by the *Indians* called *Cilista*, but by him *Scallatis*, near which he must needs say down into the Ocean. Hearing that it was large, and very Commodious to harbour in, he gave order for the Fleet to go thither, but he himself proceeded further, to search whether there was an easie passage at the Rivers fall for the whole Navy into the Sea. Having passed some 200 furlongs, he discovered another Island, and then returned to the Fleet, where having sacrificed to some gods, he went back, and performed this service to others after another fashion, saying, he was commanded so to do by the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*. Saying out of *Indus* into the Ocean, he sacrificed Bulls to *Neptune*, and after the burning of Incense cast out a Golden Vial with Golden Cups, into the Sea, praying for a prosperous voyage to his Navy, (which he intended under command of *Nearchus* his Admiral should say down through the Ocean into the *Persian* Gulf, and so up *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) and that no mortal after him might pass the bounds of his expedition. Then returned he up the River to *Pattala*, whither he found *Pithon* come with the Forces, and purposing to leave half the Fleet at the City (at this day called *Pattala* in *Cambaja*) he commanded *Hephestion* there to make a Haven, and provision for shipping. He himself sayed down the stream on the left hand, which first led him to a Lake, where he left *Leonnatus* with most of the Soldiers, and with 20 Ships passed through this Mouth of *Indus* into the Ocean.

Faileth into
the Ocean.

30. His design was to see whether the Fleet might not best fail this way into the Sea; and he satisfied himself that it might. Then did he Travel up the shore, and caused Wells to be digged thereon to furnish the Navy with Water. Returning then to *Pattala*, he sent part of his Army to dig more, and going to the Lake, he caused Havens to be made, and provision for Shipping; he also left there a Garrison with necessaries for 8 months. At this time the *Etesian* winds in this Country blowing from the South (though in other places from other quarters) hindered Navigation, wherefore he was constrained to leave *Nearchus* at *Pattala* with the Fleet till they should cease. He journeyed through the Country of the *Arabite* (or *Arbite*) to the River *Arabius* (or *Arbis*) digging Pits on the shore for the use of the Fleet in its passage by these Coasts. *Nearchus* and his followers were two months after *Alexander's* departure driven out by the Inhabitants of *Pattalena*, and compelled to begin their Voyage ere the season of the year well served. Coming to the mouth of the River, they were forced to cut through a Rock (for some way) such a Ditch as by the help of the Tide might convey their Ships safe into the Ocean. The *Arabite* hearing of *Alexander's* approach, fled into the Mountains, so that without opposition he passed over the River *Arabius*, and came into the Country of the *Orite*, of whom killing some, and taking others, (because they had not submitted themselves) he thence marched into the Borders of the *Gedrosij*, with whom the *Orite* had joined, but upon his approach sent and begged peace, which he granted, on condition that they would depart to their dwellings. He let over them *Apollonides* with whom he left *Leonnatus* one of the Keepers of his body, with a party of Horse and Foot to expect the coming of the Fleet, and in the mean while to build a new City, and settle the affairs of the Country.

31. In this passage through the Country of the *Gedrosij*, greater loss and damage hapned to him than in all his expedition through *Asia* besides; because, what for want of Water, by excess of heat, ill diet and hunger, he carried not out the fourth part of those Forces he brought into *India*. Yet was not this loss sustained through ignorance; for some tell us he knew of the danger very well; but hearing that this Country had been formerly invaded both by *Semiramis* and *Cyrus*, and that the former was forced to fly but with 30 Attendants, and the latter with 7, he had an itching desire to pass through it, and in the glory of his adventure to excel them. After incredible trouble undergone, for 60 days, he came to *Pura* the chief City, where (as it was time) he refreshed his Army, and thence marched towards the Borders of *Caramania*. Hither news came that *Philip*, Governour of the *Oxydrace*, and of other *Indians*, was killed by the Mercenary Soldiers; but that his death was revenged upon them by the *Macedonians*; whereupon he wrote to *Taxiles* and *Eudemus* to take care of the Country, till such time as he could send one to succeed

B b b b 2

Alexander passeth the Country of the *Gedrosians* with incredible difficulty.

Successed Philip. Coming into *Caramania* not far from *Perfia*, he animadverted upon the Governor, as upon *Cleander* and *Sitalces*, who being sent to kill *Parmenia*, had after his death committed grievous outrages upon the people in those parts. He also punished *Ozines* and *Zarifastes*, who had solicited the *Perfians* to revolt, and *Heracum*, who had rifled the Temple at *Sufa*: here also he made *Penceikes* one of the Keepers of his Body, they being before this seven in number. In the mean time *Neurelus* having pulled the borders of the *Arabii*, *Orite*, *Gedrosii*, and *Lobhyphagi*, came into the *Perfian Gulf*, and arrived at *Arusfa* (now called *Ormus*) where understanding that his Master was but distant but five days journey, he went to him, and having made a report of his Voyage, returned presently to the Fleet, with order to pass up to the mouth of *Euphrates*, and thence row unto *Babylon*.

He cometh to
Paragade in
Paria.

To Prescribe,

32. It being now very good fayling, *Alexander* sent *Hephæstion* by Sea into *Perſia*, with the choicest part of his Army, and shortly after departed himself and came by Land to *Pisfargade*, where he bestowed money-on the women, according to the custom of the *Perſian* Kings when they came thither. Here he much lamented the violation of *Cyrus* his Sepulchre, which since his former being here, had been robbed of all its riches except a Litter, and a Golden Urn wherein had been the Body; and this also was cut and mangled, the cover being taken away and the body cast out. He commanded the Urn to be repaired as well as might be, and the reliques of *Cyrus* being therein deposited, the Door-place to be walled up. From *Pisfargade*, now called *Chelquera*, he came to *Porſepolis*, the seat of the *Perſian* Kings, where great complaints being made against *Oximez* (who being defended from *Cyrus* and the seven Conspirators, had contained the *Perſians* in obedience after the death of the Governor *Phraortes*) he was crucified through the malice of *Bagoas* the Eunuch, *Alexander's* minion, who hated him upon no other account, than for that bestowing great gifts upon the Courtiers at their return, he neglected him. *Phradates* also, who had been Governor of the *Madi*, *Hivcanians*, and *Tappri*, was here put to death, for affecting Kingly power. But, *Pencefiz* who protected the King among the *Madi*, and as a reward had been received amongst the Keepers of his Body, was now further made Governor of *Perſia*, and thereupon fully conformed himself to the fashions of the Country.

33. *Alexander* had a great desire to fail through *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, into the *Perſian* Gulf, to compaſs about *Arabia* and *Aſiack*, and ſo to paſs through the Straights leading into the *Mediterranean*. (now called the Straights of *Gibraltar*) to what purpoſe he commanded *Wood* to be cut down in *Libanus*, to be conveyed to *Babylon* in *Syria*, and being made into Ships, thence to be conveyed to *Babylon*. Not long after, *Nearchus* brought the Fleet up *Paffigris* to a Bridge newly made for the paſſage of the Land-army, where for the meeting of both the Armies, after fix months ſtay, *Alexander* ſacrificed, and celebrated Games. Thence marching to *Syſte*: the Provinces by their Deputies there accuſed many of their Officers, beſides other Offences, of violating their Temples. He cauſed them all to be put to death, without reſpect to any former friendſhip, and with them *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracoon*, whom he had formerly condemned in *Caramania*. This ſeverity noiſed abroad, netled many that knew themſelves faulty; Some ſcraped together much money and ſled, and others that commanded the Mercenaries revolted, which cauſed him to ſend up and down *Aſia* to diſband the Stipendiaries, who being thus put out of employment, robbed all over, and at length met at *Tenarus*, a Promontory of *Laconia* in *Greece*, whither many of their Captains fled to them. *Alexander* now married *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*, and gave her younger Siſter *Dryptis* to his beloved *Hephæſtion*, having a great deſire that his Children might be Couſins to him. To ſome 80 more of his Commanders he gave Wives of the Daughters of the chiefſt Medes and *Perſians*, and to them aſſigned Dowers. He made one great Wedding-feaſt for himſelf and them all: and to the other *Macedonians* that had married Wives in *Aſia* he gave gifts.

He marrieth
Statira the
Daughter of
Darius.

34. Moreover he paid the debts they had contracted in *Asia*, and because they were unwilling by giving up their names to let him see how bad Husbands they had been (for they suspected him of such an intention) he caused the money to be given them, without taking account of them, so that this expence reached not fully 1000 Talents (as appeareth by *Diadromi, Curiosi* and *Plutarch*; though *Justin* and *Africanus* mention 200000) so that as *Cassius* observeth, this Army which had conquered so many Nations, brought more Victory than Booty out of *Asia*. He also rewarded them severally, as they had done him most eminent service; and to *Pentestis, Leonatus, Nearchus, Onesiphorus, Hephæstion*, and other Keepers of his Body.

Curtius lib. 102
Diodorus, &c.
A. M. 3680.
Ol. 113. ann. 4.
V. C. 429.
Alexand. 13.

S. *Arctostaphylos* lib. 7.

body, he gave Golden Crowns. But this did not fatisfie the *Macedonians*, ſo as to keepthem from mutining. For, having failed the River *Baleus* to the Sea, thence to the mouth of *Tygre*, and up this River as far as *Ojys*, he there calling them together, gave liberty to all who were rendred unfit for ſervice, either through age or being maimed; to return home, promifing great rewards to ſuch as would voluntarily ſtay and finifh the War with him. Though he intended hereby to gratifie them, yet they made a bad conſtruction of it, as proceeding from contempt of them and their perſon, and counting them unfit for War. They called alſo to mind how he uſed the *Perſian* Habit and Cuſtoms, as did ſome of his Favourites; that the barbarous Nations were admitted amongſt that Troop called his Friends; and that he had lately cauſed 30 and more young men to be picked out of the Provinces, whom trained up in the Diſcipline of *Macedonia*, he called *Epigoni*, or his poſterity. Conſidering theſe things, and thinking that he now deſpiſed their Perſons, Faſhions and Country, they all deſired to be diſbanded, and bade him go alone to the Wars with his Father *Hannon*, ſeeing he ſet fo light by his Souldiers.

**The Macedo-
nizes routine**

35. The King enraged, presently caused thirteen of the Ringleaders to be apprehended, and drowned in the River; and reviling the rest, bade them all be gone home. Then entered his Palace, for that day and the next he would admit none to his presence. On the third, having confined the *Macedonians* to their Tents, he called such strangers to him as followed his Camp. Their faithfulness to him and the former Kings commended, he related what favours he had shewed them, and told them he now took them as fellow Citizens, gave them the Arms of the *Macedonians*, and would have the Kingdom of *Europe* and that of *Asia* the same thing. Out of them he chose 1000 young men, to whom he committed the charge of his Person in the Court; he bestowed the commands of the Army amongst them, and made choice of some, whom naming his Kinsfolk, he permitted to kiss him. These things cut the *Macedonians* to the heart, and made them seriously repent of their rashness. Coming to the Palace, they cast down their Arms at the Gate, and with great lamentation desired to be admitted, offering to give up the Incendiaries, and desiring him rather to kill than thus disgrace them. He refused to admit them, but they continued full two days, and as many nights before the Gates, professing that they would not depart till he had compassion on them. On the third day perceiving them thus humbled, he came forth to them, and *Callines* after mutual weeping, told him, that it troubled them to know others received into his Kindred, and themselves excluded from it. He answered, that he received them also, and so would call them thenceforth; then he offered himself to be killed by as many as would. Being thus received again into favour, they returned with great joy to their Tents, and afterwards were feasted by him, together with *Persians* and others, to the number of 9000 Guests.

But having
humbled
themselves he
is reconciled

36. He dismissed now such as were unserviceable for the Wars (though some say it was not till a little before his death) to whom he paid not only their arrears, but gave them money to pay for their Charges, and a Talent to every man befitting. He gave them money to *Crates*, his beloved Friend to govern *Greece* and *Macedonia* in the room of *Antipater*, who was to bring over a supply of men. Then made he a progress through several places, and came to *Ecbatane* the chief feat of *Media*, where *Hephæstion* by drinking got a Fever, and then impatient of a strict diet, died in seven days. In the absence of *Glaucon* his Physician (who was gone to the Theatre to behold the Sports) he eat his Dinner, and after it drank a Cup of cold Wine, which, as it was thought, increased the distemper. *Alexander* took his death most heavily, fainted three days, and refused to be comforted. He commanded the Physician to be Crucified, before a universal Mourning, wherein even the Cities flared by the removal of their Ornaments from the Walls. He ordered *Perdiccas* to convey the body to *Babylon*, where he intended him a most sumptuous Monument, and refused to fill up his place of Captain of his thousand Friends, lest his name should be forgotten, by which he would have the Company fill called. Then, for diversion, he made War upon the *Cossii*, a People bordering upon the *Oxii*, who having stood out against the *Perjans*, despised him also, because of their valour, and the strength of their Country, situate upon the Mountains of *Media*. Yet for all this, and the coldness of Winter, he brought them under within 40 days.

He cometh to
Ecbatane in
Media, where
Hephestion
dyeth.

37. Having a great desire to sail the *Caspian* Sea, he sent *Heracleides* with divers Ship-carpenters into *Hyrkania* to build Ships, and then he took his way towards *Babylon*. Being distant from the City two or three dayes journey, the *Chaldeans* sent to warn him that he should not come into the City, for they were told by

He cometh to
Elysiu.

by their god *Belus*, that if he did, it should be fatal to him. He intended to follow their advice; but being persuaded otherwise by *Anaxarchus* and other *Grecians*, at length he relolved on the contrary. Then they desired him that he would not enter with his Face upon the *Welt*; but it being difficult not so to do, by reason of the Fens about the City, having lighted their former advice, he also rejected this. Being arrived, he gave audience to Ambassadors sent to him now from all parts, not only out of *Asia*, but from *Africk* and *Europe* also; Out of *Africk*, from the Nations situate upon the Sea-Coasts as far as the *Atlantic* Ocean: from *Europe*, besides the *Grecians*, *Thracians*, *Illyrians* and *Scythians*, from some Nations of *Italy*, as the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, *Tusci*; from *Sicilie*, and *Sardinia*; as also from the *Spaniards* and *Galls*, then first known to the *Macedonians*; but as for the *Romans*, though some ranke them in the number, yet have we no reason to give credit to their report. At the celebration of the *Olympick* Games, he caused it to be proclaimed, that all *Greek* Exiles might return home, except such as were banished for Sacrilege or Murder, against which the *Athenians* and *Ritoliens* only made resistance. Then celebrated he the Funerals of *Hephestion* with vast magnificence, and sacrificed to him as an Heroe. After this he made great preparations for Shipping, intending also to invade and conquer *Arabia*, which, hearing it was no less than *India*, he sent some to discover.

A. M. 3681.
Ol. 114. an. 1.
Olympic Games
430.
Alexand. 15.

Where he
falleth into a
Feaver.

38. While these preparations were making, and an Haven digging at *Babylon*, he passed through *Euphrates* into *Pallacopa*, a River, which being supplied with Water from the former, thereby hindreth it from overflowing the Country. Here he opened the passages, made a new one towards the Lakes, and coming into the Borders of *Arabia*, built there a City. Then deriding the *Chaldeans*, for that he had both entered and failed in safety from *Babylon*, he thither returned, and liking the City exceedingly, intended to make it the Seat of his Empire; though it was but for a short space, as it fell out. For, having set up feasting and drinking very late one night, as he was departing to go to Bed, he was again invited by *Medius* a *Thesalian* to another carowze, where challenging, and being challenged, he drank too much Wine as put him into a Feaver, whereof he died the eleventh day. Some have delivered that he was poisoned by the procurement of *Antipater*, who suspecting himself, sent his Son *Cassander* with Poyson to be delivered to *Iollas* and his other Sons, that then waited on the King. Indeed *Cassander* was not at all favourable, as he ought to have been, to the Interest of *Alexander's* Posterity, as neither to his Reputation; and coming to him a little before his death, he did but little strive to suit his humour. For seeing the *Barbarians* adore him, and unacquainted with such a fight, he burst forth into laughing, for which *Alexander* caught him by the Hair, and knocked his Head soundly against the Wall, as *Plutarch* telleth us. But as for matter of Poyson, the long lying of his Body in so hot a Country, during the contentions of his Captains, betrayed no symptoms thereof, and therefore others give no credit to the report. Moreover, the course of his sickness presenteth us with no such symptoms, as it is described to us by *Plutarch* and *Arrianus* out of his Diaries.

Plutarch
Ptolemy
Diodorus Siculus
Strabo
Arrianus
c. 17.
Macrobiius
Saturnalia
cap. 21.

39. On the 18th day of the (Macedonian) month *Dæsius* (May the 12) he slept in a Bath, because of his Feaver. The day following he returned to his Bed-Chamber, and spent it with *Medius* at Dice; then being masked at night, and having finished his devotion, he supped something liberally, and all the night was much discomposed. On the 20th day he masked, and having finished a solemn sacrifice, in the Bath heard *Nearchus* relate the story of his Navigation, and of what he had seen in the Ocean. On the 21st having done the same thing his Feaver increased, and he had an ill Night. The day after he was held with a sharp Feaver, and was removed near the great place for swimming, where he discoursed with his Officers about supplying vacant places in the Army with the fittest persons. On the 24th his Disease increasing he sacrificed, being borne out to the place, and commanded the principal of his Officers to stay in the Court, and the rest to watch before the Gates. Being removed into the Inner Palace on the 25th day he rested a little; but the Feaver abated not, and when the Captains came to see him he spake not a word. So he passed over the 26th day, whereupon the Macedonians thinking him to be dead, came with great noise to the Door, and compelled his Friends to let them in; so in their Coats every man of them passed by his Bed-side. The same day *Pithon* and *Seleucus* were sent to the Temple of *Serapis*, to ask if he should be removed thither, and received answer, that he should continue where he was. On the 28th day towards the evening he expired. Though he fainted by the violence of his Disease; yet lean-

ing

ing on his Elbow, he reached out his Hand to all Souldiers that would touch it in their passage, and (which seemeth incredible) continued in the same posture he had set himself, till the whole Army had saluted him.

40. The Souldiers being all gone, he asked his friends about him, whether they thought they should have such another King. When all kept silence he said, that as he was ignorant hereof, so he knew, could *Prophecie*, and almost see with his Eyes how much Blood Macedonia would shed in this Controversie, with what slaughters and bloodshed it would make him a Paventation when he was dead. At length he commanded his body to be buried in the Temple of *Hammou*, and when his friends asked him to whom he would leave his Kingdom, he answered, to the most Valiant. Yet having taken his Ring from his Finger, he gave it to *Perdiccas*: whereby all conjectured that he commanded his Kingdom to him till his Children should grow up. Again, *Perdiccas* demanding of him when he would have Divine Honours given to him, he replied, then, when they (his followers) were happy: which were his last words, and a little after he expired. He lived 32 years and eight months, reigned twelve, and also eight months. He died six years and ten months after the murder of *Darius*, in the first year of the 114 *Olympiad*, A. M. 3681, 322 years before the *Æra* of Christ. *Syngambis* the Mother of *Darius* having with some patience born the loss both of her Son's life and Empire, when she heard of *Alexander's* death refused to live any longer. So, refraining from all sustenance she died the fifth day after.

Julius Cæsar
in Diodorus.

CHAP. II.

Of such things as hapned after the Death of Alexander amongst his Captains, till their Cantonizing of his Empire into their particular Kingdoms, and their taking the Stile and Title of Kings upon them, Containing the space of 17 years.

1. Some have written that *Alexander* by his Testament, distributed the Provinces amongst his several Commanders. So the Author of the first Book of *Machabees* affirms, and the *Excerptæ Chronologica* of an old *Barbarian*, as *Valesius* terms him, published by *Scaliger*. *Alexander*, he saith, coming to die wrote his Testament, that every one of the Princes of Alexander might Reign, all of them in their own Provinces. But *Quintus Curtius*, *Arrianus* and *Diodorus Siculus* sufficiently refute this Fable. *Curtius* writes expressly, Some have believed that by the Testament of Alexander the Provinces were distributed; but we have found the fane of that thing, though it be delivered by Authors, to have been vain. *Alexander*, though he had taken several Wives, yet left but one Son already born of *Barine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*, and another in the Belly of *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes*. His Son called *Hercules* was designed upon his Mothers account by the Captains, who much scorned the Conquered Nations. He had a Sister named *Cleopatra*, Widow to the King of *Epirus*, and their Uncle, who was slain in *Italy*; and a base Brother called *Arrianus* (begotten on *Philitas* a woman of *Larissa*) who married *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Antygus*, whom being the right Heir, and his Nephew, *Philip* kept from the Kingdom of Macedonia, after he had exercised the Office of his Protector, and on him bestowed a Daughter of his own in Marriage. This *Antygus* bore patiently the want of the Kingdom all *Philip's* time, but in the beginning of *Alexander's* reign, with the loss of his life, attempted something. His Title through the prowess of the two late Kings was utterly forgotten; *Cleopatra* (as a woman perhaps) was not thought of. *Arrianus* neither by birth, personage, or qualities was fitly endowed; yet upon him the election fell, for want of a better, because the Captains were at a loss what course to take.

Alexander's
Il-
lucand Li-
tuge.

2. For, *Protonotus*, the Son of *Lagus* (as he was called; but reputed the Son of *Philip*, who, as it's said, having used the company of *Arjane* his Mother, put her off in Marriage to *Lagus*, when great with Child), rejecting the Title of the half *Persian*

an

Contention amongst his Captains about the Succession.

an Brood, though as *Alexander's* Children they should have been considered, was for the Captains their taking the rule upon them, and deciding all things by Vote of the major part. But as he might think this course most likely to serve his own ambition, *Ariftotus* perhaps on the same grounds betook himself to the words of *Alexander*, which he interpreted as meant of *Perdiccas*, because, saying, that he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, at the point of death he delivered to him his Ring. He was seconded by many, who either bore good will to *Perdiccas*, or out of fear that he would carry it, would not venture to oppose him. But he would needs make a shew of modesty, thinking thereby the more to incase himself, whereat *Melaeus* an envious man, and one who bore to him a particular grudge, took advantage to inveigh against him, and disturbed all the Councils, by perverting the Soldiers that whosoever was the Empire, they had the best Title to the Treasure. During the uproar *Arideus* was mentioned, and his Name laid hold on by some peaceable Spirits, who labouring betwixt the Parties wrought a compofure for the time, wherein yet *Perdiccas* had the better of his Adversary. It was agreed, according to the desire of the Infantry, that *Arideus*, the base Son of *Philip*, should be King, and forasmuch as he was stupid and dull (rather through the practising of *Olympias* upon him, as some thought, than any Original indisposition) *Perdiccas* was made his Protector, and Commander of his Forces, who hereby in effect was King for a time, though that Title, with Name of *Philip*, for a greater Grace was conferred upon the other.

3. Then did the Officers distribute the Provinces of the Empire amongst themselves. *Macedonia* and *Greece* were left to *Antipater*, *Thrace* with the neighbouring Countries was assigned to *Lyfymachus*; *Ægypt*, with all that which of *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were committed to *Laomedon*; *Armenia* to *Neoptolemus*; *Mesopotamia* to *Arceflaus*. In *Asia* the less, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, with the Countries thereto adjoining, which *Alexander* had passed by in his Conquests, were assigned to *Eumenes*; *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycæonia*, and the greater *Phrygia* to *Antigonus*; the lesser *Phrygia* as far as the *Hellefpont* to *Leontas*; *Cilicia* to *Philotas*, together with *Isauria*; and *Caria* to *Cassander*. *Menander* was confirmed in the Government of *Iffia*. *Lycia* given him by *Alexander*. The Isle of *Cyprus* remained in the Power of certain Governors to which he had granted it; and all that part of his Empire from *Babylon* Eastward, continued in the state wherein he left it. Thus was his Dominions disposed of otherwise than he intended, for one telleth us that he made a Will, which he delivered to the *Rhodian*s, and another affirmeth, that thereby all was given to one only Successor. After this his Funerals were thought of, his Body having lain seven days neglected. Yet no corruption had seized on it, and it looked as fresh in the Face as though it had been living, which as it's said made the *Ægyptians* and *Chaldeans* afraid to touch it; but having prayed that Mortals might lawfully do it, they embalmed, and after that adorned it with Royal Ensigns. The care of the Burial was committed to one *Arideus* (not the King, though some have so mistaken) another of the Captains, who spent two years in making preparation for it, which made *Olympias* tax the late ambition of her Son, and bewail his misfortune together in the same Speech, as *Elian* observeth. For the Burial of *Alexander* was to be ushered in by the Funerals of many of his Followers.

4. *Ptolomy* got possession of *Ægypt* without any trouble, and settled himself therein, partly by his fair carriage towards the Inhabitants, and partly by the power of an Army, which he raised by virtue of 8000 thousand Talents. Hearing that *Perdiccas* had an intention to deprive him of his Government, he contracted affinity with *Antipater*, and making away *Cleomenes* his Lieutenant, because he was much addicted to the Protector, fortified the Country. *Antipater* was now employed in the *Lamian* War against the *Athenians* and *Ætolians*, who refused to receive their Exiles, as was bioted before, and so distressed him in Battle, that he was forced to fly to *Lamia*, a City of *Phthiotis*. Here *Leontides* the *Athenian* General besieged him; but when he perceived him forsaken by the *Ætolians*, he issued out, and slew him in the charge, being an excellent Souldier, and one who had deserved well of *Greece*. *Leontas* Governor of the lesser *Phrygia*, allured by promise of his Daughter, came over to help *Antipater*; but marching through *Thessaly* was driven into a Fen by the *Græcians*, and there slain. At his mishap *Antipater* (who coming thither the day after, united his Forces with his own) is said to have rejoiced, because he had determined to make himself Master of *Macedonia*. At this time *Perdiccas* taking the King along with him, went against *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, whom getting into his hands, he Crucified, and subduing those Countries which *Alexander* had passed by, gave

gave them to *Eumenes*, according to agreement. *Critæus* not long after passed over into *Macedonia*, to the assistance of *Antipater*, with 10000 *Macedonians*, and 150 *Perfians*, which Force united to the Army of *Antipater*, overpowered the joint strength of the *Græcians*.

6. After this began the Civil Wars betwixt the Captains themselves. For, *Perdiccas* breathing after the Sovereignty, and knowing how able the other were to withstand him, grudged *Ptolomy* exceedingly the possession of *Ægypt*, and through the persuasion of *Eumenes* procured much enmity, in that having married *Nicea* his daughter of *Antipater*, by his advice, he resolved to put her away, and take *Chaparta* to wife, the daughter of *Philip*, and sister to *Alexander*. This being made known to *Antigonus*, he certified *Antipater* of it, and being calumniated by *Perdiccas* (who intended to make him away) he fled unto him, with *Demetrius* his son. *Perdiccas* consulting with his Officers what in this case was to be done, resolved first to set upon *Ægypt*, left *Ptolomy* during his absence in *Greece*, should seize upon *Ægypt*. And to keep *Ægypt* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, he left *Eumenes* with large power over the Provinces, joining with him *Alcetas* his own brother, and *Neoptolemus*. *Perdiccas* taking along with him *Arideus* the King, and young *Alexander* now born of *Roxane* (who was eight months gone with child of him when his Father died) for a more specious pretence, marched against *Ptolomy*. *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, hearing how things went, clapped up a peace presently with the *Ætolians*, and leaving *Polyperchon* to govern *Macedonia* and *Greece*, passed over the *Hellefpont* and dispatched away messengers to *Ptolomy* to enter into a league and society with him.

7. *Alcetas*, with those *Macedonians* he commanded, flatly refused to fight against them; and *Neoptolemus* envying *Eumenes* the chief command, plainly revolted. After this, some were sent to feel *Eumenes*, but he answered, that he would rather die than betray his trust, whereupon *Antipater* and *Craterus* divided their Forces. *Antipater* marched towards *Ægypt* to join with *Ptolomy*, and *Craterus* staid to oppose *Eumenes*, with whom fighting in *Cappadocia*, his Horse tumbled, and was run through with a Lance, and after the fight died of the wound: *Neoptolemus* also grappling with *Eumenes* was slain by him. By this time *Perdiccas* with the two Kings came to *Pellus* in *Ægypt*, where though *Ptolomy* purged himself of the crimes objected against him, yet he would pursue his enterprize, though contrary to the inclination of his Soldiers, his end being hereby to be brought about. Divers of his friends presently forsook him; yet he set upon a Castell near the Nile, and not being able to gain it, marched away and came over against *Memphis*, where the River parting into two streams, maketh an Island very convenient for the lodging of his Army. Endeavouring to bring his men into it, he lost 200 in the Ford, for that those who first waded over so removed the sand at the bottom, that the River was too deep for such as followed. Yet did he command those who had got safe over to return; of whom part were drowned, some carried down the stream to the Enemy, and others being tossed to and fro in the River were devoured by Crocodiles. By this imprudent act the minds of his followers were so turned against him, that 100 of his chief Officers revolting, he was slain by certain Horse-men, after he had continued in his power almost three years. * One reporteth, that he was slain at the River Nile by *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*.

8. *Ptolomy* came over to the Kings, whom with the Officers he magnificently entertained, and then an election being to be made of a new Governour for them in the room of *Perdiccas*, though he could easily have procured himself to be chosen, yet he got two others elected, viz. *Pitbon* one of *Alexander's* most intimate friends and *Arideus*, who having the care of the funeral committed to him, had at the desire of *Ptolomy* buried the Kings body at *Memphis*, against the will of *Perdiccas*. The Army now being displeased at the death of *Craterus*, declared *Eumenes* an Enemy, and chose *Antigonus* together with *Antipater* Generals for the subduing of him. But *Pitbon* and *Arideus* held not their places long, for *Euridice* the wife of *Arideus* the King, being a woman of a notable spirit, would have nothing done without her knowledge, and grew so intolerable, that *Pitbon* therewith wearied, and seeing the *Macedonians* too much addicted to her, called the Soldiers together, and laid down his Protectorship. Into his room then *Antipater* was elected with full power.

9. Against him also *Eurydice* raised such a Sedition in the Army, taking occasion at the want of pay, that with much ado he escaped the danger of his life, by the means of *Antigonus* and *Seleucus*. After this, he anew divided such Provinces as he law con-

C c c c

venient,

Civil Wars amongst the Captains.

Perdiccas set against Ptolomy.

Eumenes left by him in Asia to govern the better.

Perdiccas slain.

Pitbon and Arideus chosen into his place. And Eumenes declared an Enemy. Pitbon layeth down and Antipater chosen into his place.

Arideus declared King.

The Provinces distributed amongst the Captains.

Ptolomy getteth possession of Ægypt.

The Lamian War in Greece.

Perdiccas subdueth Cappadocia.

A. M. 3629. G. 113. an. 1. P. C. 431. Ptolem. 2.

J. J. 13.

A. M. 3629. G. 113. an. 1. P. C. 431. Ptolem. 2.

Idem, Pausan. in Artid. Corn. Nepot. in Eumenes.

A. M. 3629. G. 115. an. 1. P. C. 434. Ptolem. 4.

He created
Antigonus Ge-
neral against
Eumenes.

venient, placing and displacing Governours. He created *Antigonus* General against *Eumenes*, sending his own son *Cassander* as Colonel with him, by whom he might be certified, in case he attempted any thing for his own establishment; and then with the two Kings he marched for *Macedonia*. *Eumenes* having intelligence concerning these Councils, made all preparations possible for resistance. In the Spring *Antigonus* came against him into *Cappadocia*, where he first attempted by Libels thrown into his Camp, to draw his Soldiers from their obedience, offering a great reward for his head. *Eumenes* gave his Soldiers thanks for their fidelity, but told them, that these Libels were feigned by himself to try them, which was a notable device (and of such he was full) to make them wary of giving credit to such for the time to come. Yet some proved false to him, as one *Perdiccas*, who drew away a considerable party, but was pursued and taken, and being put to death, the Soldiers returned to obedience. But *Apollonides* his General of the Horse did most mischief; for being corrupted by *Antigonus*, when they came to join battle he passed over with his Troops to him, whereby *Eumenes* had the worst of it, and lost about 8000 men, with his Carriages.

Eumenes was
driven through
treachery.

10. *Apollonides* the Traytor he caught and hanged: then, flying a private way, he returned to the Camp, and there buried his dead, to the wonder and amazement of the Enemy; after which he could have plundered the carriages of *Antigonus* but for burthening his Soldiers with the booty. Being driven to and fro in this flight, at length he betook himself to a Castle called *Nora*, situate in the Confinnes of *Cappadocia* and *Lycania*, and dismissed all his Army, except 500 Horse-men, and 200 Foot, as also such friends as were unwilling to undergo the hardship of a Siege. *Antigonus* before he would lay close siege to the place, called him forth to a Treaty, requiring him to come to him a Supplior, to which he answered, that he accounted no man his Supplior so long as he had a Sword by his side. This parley, though managed with much respect, came to nothing, and *Antigonus* leaving a party sufficient to carry on the Siege, marched against *Aleas* and *Attalus*, two of *Eumenes* his confederates, whom he suppressed. About this time *Antipater* died in *Macedonia*, and at his death more swayed by the Publick good than any selfish respect, left *Polyperchon* (who after himself was the oldest of *Alexander*'s friends now living) Protector of the Kings, and Captain, with full authority. *Cassander* his son stomached this very much, and consulting how to advance himself to be chief, secretly entered into confederacy with divers Captains. Amongst these was *Ptolemy*, whom he desired that he would send him some ships out of *Phenicia* (for all that Country, together with *Judea*, he had now got into his power) into the *Hellepont*. But the death of *Antipater* strangely all made way for the enlargement of *Eumenes*.

Besieged in
Nora.

Antipater di-
eth and leav-
eth his place
to Polyperchon.

11. For, *Antigonus* now being left in *Asia*, thought off no less than getting it all into his power, and for that end strove to ingratiate himself with the several Captains. Judging that the conjunction of *Eumenes* might be of great advantage to him, he sent *Hieronymus* his Country-man (who being an * Historian, wrote of the acts of *Alexander* and his Successors) to desire him, that forgetting the fight in *Cappadocia*, he would enter into society with him, and receive a larger Province. He required that he should take an oath, which, lightly passing over the Kings, he had framed to his own advantage. *Eumenes* unwilling to swear fealty to him, with the assent of *Hieronymus* and the besiegers, changed the form of the oath, and swore to have the same friends and enemies, not only with him, but with *Olympias*, and the Kings. Hereupon the siege was raised after a years continuance, which he had born with admirable cheerfulness and prudence, and now being left loose drew many followers after him, so that within a few days, besides the 500 which had continued with him in the Castle, he had 2000 at his devotion. *Antigonus* was very angry that he had changed the form of the oath, and by Letters checked the besiegers, for admitting of it, requiring them to besiege him again; but it was too late. Thus, they were as far from closing as before; and still were further set at distance by the affairs which now were on foot in *Macedonia*.

His death
procured the
enlargement of
Eumenes.

12. *Polyperchon* having succeeded *Antipater* (as was before said) recalled *Olympias* out of *Egyptus*, whither her enemy with *Antipater* had driven her, inviting her to take the care of her young grand-son upon her. But *Cassander* resolving to venture for *Macedonia*, entered into confederacy with *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus*, the latter whereof gladly promised him assistance, out of love to the memory of his father, as he pretended, but indeed desirous that he should be diverted by so great a War, whilst he in the mean time might make sure of *Asia*. *Polyperchon* to secure *Greece*, in the name of the Kings published an Edict for the abolishment of all such Oligarchies as

A. M. 3586.
Ol. 115. an. 2.
P. C. 436.
Ptolem. 5.

* Vide Vellum
de script. Gre-
cicis l. 1. c. 11.

Cassander is
brought for
Macedonia, &
Eumenes is fir-
med up to
stand for the
Kings interest.

Who march-
eth to Carre.

To Susa.

The Gover-
nours of the
upper Provin-
ces join with
him.

Antigonus
marcheth a-
gainst him.

since the passing of *Alexander* into *Asia*; had been erected in any of the Cities, which by virtue hereof he restored to their former liberty, hereby to oblige, and keep them from yielding to *Cassander*. In the same name he also wrote to *Eumenes*, upon whom he confirmed his former Government, and bestowed more, beseeching him, that together with himself, he would take upon him the protection of the Kings house; if he pleased, in *Macedonia*, but rather in *Asia* against *Antigonus*, who now had visibly revolted from it: Moreover, he wrote to the Treasurers in *Glicia*, to furnish *Eumenes* with money, and to the *Argyripide* (or the old Soldiers with Silver Shields) to obey him in all things. *Olympias* also by letters desired his help, offering him as the most faithful of those remaining, who could assist against the ruin and de- solation of her Family.

13. *Eumenes* not able to stay any longer in *Cappadocia*, because *Menander* was sent from *Antigonus* against him, hasted into *Glicia*, where the *Argyripide* being 3000 in number joyned with him. Fearing the envy of the *Macedonians*, for that he was but a Stranger of the *Cherranesis* of *Thrace*, he carried it with great civility towards all, and made himself but equal to the other Captains. To contain them in order, he feigned that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, sitting upon his Throne, and commanding as formerly, in compliance wherewith, he caused a Throne to be erected in a Tent for the King, whereon was also laid a Diadem and Scepter; and here the Council of Officers were always to assemble: Then sending his friends abroad he raised many men, the report of the largeness of his pay drawing Soldiers out of *Greece* it self. *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus* sent to take off the *Argyripide*, and *Tentamus* one of their Captains was persuaded by them, but was reduced to his former resolution by *Antigonus* his Colleague, and the common Soldiers were quieted by *Eumenes*, who came upon them while yet they were in fear of *Antigonus*, who threatened, that except they would deliver him up, he would come and destroy them with his Army. After this, *Eumenes* marched into *Phenicia*, intending there to provide shipping, that if need were, he might have intercourse with *Polyperchon*. He also intended to rescue *Phenicia* out of *Ptolemy*'s hands; but finding himself unable to accomplish this design, he began his march through *Celestria*, and passed on till he came to *Carre* near *Babylon*, where he took up his Winter-quarters.

14. *Antigonus* having overthrown at Sea *Polyperchon*'s Navy, and attempted something against the Governours near the *Hellepont*, now hasted to make a full conquest of *Asia*. He chose out of all his Army 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, wherewith, for expedition, he marched with speed into *Glicia* to suppress *Eumenes*: his forces ere he could get them together, which caused the other sooner to depart into *Phenicia*, whence he marched to *Carre*. While he here remained he sent to *Seleucus* Governour of *Babylon*, and *Pithon* of *Media*, for aid against the enemies of the Kings; to which they answered, that they were ready to assist the Kings, but not him, who was condemned by a Council of the *Macedonians*, and they solicited the Captains of the *Argyripide* to forsake him; but in vain. After this he resolved for *Susa*, thinking to get aid out of the upper Provinces, and money out of the Treasury, and thither he came with much difficulty, *Seleucus* having drowned his Camp, that he was forced to get off his men with boats. It hapned that the Governours of the Provinces were at this time gathered together with many Forces against *Pithon*, who having slain *Philotas*, had placed his own brother *Eudamius* in his stead. Fearing the like might be attempted against themselves, they armed, and having overthrown him in battle, drove him out of *Parthia* to *Babylon*, where he fled to *Seleucus* for relief. *Eumenes* formerly sent them Letters from the Kings, now also solicited them for aid when thus met together, to which they agreed, and came down. These were *Pencestes* Governour of *Persia*, one of the Keepers of the late King's body and now chosen by the rest for their Generalissimo; *Polemon* of *Caramania*, *Silyrius* of *Arachosia*, *Stalandar* of *Aria*, and *Drangianus*; *Andrabazus*, who was sent from *Oxyartes* Governour of the *Parapamisade*, and *Eudamius* (or *Eudemus*) Governour of the *Oxydrace* and *Malli*, who brought with him out of *India* 120 Elephants (besides other Forces) which he got into his hands after he had slain *Porus* the King. Their united Force consisted of above 18700 foot, and 4600 horse, which being joyned to *Eumenes* his Army, made up a considerable body.

15. They had fallen out about chusing a new General, had not *Eumenes* his former device of setting up *Alexander*'s Pavilion and Throne prevented it, whither he persuaded them to repair, and rule in common; after which he took as much money out of the Treasury at *Susa* as his wants required. In Spring *Antigonus* being come into *Mesopotamia* marched to *Babylon*, where joyning in Confederacy with *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, he received some Forces from them, and passed the River *Tigris*.
Cccc 2

Diod.
Plutarch.
Cass. Nip.
Eumenes.
Polyest. Strabo.
I. 4.

A. M. 3588.
Ol. 115. an. 4.
P. C. 437.
Ptolem. 7.

A. M. 3589.
Ol. 116. an. 1.
P. C. 438.
Ptolem. 8.

hearing of his coming went down to *Pallitiræ*, where he fell upon such of his Soldiers as were got over the River, which he filled all with Carkeises, and took 4000 Prisoners. *Antigonus* therefore bent his course another way to the City *Radaca* situated upon the River *Euleus*, whence he journeyed through the Country of the *Coffians* with great difficulty, and hardship, into the habitable parts of *Media*, where he refreshed, and quieted his men now ready to mutiny, by reason of their tedious journey. *Eumenes* marched into *Perfia*, where the whole Army was Magnificently entertained by *Poncesses* the *Stratapa*, who now thought to establish himself in the Chief power, but by the great cunning of *Eumenes*, together with the other Captains, was retained in his former condition, and brought to a greater observance of him. *Antigonus*, following him into *Perfia*, he returned to meet him, but feasting his Army, he drunk so excessively, that a great distemper thereby contracted, stopped him for some days, and then was he carried in a Litter out of the noise, till such time as the Front would not march without him in the head of them. He was therefore constrained to lead them, and shortly after to frame the battle in his Litter, which *Antigonus* saw, and laughed at.

They meet.

16. Four days were spent in light skirmishing, during which time *Antigonus* endeavoured to draw away *Eumenes* his men; but to no purpose; and afterwards resolved to go 3 days journey off into *Gabiene*, for that the Armies were both much straitened for necessaries. *Eumenes* hearing this, sent some, who as Fugitives should acquaint him how as that night he intended to fall in upon his Camp, which he believing, stayed, expecting him, and then did *Eumenes* make haste to get into *Gabiene* before him. *Antigonus* seeing himself deluded, marched after with great expedition, and leaving behind the rest of his Army, with a party got before him. He presented then himself to his view upon the Mountains, which *Eumenes* seeing, and thinking he had all his Forces with him, made an halt, and so they mutually deceived each other. Here in the Country of the *Paretaceni* they joyned battle, wherein *Eumenes* had the better, though the other got the advantage of ground; but then his Soldiers beginning to be refractory would needs depart to their baggage, and not stay to bury their dead. Whereupon *Antigonus* doing this first, the victory came to be controverted.

The victory controverted.

17. *Antigonus* finding himself to have had the worst of it, went his way to *Gamarga* in *Media*, where was plenty of Provisions, and then *Eumenes* finding his Army in no good case to pursue him, departed to *Gabiene*. Here he divided his Forces into their Winter quarters, not according to his own desire, but the pleasure of the Soldiers; for the old ones which had followed *Alexander* in his Conquests were grown so high, as they would rather give Laws to their Captains than receive them. *Antigonus* hearing this, thought to surprize them on a sudden, and for that they should know nothing of it, resolved to take a by-way, which yet was declared to *Eumenes*, who not being able to call his Soldiers together so soon as was requisite, betook himself to his seldom failing policy. He caused fires to be made on the Mountains where the Enemy was to pass, which they beholding, thought he had there with him his whole Army, and so took the common way, after they were come into the midst of their journey. *Antigonus* stayed one day to recruit his Army, and *Eumenes* gathered in the mean time his Forces together, which admired his prudence so much, as they ordered him to be Chief, and thus brought him into danger of life, divers of the great ones conspiring against him, which made him fly as he was amongst a company of wild beasts, and caused him to make his Will, and tear his Letters, lest any of them that had wrote unto him should be troubled after his death. This as it was faithfully done to his friends, so was it also in good time, as it after fell out.

Diadotus se
soprà *Platibus*
in *Eumenes*, &
Cornel. Nepos.

18. For shortly after, *Antigonus* and he came to a Pitch-battle, which decided the controversy, though not for the Conqueror. *Eumenes* lead into the field 36700, foot, 6500 horse, and 114 Elephants, *Antigonus* brought 22000 foot, 9000 horse, and 65 Elephants. The *Argyraspidæ* (or silver shields) got the victory, for they put all *Antigonus* his foot to flight, and killed 5000 of them, so that though *Poncesses* with drew himself out of the fight with his own horse, and 1500 more; yet *Eumenes* with the loss of 7000 on his side got the day. But neither valour nor wisdom could befriend him, for the place where they fought being exceeding dusty, so as ones sight was taken away at a little distance, *Antigonus* sends a party of horse to plunder the Enemies baggage, so that the *Macedonians* though Conquerors, after the battle fell into a deep melancholy for the loss of their Wives and Children taken away, and *Centaurus* first without the knowledge of any one sent to *Antigonus*, who Covenanted with him to restore him all, on condition *Eumenes* were delivered to him, and they would all pass into his Camp, whereupon the *Macedonians*, the 1000 which *Poncesses* commanded,

Eumenes get-
teth the bat-
ter.

But is betray-
ed by his
men,

manded, and most of the other Captains revolted, and *Eumenes* having his hands tied behind him was delivered up; his Army shamefully following him to the Tents of *Antigonus*, passing it self in triumph after him. *Antigonus* for shame would not see *Eumenes* his old fellow Soldier in that condition; but assigned him to Keepers, at first requiring he should be strictly looked to, but afterwards remitting that rigour till almost all perished him to make an end of him. This he was loath to do, and took seven days to consult in; but then fearing some Sedition might arise in the Army, he commanded his daily allowance of meat should be withdrawn, saying, he would never lay hands upon him. Two or three days he languished in this condition, and then the Army being to march, one was sent in, and killed him without the knowledge of *Antigonus*; so fell this brave man, who was excelled in Military glory but by few Captains, in the eighth year after the death of *Alexander*.

And killed.

19. *Cassander* having obtained of *Antigonus* 35 ships, and 6000 men, sailed with them to *Athens*, which together with the Haven he had got into his power, by means of *Nicanor*, whom he had sent before-hand for that purpose. Against him came *Polysperchon*, intending to besiege him, but his Provisions failing, he left his son with a party in *Attica*, and with the greatest part of the Army marched into *Poloponnesus* against the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, who only amongst the Cities had refused to take away their Oligarchy, and had joyned with *Cassander*. Here he had the worst of it, and that brought him so into contempt, as most of the Greek Cities revolted from him to *Cassander*, and the *Athenians* seeing they could not shake off his Garrison, agreed with him that he should retain the Fort *Munychia*, till the War was finished with the Kings, but that the City should be governed by one whom he appointed, which was *Demetrius Phalerus* the Philosopher, *Theophrastus* his Scholar, who Governed some years with moderation, and was honoured with 360 Statues. Then *Cassander* making an expedition into *Macedonia*, found there many friends. The year after, *Polysperchon* by the help of *Macida*, King of the *Molossians*, reduced *Olympus* with *Alexander* the son of *Rboxane* her Grand-Child into *Macedonia*, whereupon *Euridice* the Wife of *Arideus* the King fortified herself, and sent to *Cassander* for aid, but the *Macedonians* fearing the Majesty of *Olympus* fell away from her, and the with her husband being both committed to prison, he was first made away, and then *Olympus* sent her a Sword, an Halter, and Poyson, to chuse which of them she pleased; so the praying the gods that the might have at length such gifts sent unto her, hanged herself with her Garter. This hapned after *Arideus* had enjoyed the title of King fix years and four months.

Diadotus l. 18.

Justus in
vita.
Plutarchus.

Olympus de-
stroyeth *Ari-
deus* and his
Wife.

20. *Olympus* killed *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and destroyed the Sepulchre of his other brother *Iolles*, and then chusing out 100 of his chieftest friends put them to cruel deaths. But he hearing this was arrived in *Macedonia*, marched out of *Poloponnesus* against her; whereupon she made *Aristonous* her General, and commanded him to meet *Cassander*, the betaking herself with *Alexander* her Grand-son, his Mother, and others, into *Pydna*, hoping the should have many assistants, but she was deceived. For *Cassander* besieged her by Land and Sea. *Macida* was coming to assist her, but by his means his men fell away from him, and banishing him his Country, joyned themselves and Kingdom to the other; others in *Macedonia* intended to aid her, but fearing *Cassander* fell off also to him, and as for *Polysperchon* in whom rested now all her hope, *Callus* being sent against him corrupted all most of his Soldiers. The siege therefore lasted without any let, till famine prevailed in the City, as many of the Defendants came out, and the was then driven by necessity to yield, very hardly obtaining promise of safety to her person. Afterward he caused those whose Kinfolks he had put to death to accuse her to the *Macedonians*, who naturally hated, and now incensed by them, condemned her. Then did he send some of her friends to her, willing her to fly, but she denied it, and resolved to plead her cause before the people; so that he fearing their affections might be moved towards her, sent some Soldiers to kill her. They were so struck with her Majesty, that they returned without doing their errand; but then some, the friends of whom she had made away came in, and slew her, not at all amazed, or behaving her self otherwise than as the Mother of *Alexander*, whom she had outlived eight years.

Diadotus l. 19.

A. M. 3690.
Oliv. 116. ann. 4.
P. C. 432.
Plutarch. 5.

She is also
murdered by
Cassander.

21. *Pithon* the Governour of *Media*, envying *Antigonus* his power, and greatness, laboured to draw most of the Soldiers now in their Winter quarters to his own party, intending to establish himself, which *Antigonus* being aware of, gave out that he would commit the East unto him, and by divers friendly Letters drew him to him, after which he got him condemned in a Council of his Associates, and put him to death. Then marched he into *Perfia*, being received by the Inhabitants as King, for that

His son put to
death by *Antigonus*.

that

Who ordering
matters as he
pleaseth in the
East.

Seleucus flyeth
into Egypt.

Makes the
Captains
combine a-
gainst Anti-
gonus.

now without controversie he was Lord of *Asia*. Here calling a Council, he confirmed divers in their Governments, and amongst the rest *Sibyrus* of *Aracasia*, to whom he delivered 1000 of the most turbulent *Argyraspides* (who had delivered up *Eumenes*) under pretence to serve him in the Wars, but indeed to destroy them, giving him secret order to expose them to ruin, that so they might never see more *Macedonia* nor the *Greek Sea*. Perceiving *Pencestes* to be in great favour here, he removed him from the Government, to the great grief of the people, and then got the Treasure at *Susa* into his hands, out of which he made 25000 Talents. Thence he journeyed to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* the Governour royally entertained him, but offering to punish a certain Officer of the Army without his knowledge, he called him to an account for the revenues of the place. *Seleucus* denied to account, laying that place was given him by the *Macedonians* for his faithful service performed to *Alexander*; but the Contest grew sharper every day, so as he remembering, and fearing the case of *Pitbon*, with fifty horse in his Company fled into *Egypt*. *Antigonus* was glad he had gotten *Babylon*, and that without any violence offered to his ancient friend; but being told by the *Chaldeans*, that if he let him go he should get all *Asia* into his power, and he himself should die in a battle against him, he sent some to pursue him, but in vain.

22. *Seleucus* being courteously entertained by *Protony*, sent his friends into *Europe* to stir up *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* against *Antigonus*, who suspecting some such matter, sent all to retain them in his friendship, but they entered into confederacy together with *Protony* against him, and all three sent their Ambassadors to him, as he was now marching towards the upper *Syria*, to demand that *Cappadocia* and *Lycia* might be restored to *Cassander* Governour of *Caria*; *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont* to *Lysimachus*, all *Syria* to *Protony*, and *Babylon* to *Seleucus*, and to divide all the treasure he had got into his hands since the death of *Eumenes*, with them and the other *Macedonians* who had lost their Governments. To this he answered sharply, and that he was already preparing for *Protony*, so that the Ambassadors returning without any effect, they made great preparations both by Sea and Land. He understanding how full his hands would be, sent about to the chief States to retain them in friendship, and also to hire more Soldiers; he himself went into *Phoenicia*, where he besieged *Tyre*, used great endeavour for the making of ships, and took in *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Aristodemus* also he sent into *Laconia*, who there by the permission of the *Lacedemonians* raised 8000 men, and joyned *Polysperchon* and *Alexander* his son in confederacy with him, of whom the former was made general of *Greece*, and the later he desired to go over to *Antigonus*, who going accordingly in an assembly of the Army accused *Cassander*, for that he had put *Olympias* to death, had committed *Rhoxane* and her son to custody, married by force *Thesalonica* the daughter of *Philip* and sister of *Alexander*, and so evidently affected the Kingdom of *Macedonia*; moreover, that he had re-edified *Troies* destroyed by *Alexander*, and restored the *Olimpians*; whereupon he was declared an Enemy, except he would amend what was amiss, and obey *Antigonus*, and set all the *Græcians* at liberty, and so *Alexander* rewarded with 500 Talents was sent back. But not long after he revolted to *Cassander*, being for that declared General of *Peloponnesus*, and shortly after he was traiterously slain by the *Sicionians*.

23. *Seleucus* in *Cyprus* prospered against the party of *Antigonus*, and *Polycritus* his Lieutenant overthrew *Theodotus* his Admiral both at Sea and Land, after which *Protony* and *Antigonus* met and conferred together; but to no purpose. *Cassander* there-
Diodorus at prim.
after fearing *Antigonus* might pass over into *Europe*, to divert him, sent an Army over into *Caria* to help those Cities which were confederate with *Seleucus* and *Protony*, *Cassander* the Governour there joyning with him, which *Antigonus* fearing, left *Demetrius* his son in *Syria*, with order to entrap *Protony's* forces if they should march that way, and for that he was then but 22 years old, left four grave men his friends to counsel and direct him. Upon his coming to *Caria*, *Cassander* the Governour having too great a burthen upon him, made a Peace, on condition to keep his place, and gave his brother for an hostage, whom yet getting again out of his hands he presently revolted, after which *Antigonus* got divers Cities into his Power, and restored the *Milesans* to their liberty. At this time the inhabitants of *Cyrene* revolting, *Protony* reduced them again to obedience by the means of *Agis* his General, and in *Cyprus* suppressed some of the Kings which were of the contrary faction. Returning home he was solicited by *Seleucus* to undertake an Expedition against *Demetrius* then in *Celestria*, so that with 18000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, he marched to *Gaza*, where *Demetrius* expected him. In the fight the Forces of *Demetrius* seemed rather to prevail, till his
Elephants

Elephants being wounded and taken, his Horse out of fear ran away. He himself fled accompanied with many followers till he came near *Gaza*, but then so many forsok him and went in thither to fetch out their goods, that multitudes flocking to the gates, and they therefore being hindered from being flut, the enemies entered with them and took the Town. *Protony* took *Sidon* also, and besieged *Tyre*, whose Governour *Andronicus* upon summons refused to yield, and reviled him; yet he getting the place into his power through the sedition of the Souldiers, when he looked for present death, not only forgave him, but entertained him courteously as his familiar friend.

24. *Protony* making himself master of the places about *Syria*, returned into *Egypt*, being followed thither by many which were allured by his great courtship. But *Seleucus* thinking this a good opportunity for him to return to his former Principality, obtained of him 800 Foot, and 200 Horse, and with them marched for *Babylon*. In his way in *Mesopotamia* he procured, partly by fair means partly by foul, those *Macedonians* which quartered at *Carbe* to joyn with him, and when he came to *Babylon*, the Inhabitants there willingly received him, and he shortly after stormed the Castle which was held by *Antigonus* his garrison. *Nicanor* the Governour of *Media* hearing this, came against him with above 10000 Foot, and 7000 Horse, whom he went out to meet with but few more than 3000 Foot, and 400 Horse, and knowing himself too weak to engage in a set battle with him, he hid his men in the Fens till he was past with his Army, and then came upon him lying carelessly in the night without any strict guards; so as the *Persians* coming to fight, *Eugnus* their Captain was slain, with other Officers at which being struck, and also weary of *Antigonus* his government, they revolted; and *Nicanor* with a few at his heels escaped, being glad he was not delivered up. *Seleucus* by this means getting a strong Army, easily made himself Master of *Susiana*, *Media*, and the Countrey thereto adjoining; so as getting hereby Royal Majesty, and Glory suitable to his dignity, some have from this year fetched the rise of that *Æra*, which afterwards was called that of the *Seleucide*, and of the *Greeks*; for that his Kingdom proved the most considerable; about the year of the World 3694, the first of the 117 Olympiad, 309 years before the *Æra* of Christ, and twelve years after the death of *Alexander*.

25. When *Antigonus* heard of it, he sent his son *Demetrius* against him. *Demetrius* had now redeemed his credit by the overthrow of *Cilles*, sent to expel him out of *Syria* by *Protony*, and upon it called thither his Father, so as they recovered all that Country, and *Phoenicia* out of his hands, he not daring to stay and try a battle with *Antigonus*. *Demetrius* led with him an Army of 15000 Foot, and 4200 Horse, and had order to recover the Principality of *Babylon*, and then go down to the Sea. *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left Governour of *Babylon*, hearing of his coming, advised the inhabitants to leave the City, and flee some into the Desert, or over the River *Tigris*; he himself with a Band of men flew up and down, taking advantages at the Enemy, and sent to *Seleucus* into *Media* for aid, so that *Demetrius* coming and finding the City forsaken, stormed one of the Forts therein, and for that his time was out, beyond which he could not stay, he left *Archelaus* with a strong party to besiege the other. Then giving leave to his Soldiers to plunder all they could light on, he departed according to his Father's orders to the Sea, where he besieged *Halicarnassus*, but was beaten off by *Protony*, and so as it were took his leave of that Province for ever, taking what he could get along with him, and perhaps for this reason the *Chaldeans* with the Author of the second Book of the *Machabees* in this year (one after the other) fix the *Æra* of *Seleucus*. Not long after, *Protony*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, made a Peace with *Antigonus* on these terms: that *Cassander* should be Captain General of *Europe*; *Lysimachus* should retain *Thrace*, and *Protony* *Egypt*, and the rest which he now enjoyed, until *Alexander* the son of *Roxane* should come to age; and that *Antigonus* should be over *Asia*, and the *Greeks* live after their own Laws. This agreement was not kept long, each one seeking under any pretence to enlarge his Dominions, and indeed they might better do it, seeing that he for whom they pretended themselves Administrators, and was their Sovereign Lord, was taken away. For *Cassander* taking notice that young *Alexander* grew up, and that the People began to talk, that now he ought to be delivered out of custody, and to enjoy his Fathers Kingdom, and he fearing his own interest, commanded secretly *Glaucius* his Keeper to kill him and his Mother, and concealing their bodies, to acquaint no person living with it. Thus he who was unborn when
his

Seleucus recovereth Babylon and the Eastern parts.

Demetrius attempts against him.

An agreement between Protony, Cassander, & Lysimachus.

A. M. 3593.
Ol. 117. an. 1.
P. C. 442.
Seleucus 11.
Protony 12.

Euphrates in Chronica, &c.

A. M. 3594.
Ol. 117. an. 2.
P. C. 443.
Seleucus 12.
Protony 13.

his death of
young Alexander

It was his
brother

his Father died, died by the hands of violence and treason, thirteen years after his death.

26. He had a brother yet living elder than himself, who being begotten of *Barthes* (never married to *Alexander*) was held as illegitimate by the Captains, though born before his Father's death. His name was *Hercules*, being now kept at *Pergamus*, whence he was called shortly after the death of the other, by *Polyperchon*, who now being in *Peloponnesus*, and envying *Cassander* the Principality of *Macedonia*, sent about to his friends, intreating, that the youth being seventeen years old, might be brought, and established in his Fathers Throne. The *Etolians* especially, with others, embraced the motion; so as he got together about twenty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, in no great space, and within a while after gathered up a numerous Army, with which he marched and came on his way to *Stymphalia*. Here *Cassander* opposed him, and seeing that his *Macedonians* took well enough this reduction of their Prince, and fearing they might revolt to him, sent to *Polyperchon*, and with vast promises secretly persuaded him to make away the young man, which accordingly was performed. About this time *Demetrius* overthrew *Ptolomy* his Lieutenants in *Cilicia*, and he to be revenged stoutly her where he took some Cities, after that failed into *Greece*, where he endeavoured in emulation to *Ptolomy* to set the Cities at liberty; but the *Greeks* not keeping their promise of sending money and corn, having received *Sicyon* and *Corinth* from the Widow of *Alexander* the son of *Ephastion* (who had revenged stoutly her husbands death, and kept still these places) he agreed with *Cassander* that each should retain such places as he had in his power, and returned.

Made away.

And *Cleopatra*
their Aunt.

27. *Alexander* the Great had yet a sister living called *Cleopatra*, formerly the Widow of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* (who making an Expedition into *Italy*, perished, against the *Lucanians*, as *Livie* tells us) and after that married to *Perdiccas*, whom also now being at *Sardis*, *Antigonos* seems to have wooed. But she inclining rather to *Ptolomy*, stole out of *Sardis* to go to him, whereupon *Antigonos* took full order by the Governour of the Town, that she was not only stopped in her journey, but by means also of some women secretly made away; after which to colour the matter he put some of them to death, and buried her body with royal magnificence. Shortly after this, *Demetrius* was sent into *Greece* to set the Cities at liberty, which he accomplished at this time for *Athens*, *Demetrius Phalareus* being driven out, and conducted to *Thebes* where he lived till *Cassander's* death, and then fled to *Ptolomy*. Afterward *Demetrius* being recalled to make War in *Cyprus*, thither he passed, where he overthrew *Menelaus*, *Ptolomy's* brother and Governour there, and pursuing him to the City *Salamine*, slew three thousand of his men, and took one thousand, and then besieged him in that place. *Ptolomy's* hearing of the defeat of his men, came both with Sea and Land forces, and engaged the besiegers in battle, wherein though he overthrew that Wing against which he himself fought, yet the other prevailing, he was discomfited with the loss of eight thousand men, and all his ships lay eight, with which he fled away, and *Demetrius* became Master of the Town and Island. *Antigonos* being elevated with this success, received the title of King given him by his friends, and a Diadem set upon his head, which title and honour he also gave to his Son *Demetrius*. The *Egyptians* also hearing this, left they should seem to be dejected for their loss, gave the name of King to *Ptolomy*, who thenceforth in all his Letters styled himself so. Neither now would the other great ones come behind these; for *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, after their example, took upon themselves the same dignity and title, all the near relations of *Alexander* being quite extinct.

*Diadema ad
Glyp. 117.
Julian lib. 15.
A. M. 3555.
Ol. 117. ca. 4.
P. C. 450.
Silenc. 4.
Ptolom. 15.*

*Diadema 20.
ad Olymp. 48.*

*Idem lib.
Plutarchus
Demetrius.
Julian lib. 15.
A. M. 3555.
Ol. 118. ca. 2.
P. C. 447.
Silenc. 6.
Ptolom. 15.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From Alexanders Captains taking the Title of Kings, to the death of Seleucus the Survivor of them, containing the space of 24 years.

I. *Antigonos* animated by his late success against *Ptolomy* in *Cyprus*, now thought of no less than ousting him also of *Egypt* itself; wherefore recalling his son from the Island, he commanded all his Forces to meet at *Antigonia* a City newly built by him upon the River *Orentes* in *Syria*, as convenient against the upper Provinces and *Egypt* which afterwards *Seleucus* destroyed, and translated the Inhabitants to his *Seleucia*. Leading the Land-forces himself, he committed the Fleet to his son, which was to sail along upon the Coasts within sight of the Army as it marched. Having good Provision both for men and beast, he marched through the desert; His Navy ran great hazard at Sea, but the Tempest ceasing in good time, they came all together unto the Nile. *Ptolomy* by this time had fortified the several mouths of the River, as the Sea-forces could do no good, though they removed from one to another, and the Land-Army could not find any forage at that time of the year, the waters being very high; Moreover, many fell away to the Enemy, being allured with his promise of two pounds to every common Soldier, and a Talent to an Officer; so that *Antigonos* was fain to retreat into *Syria*. *Ptolomy* being exceedingly glad hereof, sent to his Confederates to acquaint them with his good success; and now having thus defended his Kingdom, accounted himself rightly to enjoy it, and hereupon some have accounted the beginning of his reign from this very time, fixing it at nineteen years distance from the death of *Alexander*.

Antigonos his
fuerdils exped-
ition against
Ptolomy.

*A. M. 3559.
Ol. 11. ca. 3.
P. C. 448.
Silenc. 7.
Ptolom. 18.
Ptolemas in
Regum Causs.*

And as fruit-
less against
Rhodes.

A Combin-
on against
him.

Stirs prece-
ding the great
battel.

2. But this want of success allayed not the ambition of *Antigonos*. He sent his son *Demetrius* presently against the *Rhodians*, who had formerly displeased him by a denial to send him aid, and ships. For, they endeavouring as near as they could to keep in with all these great ones; yet were drawn by their private interest, especially to favour *Ptolomy*, from whose Kingdom they got the greatest part of their livelihood by way of Traffick. *Demetrius* according to his fathers command, went, and besieged their City, lying before it well-nigh a whole year, during which time he made all sorts of opposition he could, till ordered by his Father to make peace with them, which they were prone to accept of, though *Ptolomy* and others sent them Provisions, and supplies of men. Departing from *Rhodes*, *Demetrius* passed into *Greece* to restore the Cities which *Cassander* and *Polyperchon* had lately mastered in the absence of *Antigonos's* Forces. *Chalcis* he freed from a Garrison of the *Boeotians*, whom he also withdrew from *Cassander's* friendship, joyined in society with the *Atolians*, and afterwards restored *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, *Athens*, and other places to their freedom. *Cassander* seeing things by the help of *Demetrius* to go well with *Greece*, sent over to *Antigonos* to desire peace, but he refused it, except he would refer himself whole unto him. He being affrighted at this, sent to *Lysimachus* in *Thrace*, to come and Consult with him, and then they both dispatch away Messengers to *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus*, to let them see how they were concerned also to resist *Antigonos*. They hearkened willingly to the offers made unto them, and joyined in Confederacy against him as their common Enemy, promising great supplies for carrying on the War.

*A. M. 3560.
Ol. 118. ca. 4.
P. C. 449.
Silenc. 8.
Ptolom. 19.*

3. *Cassander* thinking it good policy not to stay for the Enemy, to come upon him, but invade him first, gave part of his Army to *Lysimachus* to pass over with it into *Asia*, and with the rest marched for *Thessaly*, there to oppose *Demetrius* and the *Greeks*. There meeting, and incamping with vast Armies, neither of them would begin the battle, expecting how things went in *Asia*, till *Demetrius* was recalled thither by his Father. *Lysimachus* being landed there, the Inhabitants of *Lampachus* submitted to him, whom he restored to their liberty; stormed *Sigens*, and placed a Garrison there; then he took in *Phrygia* upon the *Hellepont*, and divers other places, by the means of *Dacimus*, an Officer of *Antigonos*, whom he had drawn over to him; *Prepelans* also, whom he sent with a par-

D d d

ty

ty to subdue the Cities of *Æolis* and *Ionia*, took other Towns. *Antigonus* was at this time celebrating publick Games at *Antigonia*, when hearing this news, he presently broke them off, and with all speed marched against *Lysimachus*, Whom he reached, and besieged him in his Camp for some time, till taking the opportunity of a dark and rainy night he fled away : Then hearing that *Seleucus* was drawing down his Forces from the upper Provinces, he sent for *Demetrius* to come over with all expedition. *Seleucus* had lately made peace with *Sandroctatus* (or *Androctatus*) who being a man of no quality, had solicited the *Indians* to revolt after the death of *Alexander*, and to kill his Officers, and thence took an occasion to subdue them under himself. *Bactria* being subdued, *Seleucus* had waged War with him, but now for a Compromise gave to him some Countries lying upon the River *Indus*, which *Alexander* had taken from the *Arrians*, and received five hundred Elephants of him in exchange. *Ptolomy* with a compleat Army had come into *Celestria*, where he reduced divers Cities; but as he was besieging *Sidon* came a false report that *Antigonus* had overthrown *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, and now was coming thitherward, wherefore he made a Truce with the *Sidonians* for five months, and returned, but not long after came up again to that fatal engagement with *Antigonus*.

4. The Forces of these several Princes were drawn down to be in readines against the Spring. *Antigonus* had an Army of seventy thousand Foot, ten thousand Horse, and seventy five Elephants. And the contrary party had made up amongst them sixty four thousand Foot, one thousand five hundred Horse, four hundred Elephants, and one hundred twenty Chariots. *Antigonus* bragged that he would scatter the meeting of these Kings together, as one might do the flocking of birds gathering Corn, with the throwing of a stone; but when they approached, he was more melancholick than usual, and was seen to discourse with his son in private in his Tent, which he never used to do; he commended him also to the Army as his Successor. The battel was fought at *Ipheus*, a Town in *Phrygia*, in which *Demetrius* leading the best party of Horse, engaged with *Antiochus* the son (and afterwards Successor) of *Seleucus*, whom he routed, and put to flight, but being too late in the pursuit undid all; for retiring back he could not again joyn himself with the foot, for reason that the Elephants were got between them. *Seleucus* seeing this, made as if he would have fallen upon the Infantry, thus destitute of the Horse, wherein his expectation failed him not, for they fearing it, part revolted to him, and the rest were broken, and put to flight. *Antigonus* standing his ground, expected continually *Demetrius* to come to relieve him: but in that expectation ended his life by a multitude of Darts thrown upon him, being now something above eighty years old. *Demetrius* his son with five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse fled to *Ephesus*; but there fearing his Soldiers might be some way false to him, he layed to *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, which he then held. This fell out in the three thousand seven hundred and fourth year of the World, the fourth of the one hundred and nineteenth *Olympiad*, twenty three years after the death of *Alexander*, and six after their taking the Title of Kings upon them.

5. The Conquerors parted his Dominions amongst them, as we are told; but it seems to have been chiefly *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, who did not well agree about their prey, and upon this account left a contention to their Successors. *Seleucus* fell presently upon building Cities, the first of which he called after himself *Seleucia*, and the later, to which he transferred the Inhabitants of *Antigonia* (to the number of three thousand five hundred) as we said before, he called *Antiochia*, either after his father or son's name; for both are affirmed, and this afterwards proved the Metropolis of *Syria*. *Ptolomy* after the death of *Antigonus* got *Syria* again, with *Cyprus*, and afterwards *Cyrene* also into his power, and Married his daughter *Aspasia* unto *Lysimachus*, as, few years after, his other to *Agathocles* the son. *Seleucus* seeing that thus these two strengthened themselves in affinity, thought not amiss to joyn also with *Demetrius*, though gone down the wind; and accordingly sent to him for his Daughter *Stratonice*. He receiving this unexpected Match, layed with her into *Syria*. Parting by *Cilicia*, which then *Cassander* held, *Phlistarchus* his Brother cried out that he would invade his Territories, and went trait to *Seleucus* to expostulate with him his being reconciled to the common Enemy. But *Demetrius* landing went to *Quinda*, where finding yet two hundred Talents left in the Treasury, he took them away, and to proceeded and met with *Seleucus* at *Orfessus*, who taking his wife away with him to *Antioch*, *Demetrius* seized upon *Cilicia*, and sent his wife *Phila* to *Cassander* her brother, to purge him of those things laid to his charge by *Phlistarchus*.

6. Not-

6. Notwithstanding *Cassander* he held *Cilicia*; but *Seleucus* his Son-in-Law required, that for a sum of money he give it up into his hands, which he refused, and then with some anger he demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon* of him, not being content, though he held all from the *Syrian* Sea, as far as *India*, that his Father-in-Law should rest quiet with it, though sufficiently toiled with adverse fortune, but he as stoutly denied this also, saying, that though he were a thousand times more overcome, yet would he never purchase the affinity of *Seleucus*, and fortified the Cities with Garrisons. The next year *Cassander* King of *Macedonia* died of a Dropisie (which was so loathsome, as Lice withal broke out of him) after he had ruled that Country nineteen years; twenty six after the death of *Alexander*; A. M. three thousand seven hundred and seven.

7. He left three Sons by *Thessalonice* the Daughter of *Philip*, and Sister to *Alexander*; *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. The first succeeded his Father, but died presently of a Consumption, *Antipater* coming after him killed his Mother, for that after her Husbands death she seemed to favour his younger Brother *Alexander* more than him in the devision of the Kingdom; though the besought him by her breaths that gave him luck to spare her life. After her death he endeavoured to expel his Brother out of *Macedonia*, who therefore craved aid of *Demetrius*, and *Pyrhus* King of *Epirus*, who being expelled out of his Kingdom, had Married *Ptolomy's* Wives Daughter, and by him was restored. *Demetrius* being now employed otherwise, the other came, and received some Countries in way of encouragement and reward for his service, which he fortified with his own Garrisons. *Antipater*, now had his recourse to *Lysimachus* his Father-in-Law, who being also hindered with other affairs, and fearing *Demetrius* his coming, advised him to make an agreement with his Brother; and for that he knew *Pyrhus* would in any thing seek to gratifie *Ptolomy*, that he might take him off, he feigned a Letter to him from him, wherein he advised him for three hundred Talents received from *Antipater* to forsake the Enterprize. *Pyrhus* as soon as he opened the Letter, easily discerned it to be counterfeit, for that it was not directed after the usual manner, as from the Father to the Son, but as from the one King to the other.

8. However, *Lysimachus* his perswasion seems to have wrought so with the Elder Brother, together with the presence of *Pyrhus*, as they came near to an agreement; but the coming of *Demetrius* spoiled all. For, he having lost *Cyprus* lately to *Ptolomy* (which forced him to quit *Lacedæmon*, after he had taken *Athens*, and now had almost taken it also) came into *Macedonia* to amend his fortunes. *Alexander* being troubled at his coming, seeing he knew the peace was partly made, went out to meet, and received him with great honour, but told him he now had no need of his help; but he either having, or pretending to have a suspicion of him, procured him to be slain, telling the *Macedonians* a fair tale afterwards, who seeing the one of *Cassanders* Sons thus dead, and hating the other for his impiety towards his Mother, received him as King; some have written that *Alexander* used *Demetrius* his help first, in killing his Brother *Antipater*, and so revenged the death of his Mother upon him. Others say that *Lysimachus* after *Alexanders* death, for that he was employed in a War with *Dromicheus* King of the *Getes*, delivered also up to *Demetrius*, that part which belonged to *Antipater* his Son-in-Law, and afterwards killed him also, when he complained to him that by his means he had lost his Kingdom, and imprisoned *Eurydice* his Wife, his own Daughter, for partaking with him in the complaint. But thus (one way or other) *Antipater* was rewarded for his Mothers death; and so in a short time fell the posterity of *Cassander*, by the just judgment of God, as even Heathen Writers observe.

9. For some time *Demetrius* enjoyed *Macedonia*, during which he still aspired after his former height and power: for now having this Kingdom and *Thessalie* in his hands, as also *Athens* and *Megara*, and the greater part of *Peloponnesus*, he subdued the *Beotians*. Then hearing *Lysimachus* to be taken Prisoner by the King of the *Getes* (who shortly after yet set him at liberty) he resolved to return for *Thrace*; but the *Beotians* revolting caused him to retreat, though on his march thither. Coming back he found that his Son *Antigonus* had overthrown the revolvers in fight, but *Thebes* still remained untaken, and whilst he was going about that, *Pyrhus* of *Epirus* (being now alienated from him since the death of *Didamia* his Sister which *Demetrius* had married) invaded *Thessaly* from his own Frontiers, and pierced as far as the Straights of *Thermopyle*. *Demetrius* hearing this, left his Son in the Siege, and hastened against him; but he stayed not his coming, but retired, and then *Demetrius* fortifying *Thessalie* returned to *Thebes*, where the inhabitants

D d d d 2

Cassander died

Sins between his sons about the Kingdom

Procureth the destruction of them all

Demetrius getting Macedonia slightly still after his former height

Plutarch. lib. 4

A. M. 3707.
P. C. 450.
Seleucus 15.
Ptolom. 25.idem ibid.
p. 12. ubi 12.
Pyrhus.
Jul. lib. 15.Plutarch. in Demetrio.
A. M. 3711.
Ol. 121. ann. 3.
P. C. 460.
Strabo 18.
Ptol. 37.Pausanias in Bœotia.
Julianus in p. 9.
Plutarch. ibid.Plutarch. in vita Demetrii.
Appianus in Syria.A. M. 3707.
Ol. 119. ann. 4.
P. C. 459.
Seleucus 12.
Ptolom. 23.

idem.

Vide officium in prima parte Annal. p. 451

Antigonus slain in it.

The Alliance of the Kings.

tants so stoutly defended themselves, that he lost many men, and himself was wounded in the neck; yet according to his skill and fortune in taking of Cities (whence he had the Surname of *Poliorettes*) he formed the place, and though he pretended at first severely to punish the Inhabitants, yet he satisfied himself with the death of ten or thirteen, and banishing a few, pardoned the rest.

10. Finding that his *Macedonians* were quiet when abroad, but seditious at home, he fell upon the *Atlians*, to divert them. Waiting their borders there he left *Pantaneus* with some Forces, and with the rest marched against *Pyrhus*, who hearing it, came out to meet him, but they misdeed of each other, and went several ways; *Demetrius* into *Epirus* which he hated; *Pyrhus* light upon *Pantaneus*, who challenging him to fight gave him a wound, but he received two for it himself, and thereupon falling he had been slain, but that his friends presently rescued him, after which his Army was put to flight, and five thousand of them taken. After this, *Demetrius* fell sick at *Pella*, and then *Pyrhus* again invaded his Territories a great way, none refusing him, nay, he had such an opportunity, as scarce could he have desired a better, for seizing upon the whole Kingdom, many revolting to him, and *Demetrius* his Captains making but slow endeavours to hinder his progress. But he having his mind set more upon booty than any thing else, stayed not their coming, but fled away, losing many of his men in the retreat. For all this *Demetrius* feeling him have a restless spirit, thought it not amiss to reconcile him unto him; but especially at this time, for now he resolved to make for his Father's Kingdom with all the might he possibly could, and therefore left he should leave an Enemy at his back, concluded a Peace, and entered into a league with him.

11. Greater preparations he made than ever had been since *Alexander* his decease. For he got together little less than one hundred thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, a Navie also of five hundred sail; some ships whereof were of extraordinary bigness. *Selenus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Lysimachus*, being startled herat, combined together for resistance, and jointly sent to *Pyrhus* to move him to break the League which *Demetrius* had made with him, as they alleged, not to rest in peace, but to make War upon whom he pleased. He believing as much, agreed with them, for that he hoped *Demetrius* might as easily lose *Macedonia* as he had got it, and then *Ptolomy* failing into *Greece*, solicited there the Cities from their obedience. *Lysimachus* from *Thrace*, and *Pyrhus* from his borders made inroads into *Macedonia*. *Demetrius* first began to march against *Lysimachus*, but afterwards hearing that *Pyrhus* had gotten *Berthea* into his hands, returned and went against him thither, where when he was arrived, divers from the Town came into his Camp, and so extolled the valour and kindness of *Pyrhus*, that the *Macedonians*, first in little Companies, and after all the Army revolted to him; so as *Demetrius* was very much deceived, who fearing they might do so to *Lysimachus*, little suspected this towards the other being a stranger. *Pyrhus* thus obtaining all the Army without a stroke, was saluted King of *Macedonia* by the Soldiers; but *Lysimachus* coming shortly after, alleged the endeavour of suppressing the Enemy to have been common to them both, and demanded the parting of the Kingdom; to whom he assented, for that he did not trust the *Macedonians*, and for the Countreys and Cities, were divided betwixt them.

12. *Demetrius* thus outed of his Kingdom fled to *Cassandria*, and thence into *Greece*, where after a little time he got some Forces together and being angry with *Atiens*, for that revolting from him, the Inhabitants had sent for *Pyrhus*, he besieged it; but upon the entreaty of *Crates* the Philosopher (whom being a man of great Authority they had sent to him) he gathered together his ships and sailed away into *Asia* with eleven thousand men. His design was to take if he could, *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lysimachus*, and he took divers Towns, and seized upon *Sardis*, but *Agathocles*, *Lysimachus* his Son, coming down with an Army against him, he marched for *Phrygia*, with intention to pass into *Armenia* and *Media*; and so attempt to make himself Master of some of the upper Provinces of *Asia*, which at the worst would afford retreating places enough, and other helps to a beaten party. In his way he was superior to *Agathocles* who pursued him, but being brought into great distress for want of Provisions, there fell withal such a Plague upon his Army, that he lost eight thousand men, and so was forced to retreat, and came to *Tarusus*. This place being now again under *Selenus*, he was very unwilling to endanger, for fear of giving him offence, but being forced by want, he wrote to him, whereby he excused himself, and sadly lamented his condition. *Selenus*, pitying him at first, commanded his Governours to use him and his

his Army with great respect; but *Procles* one of his most familiar friends, filled his head with such suspicions, that he led down an Army towards *Cilicia* against him, whereto he wondering retired to the most convenient place of the mountain *Taurus*, whence he sent to him to give him leave to seize upon some Country of the *Barbarians*, that there he might put an end to his flight and wanderings, and spend the residue of his days.

13. *Selenus* making a bad interpretation of the message, only would give way, that delivering up for Hostages the chieftest of his friends, he might quarter for two months in *Calonia* (a Country bordering upon *Cappadocia*) and secured the passage out into *Syria*. Here he was kept up as a wild beast, what by *Selenus* on one side, and *Agathocles* on the other; so that he was constrained to betake himself to force, and wasting the Territories always had the better of *Selenus* in their encounters, and got possession of the Straights which led into *Syria*. This so encouraged him, that he thought now of giving battle to *Selenus*, but fell into a sickness whereby his affairs were ruined, his Soldiers going away from him to the Enemy; yet he recovered after forty days, and away he marched, and getting over the hill *Ananus* wasted the bordering Territories. Then *Selenus* coming near him, he joyined and fought him, and overthrew one of his wings; but then all his Army revolted, and he with a very few fled into the Woods, whence endeavouring to pass to the Sea through the mountains, his discovering there the Enemies fires prevented that attempt, and at last one saying he must yield himself, he drew his Sword and would therewith have ended his life, but being hindered by his friends, he sent to *Selenus* by their advice and yielded. *Selenus* caused him to be royally received at first, but the great confluence thereupon to him, lessened that respect he else would have paid him; so as sending *Paulianus* with one thousand men, he caused him to be carried straight (without as much as seeing him) into a *Peninsula* of *Syria*. Here he wanted nothing desirable, not only for necessity but pleasure; only his liberty, which yet to comfort him there was hoped of; after that *Antiochus* should come with his wife *Syratonicus*, whom his Father *Selenus* upon his passionately falling in love with her, had yielded to him. *Antigonus* his Son much interceded for him; so did divers Princes and States; only *Lysimachus* offered two thousand Talents to have him killed, which *Selenus* abhorred. At first he exercised himself much with hunting and such Exercises; but by little and little grew sluggish, and, as if he had never been *Demetrius Poliorettes*, gave up himself to drinking and dice, whereby he grew fat, and contracted a disease of which he died fifty four years old, after he had continued three of them in restraint.

14. *Lysimachus* and *Pyrhus*, after his expulsion out of *Macedonia*, presently fell out, for the former seeing *Demetrius* thus made sure and captivated by *Selenus*, grew secure of his condition, despised *Pyrhus*, and upbraiding the *Macedonians* for suffering him (being an alien, whole Ancestors always had served them) now to reign over them, drew many from him, and afterwards overthrew him and *Antigonus* Son of *Demetrius* in a great battle, and so quite disposed of him of *Macedonia*. After this he killed his eldest Son *Agathocles* at the instigation of his Wife *Arfinoe*, who was solicitous for her own children, if they should fall into their brothers hands after their Fathers death. *Lyandra* the Widow of *Agathocles*, and Sister to *Arfinoe*, accompanied with *Alexander* another Son of *Lysimachus*, fled to *Selenus*, whom they desired to make War against him; and after this he putting divers of his chief Subjects to death for bewailing the young man, many of his Captains and Governours followed, all earnestly desiring the same thing. *Selenus* was easily persuaded to it now, having the whole strength of *Asia* and *Syria* united into one Kingdom after the fall of *Demetrius*, which the other being aware of, thought it best first to begin with him, and so passed over the *Hellepont*. These two being now only alive of the thirty six Captains and fellow-Soldiers of *Alexander*, joyined in a great and bloody battle in *Phrygia*, where *Lysimachus*, though fighting most valiantly, was overthrown and slain, having formerly lost fifteen children divers ways, and now completing the ruin of his Family, after he had lived eighty years, and held *Macedonia* four, A.M. three thousand seven hundred twenty two, the second of the one hundred twenty fourth Olympiad, and forty after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

15. *Selenus* being exceedingly elevated with the thoughts of his Victory, and more with consideration that he only survived of *Alexander's* followers, resolved to go into *Macedonia* and thereto end his days, giving up *Asia* to his Son *Antiochus*. He passed the *Hellepont*, and journeying towards *Lysimachia* came to a place called

At length he
forced to yield
himself to
Selenus.

And sixth
after three years
in restraint.

Lysimachus
having expelled
Pyrhus out of
Macedonia is
slain in battle
against Sele-
cus.

Procles is At-
talia
Julian lib. 17.
Aspin in Sy-
riacis.

A. M. 3722.
Ol. 124. 422.
P. C. 471.
Seleuci 30.
Ptolom. Phila-
delphi. 2.

Platarch.

A. M. 3717.
Ol. 123. 41.
P. C. 466.
Seleuci 29.
Ptolom. 149.
30.

Idem.

Who being the survivor of Alexander's Capitain is slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus the same year.

called *Argos*, where his time being but to live seven months after *Lysimachus*, he was slain by *Ptolemy* surnamed *Ceraunus* the Son of *Ptolemy* the first by *Euridice* daughter to *Antipater*, who having fled out of *Egypt*, for that his Father had preferred his younger Brother before him, joyned himself first to *Lysimachus*, who Married his Sister, and afterwards to *Seleucus*, by whom he was lovingly entertained, though he thus requited him. *Ptolemy*, as soon as he had done his feat, posted away to *Lysimachia*, where putting on a Diadem, and taking a Company of Gallants along with him, he went to the Army, which received him as King, having all *Seleucus* his money given unto them. *Antigonus Gonatas* (so called it's probable, from a place in *Perthia*, where he was born) Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* presently after undertook an Expedition for the recovery of *Macedonia*, hoping to justify out *Ptolemy* ere he could be well fetled; but he having notice of his coming, and enjoying *Lysimachus* his Fleet, went and met him at Sea, where he overthrew him, and forcing him to retire into *Beotia*, then confirmed himself in his Kingdom.

Justin supposes Antigonus and Ptolemy.

CHAP. IV.

The Macedonian Kingdom.

From the death of Seleucus to the Captivity of Perseus, and the end of this Kingdom, containing the space of 139 years.

Ptolemy Ceraunus King of Macedonia, maketh Alliance.

Ptolemy, that he might provide for the time to come, made Alliances with other Princes, as *Antiochus* of *Asia*, and *Pyrhus* of *Epyrus*, who now being about to pass into *Italy*, made him Overseer of his son, and Kingdom: he also wrote to his Brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, pretending to acquiesce in the missing of that his Fathers Enemy. Moreover, he counterfeited himself to be in love with his sister *Arione*, and married her, for that it was according to the custom of *Egypt*, promising to adopt her Children, which he badly performed, for being received by her into *Cassandria*, he caused them to be first killed in the bosom of their mother, and then thrust her out of the City, from whence she went to *Samothracia*. At this time the *Galls*, being too numerous for their own Country, under three Captains went to seek their fortunes by many several ways; some towards *Thrace*, under the conduct of *Cerethrius*; others to *Pannonia* under *Brennus* and *Atchiorius*, and the rest to *Macedonia*, being headed by *Belgus* or *Bolgus*. These *Ptolemy* opposed with a tragling company, being more heady than wife, for he refused 20000 men offered him by the King of the *Dardaniens*, and peace by the *Galls*, if he would but buy it, which he scornfully refused, and answered, he would not yield it to them, except they would give up the Chiefest amongst them as Hostages, and deliver up their Arms. Joyning battel, his Army was overthrown, and he being fore wounded was cast by an Elephant on which he rode, and so taken alive by the Enemy. They tore him in pieces, and cutting off his head, put it upon a Lance, and carried it about to the terror of his followers, of which a few escaping, all the rest were either taken or slain. To this end came *Ptolemy*, after he had held *Macedonia* scarce one year and a half.

Is slain by the Galls.

2. *Meleager* his brother succeeded, but only for two months: for then the *Macedonians* cast him out as unworthy of the Dignity, and in his room placed *Antipater* son to *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*, whom they surnamed afterwards *Etesia*, because he continued but 45 days, during which term the *Etesian* winds blow. After this succeeded an *Interregnum* (if we look at the title of King;) for, *Sophanes*, who gathering together a company of young men, and thereby restraining the pride and covetousness of the *Gauls*, though he might have been preferred before divers of Royal Races; yet refused the name, and made the Soldiers swear to him only as General. But *Brennus* hearing of the good success of *Belgus*, and what

Plutarch in Greek History, Justin lib. 24.

plunder he had got in the East, with one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse marched thitherwards; but twenty thousand falling off from him by the way, and turning up for *Thrace* (where they brought under the Cities of the *Propontis*) he came into *Macedonia*, and here he made havock of all things. *Belgus*, as it seems, before his coming being repelled or gone, *Sophanes* went, and met him with an Army: but carrying too few against a great number, was easily overthrown; after which the *Macedonians* securing themselves in the Cities, *Brennus* wrought his pleasure in the Country and Villages throughout the Land. When he had satisfied himself here, with an Army of one hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand four hundred horse, of *Celtes* (or *Cimbres*) and *Illyrians* together, he invaded *Greece*. Each forerunner had two servants followed him on horse-back, who were if it happened to succeed their dead Masters; which custom they called *Trimarkisia*, or *Trimarkia* rather; for, *Mare* in the *Tenatic* signified the whole species, as also in our own Saxon tongue, and so furnished, they entered *Thessaly*, and came to the Straights of *Thermopylae*. Here they were opposed by the *Greeks*, so as they left many men, till being lead over the Mountains (the same way that in the expedition of *Xerxes*, *Hydarnes* passed, and getting over, came upon the backs of the *Spartans*) the *Greeks* then fled, and they went to *Daphnos* to spoil the Temple, where with Thunder and Lightning, Cold, falling of Rocks, and the opposition of the Enemy, most of them came to their ends. *Brennus* himself being wounded, and not willing (or not daring) to out live this shameful expedition of which he had been the Author at home, first drinking much Wine killed himself, the rest flying were taken with a Pannick fear, and killed one another for Enemies; and what by this means, the rage of the Countreys through which they passed, and with hunger, and cold, scarcely any of them ever returned home.

Silvestri overthrown by Brennus.

who with his whole Army is destroyed.

Antigonus Gonatas.

3. During their stay in *Greece*, *Solimes* died after he had ruled two years, and left behind him *Antigonus Gonatas* having made peace with *Antiochus Soter*, returned, and obtained his fathers Kingdom. *Brennus* departing into *Greece*, had left some *Gauls* to defend the borders, and they left they should be idle, being with fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, first fell upon the *Geta* and *Triballi*, whom overcoming, they then sent to *Antigonus*, offering him peace if he would purchase it with money; but especially to spy his Camp. He entertained nobly the Ambassadors, and to deter them from any warlike attempts showed them his strength at Land and Sea; but they were so far from being afraid, as having an itching desire after prey, they stirred up their Companions to endeavour the attaining of that which they saw, no way in words diminishing the goodness of any thing. By night therefore they set upon his Camp, but he being aware of some such thing, had withdrawn his Army and all things into the Wood; therefore they go and endeavour to plunder the Navy, but are repelled thence with such slaughter, as the credit of the victory over them procured *Antigonus* his quiet, not only from them, but his Neighbours about him. About this time these *Gauls*, which parting at *Dadania* from *Brennus*, and going into *Thrace*, had at several places passed the Sea into *Asia*, here uniting again under seventeen Captains (of which *Lutius* and *Leopontus* were Chief) they helped *Nicomedes* against *Zopyrus*, who held part of *Bithynia*, and after he was overcome, wafted the Country far and near, divided the Kingdom with him, and fixed themselves about the River *Haly*, in that place which since has been known by the name of *Gallagracia* or *Galatia*, A. M. 3727. the third year of the 125 *Olympiads*, the *Romans* being now engaged in the War with *Pyrhus*.

Defeateth another Galls.

But is expelled by Pyrhus.

4. But *Pyrhus* having finished his fruitless expedition into *Italy* and *Sicily* after six years, and being returned home, now wanting money fought an occasion to divert and maintain his Army. He made therefore an excursion into *Macedonia* (having strengthened himself with a supply of some *Gauls*) where he took divers Towns, and two thousand Soldiers revolted to him; then marching against *Antigonus* himself, joyned battel with him. The *Gauls* on *Antigonus* his part fought very valiantly; but those which governed his Elephants being compassed in, yielded themselves, and the beasts; after which the foot being affrighted, *Pyrhus* making sign to them, and calling by name the Officers, drew them all over to his own party. *Antigonus* fled, but kept some of the Maritime Towns still in his possession, and *Pyrhus* became Master of the upper part of *Macedonia*, and of *Thessaly*. For all this, *Antigonus* gave not out but returning to *Theffalonia*, there recruited himself with Mercenary *Gauls*, and then endeavouring to re-establish himself, was again defeated by *Ptolemy*, the son of *Ptolemy*, so that again retiring to hide himself, *Pyrhus*

Plutarch in Greek History, Justin lib. 24.

Pyrrhus jeered him, and called him *impudent*, because for all this he put not on a Coat but wore still the Purple. He in way of return compared *Pyrrhus* to a Gamester, which could throw the Dice well, but knew not how to improve his chance: for he knew how to conquer Kingdoms, and get Victories, but could not improve his Victory, nor retain what he had Conquered; as it had hapned as to this Kingdom before, and now also shortly followed.

5. Scarcely two years did he hold *Macedonia*; for, *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* being rejected by his Citizens from being King in the room of his father, procured him to march down against his Enemies. He went down thither with an Army of twenty five thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and waiting their Territories deferred the entering of the City till the next day, out of contempt of the small number of the Defendants; who taking that occasion, and making what means they could for resistance, especially the Women, hindered him a little from entering, and when entered, his horse being killed under him; forced him notwithstanding to retreat. During his absence, *Antigonus Gonatus* recovered again the Cities of *Macedonia*, and taking it for granted, that after he had done his work in *Laconia* he would return again thither, thought it best to hasten into *Peloponnesus*, and prevent him. Being come to *Argos*, *Pyrrhus* provoked him to fight for the Kingdom, but Embassadors came to them both from the Town, desiring they would depart from them, and no suffer it (which was observant of both) to come into the power of either. *Antigonus* obeyed, and sent his son to them for an Hostage. *Pyrrhus* pretended he would, but entered the City in the night, being let in by *Aristeus*; whereupon *Antigonus* was sent for. He sent in a strong party, and *Aeneas* King of *Sparta* was at hand with a thousand *Cretians* and other *Lacedaemonians*. *Pyrrhus* marched up into the Market-place, and there saw a Brazen Bull and a Wolf standing in a fighting posture, set there in memorial of *Danaus* his election, and ejection of *Galenus*, one thousand two hundred years before, which startled him sore, for that it had been told him by an Oracle, that he should die when he should see a Wolf and a Bull fighting together. Hereupon he would have retreated, but seeing the straits of the Gates, sent to his son *Heleus* to break down part of the Wall, and come in; but he mistaking, brought his men and Elephants through the Gate, which stopped to up the way, that *Pyrrhus* in his coming back could not pass, and that occasioned his destruction.

6. Being fore crouded, what by them, those at his heels, and the Enemy, and sensible of his danger, he endeavoured by force to remove the later. Then received he a wound through his Brigandine with a Lance, and turned himself against him that ran at him. This was the son of a poor Woman, who beholding the fight from the house, and seeing him engaged thus with *Pyrrhus*, took up a stone with both her hands, and cast it down upon the Kings head, which bruising the *Vertebrae* of his Neck, he fell down from his horse, and his head was cut off by one *Zopyrus*. It being brought to *Antigonus* by *Alcioneus* his son, who rejoiced at the sight of it, he checked him, and wept over it, and after caused it and the body to be magnificently burned: his bones being put in a Golden Urn, he delivered to his son *Heleus* to carry them to his brother *Alexander* in *Epirus*, and then receiving his Army, dealt very courteously with all his friends. After this the Cities of *Peloponnesus* were betrayed to *Antigonus*, which caused great fits in that part of Greece; the *Gauls* revolting from him, he cut off at *Megara*, besieged *Athens*, and notwithstanding that *Patroclus* from *Egypt*, and *Aeneas* the King of *Lacedaemon* came to relieve them, yet he kept all provisions from them, and after they had long stood out to composition, whereby he placed a Garrison in their Fort *Mylaeus*, which yet not long after he drew forth again. *Aeneas* for want of necessaries was forced to return home; but they met again afterwards at *Corinth*, where *Antigonus* slew him, and not long after was forced to return home; for *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, to revenge his fathers death, had invaded *Macedonia*. Coming thither, his Army revolted from him, so that once more he lost his Kingdom, and was compelled again to shift for himself: But his son *Demetrius* in his absence gathering some forces together, so ordered the matter against *Alexander*, that he not only recovered his Fathers Kingdom, but spoiled him also for a time of his own. After this, nothing of great concernment occurs of *Antigonus*, who died after his first possession of *Macedonia* 36 years, (having ruled in some Greek Cities ten years before) when he had lived above 80. A.M. 3762. in the second of the 124 Olympiad.

7. *Demetrius* his son succeeded him, and hired *Agron* King of the *Illyrians* to relieve the *Mythionians*. These the *Ætoliens* had besieged, and he performed it, though

the besiegers were before ready to fall out about their prisoners, whether the old or new *Prætor* should have the honour to dispose of them and their goods. When it was agreed that both in common should do it, the *Illyrians* falling upon them, and killing many, forced them to break up their Siege, after which *Agron* possessed with incredible joy, gave himself up to surfeiting and drunkenness, and thereby falling into a Pleurisie ended his dayes, and was succeeded by his wife *Tenta*. She being elevated also with the former Victory, and not thinking of any thing from without, gave leave to her Subjects to invade all persons in what place soever by Sea, whereupon they took *Phenice* the wealthy City of *Epirus*, and injuring those of *Italy*, drew upon themselves the displeasure of the People of *Rome*, which the rashness of their Queen heightened to a War, as will be seen hereafter. But by this act, *Demetrius* so let the hearts of the *Ætoliens* against him, that whereas before they took part with his Kingdom against the *Acæans*, now they joyed in league with them against him.

8. He holding yet the *Piræus* or Haven of *Athens*, *Aratus* the *Prætor* of the *Acæans* pretending a desire to set the *Athenians* at liberty from that bondage which thence lay upon them, endeavoured to take it out of his hands, but was overthrown by *Bithyes* his General, whereupon a rumour arose that he was slain or taken. *Diogenes* the Governour of the *Piræus* hearing this, sent word to *Corinth* to command all the *Acæans* there to depart the Town; and the *Athenians* to please him and his party very solemnly rejoiced, wearing Garlands. But *Aratus* himself then was at *Corinth*, and hindring *Diogenes* his design there, marched down to be revenged on the *Athenians*, and he came as far as the *Academy*, but then being overcome by treaty, did them no harm. Some years after this the *Ætoliens* endeavoured to take away part of *Acarnania* from *Epirus*, which then *Olympias* sister and wife of *Alexander* now dead, governing in right of her sons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*, betook her self to *Demetrius*, and gave him her daughter *Obbia* in marriage. He had before this the sister of *Antiochus* King of *Syria* to wife (*Antiochus* *Hierax* as it seemeth, who endeavouring to dispossess his brother *Selenus* of his Kingdom, is called King by *Justin*) who thereupon fled to her brother, and stirred him up to make War upon her Husband. The *Acarnanians* fled to the *Romans* for help against the *Ætoliens*, who were then commanded to abstain from their incursions, but despising the Ambassage, harried both the borders of *Acarnania* and *Epirus*; and *Olympias* having delivered up the Kingdom to her son, they all shortly after died. And *Demetrius* (whom we read to have also enjoyed *Cyrene* and all *Lybia*, but know not how he got it) survived not long after, dying when he had reigned ten years, and fifty after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

9. He left behind him a son called *Philip*, who being very young, and the Princes of *Macedonia* fearing an Anarchy, they constituted *Antigonus* (the brother or Uncle of the deceased, for both are affirmed) his Tutor, giving his mother to him in marriage. At first he held the Office by the title of Captain General, but afterwards being found moderate and civil, he was saluted King, and surnamed *Dofon*, for that he promised more than he did perform. After the death of *Demetrius*, the Greek Cities began to lift up their heads, and the several Tyrants, which, through the encouragement of him and his Predecessors, had got many places, for fear renounced their power, and joyned themselves with the *Acæans*, who being much revered of a long time by all their neighbour Cities of *Peloponnesus* for their Justice and Prudence, had united themselves together, in the 124 Olympiad, and drawn some others into a body against the *Macedonians*. Their affairs were mightily strengthened by *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* who governing his own City, though but young, joyned it unto them, and afterward by his great wisdom and industry secured and bettered their condition. The *Athenians* being encouraged at *Demetrius* his death, now thought again of recovering their liberty, and he having done what he might before to help them, though in vain, and they again imploring his assistance, though sick, he made himself be carried thither; and whereas *Diogenes* held for the *Macedonians*, *Piræus*, *Swinnus*, *Munychia*, and the Island *Salamis*, he persuaded him for a reward of 150 Talents to deliver them all up, twenty of which Talents he presented of his own money. Whilst he thus laboured for the Publick good, especially of the community of the *Acæans*, the *Ætoliens* envying their condition raised a dangerous War against them, in which *Antigonus* *Dofon* came to be engaged.

10. The *Ætoliens* though they had been helped by the *Acæans* against the house of *Macedonia* of late, being vexed about the business of *Myrdonia*; yet now seeing

And succeeded him.

M. M. 372.
Ol. 125. an. 3.
P. C. 410.
Antioch. Sele.
11. 9.
Ptolem. Phil.
diplos 11.

Platarch.

A. M. 3739.
Ol. 127. an. 1.
P. C. 452.
Antioch. Sele.
11. 11.
Ptolem. Phil.
diplos 12.
Julian. lib. 25.

War between the *Ætoliens* and *Acæans*.

Polihist ad principium l. a.

A. M. 3762.
Ol. 131. an. 2.
P. C. 511.
Strabo. Calli.
nid 4.
Ptolem. Euz.
611. 4.

Platarch in Arato.

Julian. l. 28.

Periphet. in Græc. 511.

Platarch in vita Antioch. & Pausan. in Antioch. 5.

Vide Polyban lib. 2.

A. M. 3772.
Ol. 135. an. 4.
P. C. 521.
Strabo. Calli.
14. Ptolem. Euz. 14.

Item lib. 1. Plutarch in vita Arati & Cleomenis.

Wherein Cleomenes King of Sparta cometh to be engaged, and how.

their union, and the flourishing condition of their body, envying and also fearing it, resolved to disunite if possible, and withdraw the Cities one from another. At this time Cleomenes reigned at Lacedæmon, who resolving to better the constitution of his Country by reducing it to it's ancient form, and taking away the Ephori those impudent and rascally Tyrants, fought for an opportunity of War as most fit to bring about his purpose. Ever since the Victories of Lysander, luxury and other vices had crept into Sparta, together with the use of riches. And the equality of possessions in Land was taken away by one Epitades an Ephorus, who having a son that displeased him, that he might disinherit him, procured a law to be passed, that any one might dispose of his Lands, either in his life time or at his death, to whom he pleased. Hereby it was come to that pass, that there being seven hundred Citizens of Sparta and more, of those not above one hundred possessed all the Lands and Estate, and the rest being void both of wealth and honour lay idle at home, unwillingly engaging in War, and expecting an occasion of change. The Ephori tyrannized with unparallel'd impudence, domineering over the Kings, and ordering those at their pleasure, the servants of whom they had formerly been. Agis one of the Spartan Kings, of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudamidas, and the sixth from Agesilaus, burned with a zeal to better the state of affaires, and as a means unto it, endeavoured the reduction of Lysurgus his model for the equal division of Lands; but Leonidas his Colleague being of a luxurious temper opposed him, and he was wickedly murdered by the hands of the Popular Villains the Ephori.

Left Plutarch in Agis & Cleomenes.

11. This noble spirited man being taken away, and his brother Archidamus destroyed, Cleomenes the son of Leonidas was King alone, and being of a far different temper from his Father, upon hearing what Agis had gallantly endeavoured, resolved to pursue and accomplish what he had attempted, and to take away utterly the power of those Popular Tyrants, who usurped the whole authority. Neither did these two Kings desire to become assertors of Popular power by the restitution of the Lots of Lysurgus, but rather of Monarchy; for the restitution of those Lots would not promote the power of the Commons who were still to be kept under, as they were by the Laws of Lysurgus; but only reduced them to that equality of wealth which might secure them from being insulted over by their fellow Commons, as they had been of late, by such as had ingrossed the riches of the State. As this might be intended by the two Kings, so it appeared from Plutarch, that Agis attempted to get himself reputation, and Cleomenes for his preservation, by gaining the good-will of the People, and making them sure of their side whensoever they should be ready for the great design of destroying the Ephori. Now though Agis miscarried in his attempt, yet Cleomenes perfected what he had intended. For he surprized the Ephori by his Mercenaries, killed four of the five, overthrew all their chairs except one, which he intended as a Chair of State for himself. Then restored he the Laws one of Lysurgus, as to equal possessions and discipline, and for that there was none left of the family of Eurytion, made his own brother Leonidas King with him. But as was said, perceiving this change would be better made in War than Peace, he caused the War betwixt the State, and the Achæans, and bribed the Ephori to send him forth in the Expedition.

Cleomenes kills the Ephori, and restores Lysurgus his Laws.

12. To him therefore the Ætolians sent, and stirred him up against the Achæans; and that they might strengthen themselves, and more easily suppress them, they made peace again with Macedonia, and without doubt had brought about their purpose, had they not had to do with Aratus, who undermined their Councils. They suffered Cleomenes to take in divers Towns which belonged unto themselves, not only not opposing but confirming him in the possession of them, which Aratus knowing well enough to be intended only to strengthen him against his party, yet thought none were to be first Attacked; but after that Cleomenes with great boldness had begun to build a Fort in the Territories of Megalopolis, then were the Lacedæmonians declared Enemies. At first the Achæans undertook the Warre against them by themselves; partly for that they thought it more honourable and safe to defend their own Estate, and partly for that they were loath to displease Pelopon (who had been formerly a good friend to them) by seeking for the patronage of any other; but the War going on (Cleomenes now having overthrown the Achæans in divers battels) Aratus thinking it a disgrace for him to be worsted by the young Lacedæmonian, and being jealous still of the knavery of the Ætolians, concluded it was high time to look about him; so at least for a supply.

13. Considering with himself the power of Antigonus King of Macedonia, and withall

withall his faithfulness; and that he was prone to enter into Leagues and alliances, he resolved to make a Confederacy with him; but that secretly, as well because he knew the Ætolians would seek to prevent him, as for that his people would be discouraged at the thought of expecting help from an Enemy. Knowing therefore the Megalopolitans to be sore pressed with the War (having little help from the Achæans) and how good affection they bore to the Macedonian Court ever since the days of Philip the son of Amyntas, who deserved very well of them, he sent for two of friendship (Nicophon and Cercidas) and dealt privately with them to persuade their Citizens to crave aid of Antigonus. These two were therefore sent to the Achæans, and to Macedonia if they should think fit. They giving way to it, they came to the King, and according to the instructions from Aratus, propoed to him to consider, whether this conjunction of Cleomenes and the Ætolians would tend; and whether when the Achæans were eaten up, he himself would not be in danger, seeing the covetousness of the Ætolians, and Cleomenes his ambition could not be contained in lesser limits than those of Greece. He answered, that if it should seem good to the Achæans, he would send aid to those of Megalopolis. They being at this much encouraged, laboured to persuade them to give way to it, but Aratus then fearing, that if the coming down of Antigonus should breed any inconvenience, the blame would fall all upon him, dissuaded his People from receiving as yet any aid, and made them try first what they could do of themselves, exhorting each particular City to fight stoutly for their liberty. Now Pelopon finding the Lacedæmonians to be more for his purpose to withstand the Macedonian, stirred up Cleomenes against him, and furnished him with money. He also brought the Achæans by divers engagements to such a low ebb, that they were now in great danger to lose all, and therefore they implored aid of Antigonus, and Aratus sent his son to confirm whatsoever had been offered on his part.

Who marched down. And also Antigonus.

14. He then marched down, though a great difficulty there was at first for this to be hoped for by the Achæans, by reason that the Castle of Corinth which they had taken out of the hands of the Macedonians together with the Town, and which would be now mighty convenient for the carrying on of the War, they knew not how to restore unto him. But Cleomenes prospering exceedingly, and having reduced nine Cities into his power, the Corinthians sent to him, offering him theirs, and commanded all the Achæans to be gone; so that at this Aratus taking occasion (who before durst not give them up into the hands of the Macedonians without their consent) restored the Castle into the power of Antigonus. Cleomenes (who after hasting the nine Cities, went and sat down before Sicyon) hearing the intention of the Achæans and the King, marched with great speed to the Isthmus, and then fortified the place between the Castle of Corinth and the Mountains Oni with a ditch and bulwark; and Antigonus with twenty thousand Foot, and one thousand four hundred Horse, coming through Rubæa (for that the Ætolians had forbidden him at his peril to pass through the Straights of Thermopylae) found no little opposition from Cleomenes, till Argos revolting to Aratus (by the means of Aristotele his friend, who with help from Sicyon set upon the Castle, Megisthus who was sent to relieve it being slain) for that he feared if this Fort should be taken the Enemy might thereby stop up the passage, and at his ease invade Laconia, he drew down his forces from Corinth. Then Antigonus entering Peloponnesus took Corinth in his way, where placing a Garrison he followed Cleomenes to Argos, who having by a while entered the Town, laboured again to reduce it, and took some parts thereof, but finding him come down from the Mountains against him, withdrew himself, and so by Mantinea returned to Lacedæmon. Antigonus coming to Argos commended and encouraged the Citizens, and thence marching presently for Arcadia, reduced divers Forts, which he delivered into the hands of the Megalopolitans; after which coming to Regium to the general meeting of the Achæans (where he held consultations with them) he was declared general of all the Associates, and took up Winter-quarters for his Army, at Sicyon and Corinth.

Is victorious.

He which Mantinea.

15. At the beginning of Spring he gathered his forces together and besieged Tegea, where the Achæans met him. Having this Town yielded to him, he thence marched speedily into Laconia, where Cleomenes meeting him upon the borders there passed some light skirmishes betwixt them, and then he hearing that the Garrison Soldiers at Orchomenus were coming to help the Enemy, departed suddenly thither, and stormed the place at the first onset. Thence moving to Mantinea, that Town presently was taken, the chief of the Inhabitants whereof (because though when Aratus took the City, he restored them to their former privileges,

Polybius Hist. Plutarch in Aratus.

yet they again revolted, and pur all his Garrison to the sword,) for their ingratitude were slain; of the rest, part were fold, and part sent into Macedonia, their wives and children made slaves; and their Town was given by Antigonus to the *Argives*, who thither resolved to send out a Colony, and *Aratus* being made *Pretor*, made a Decree for changing the name of it into *Antigonina*. After this, *Antigonus* took *Heræa* and *Telphussa*, and Winter then drawing on he went again to the General Assembly of the *Acheans*, sending out his Soldiers to their quarters, which *Cleomenes* taking notice of, and that *Megalopolis* was three days march from *Ægium*, and wanted a sufficient Garrison, he brake in thither secretly in the night, where though he found such opposition as both he and his were brought into great danger, yet became he Master of the place, and so cruelly ragged against it (as *Polybius* a Citizen thereof telleth us) that no hope then seemed to be left of Peopleing it again. This City being taken, he marched away to *Argos* (where *Antigonus* wintered) to harraile the Territories; a rash enterprise as the Vulgar judged, but prudent enough of it self, considering that the King's Army being at a great distance, and he thereby unable to refist, the *Argives* would then murmur against him, and he thereby be brought into contempt. This hapned just as he imagined, but *Antigonus* though very much spent of the Pettick, lived to the next Summer to regain his credit.

16. In the beginning of Summer he led towards *Laconia* an Army of twenty six thousand eight hundred men (his own and of the associates) which *Cleomenes* expecting fortified the passage betwixt the two mountains *Eva* and *Olympus*, placing his Brother at the former, and securing the later himself, having in all about twenty thousand in his Army. *Antigonus* wondering at his skill and industry in his fortification, pitch his Tents upon the River *Gorgylius*, bethinking himself what he should do; at last finding all passages made up, they both agreed to try the matter in battle. At the beginning of the fight those of *Cleomenes* his party with the light Armour placed amongst his Horse, seeing the *Illyrian* cohorts not to be backed by the *Acheans*, fell upon their Reer, and had done great mischief, but that *Philopomenus* a *Megalopolitan* (then but young) giving notice of it to the Officers, and they not regarding him, stirred up his fellow Citizens, and fell upon the Enemies horse, which made the other return to their former place to help their Companions. After this the fortune of the day inclined to *Antigonus* his side, for *Euchides* undid himself by the bad choice of his ground, receiving the *Illyrians* not on the side of the Hill, (whereby though he might have been repulsed, yet still he might have had the advantage of being higher than the Enemy) but just on the top, so that being thence removed, and forced downwards on the other side, the *Illyrians* had the advantage of him. *Cleomenes* perceiving his brother overthrown, and the Horse on the plain to have the worst, for fear the Enemy should compass him in, was forced to remove the Carriages from behind his Army, and draw it out as well as he could to prevent that. Then the Files coming to be engaged, *Antigonus* pressing upon the *Macedonians* in great violence with his doubled Files, put them to flight, and many being slain, *Cleomenes* escaped with a few in his Company and got to *Sparta*.

17. *Cleomenes* coming to *Sparta*, advised the people which flocked about him to receive the Conquerour, and then by night getting to *Gybiunus*, thence went to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, whereas if had either deferred the battle a little longer, or stayed at home, he might easily have recovered his former condition. For, *Antigonus* suddenly following him got *Sparta*, and very nobly, and with great humanity used the Citizens, restoring to them their ancient liberties, but shortly after was constrained to leave that place, and *Peloponnesus* also, being called home by an invasion of the *Illyrians* into Macedonia, where they made havock of all things. From *Sparta* he came to *Tegea*, where he again restored into the form of a Commonwealth, and thence to *Argos*, at the time of the Celebration of the *Nemean Games*, where by the Decree of the General assembly of the *Acheans* in common, and each of the Cities in particular, he had all possible honour given him. After this he marched with great speed into Macedonia, where he overthrew the *Illyrians* in battle, but got his own death with the victory: for with exhorting his Soldiers, and shouting in the fight, he so trained his Lungs that he spaw blood, and thereby his Consumption was heightened, which in a short time made an end of him, after he had discharged the Office of a faithful Guardian, a good King, and of an expert and valiant Captain ten years, A. M. 3782. in the second of the one hundred thirty ninth *Olympiad*, one hundred years after the death of *Alexander*.

18. Philip

18. Philip then succeeded this his Uncle, and once his Guardian, being sixteen years old, in whom the Prediction of *Sibylla* was verified, that the *Macedonian* glory, as it began in a Philip, so it should end in one of that name. Some three years after his coming to the Government he was also engaged in the Social War of Greece, of which the *Ætolians* and *Acheans* were the chief parties. For now the *Ætolians* (who used to live by Pyracry and Robbing) being weary of peace, though awed by *Antigonus* as long as he lived, and having in contempt the youth of Philip, and judging themselves stronger than the *Acheans*, they desired occasion to begin a War. The first occasion was given by *Dorimachus* one of their body, who being sent to *Phigalea*, a City of *Peloponnesus* in the Confines of *Messena* (under pretence of securing it, and its Territories) to spy what was done in those parts, and seeing the *Messenians* to live in security, and neglect of any martial Discipline, ever since the peace was made by *Antigonus*, being covetous gave leave to certain Pyrats to prey upon their grounds and drive their Cattel thence, though they were friends to the *Ætolians*. They complaining of this to him, he went to *Messena*, but in stead of giving them any relief, he derided, and threatened the Owners of the Cattel, and by the perswasion of *Sciron*, then *Pretor* of that City, he was secured. It so hapned, that at this time there was one *Babryta* a filthy fellow, so like to this *Dorimachus*, that one could scarce know them asunder had they been clothed alike. As therefore on a time *Dorimachus* was malapertly inveighing against the *Messenians*, *Sciron* answered him, *Doſt thou think, O Babryta, that we either care for thee, or thy threats?* This Jeer so affected him, as to be gone he restored them their goods; but getting him home, it fat so deeply upon him, as by pretence of this injury alone did he stir up War against the *Messenians*.

19. He durst not in publick Conventions perswade the *Ætolians* to the War, for that his private grudge was sufficiently known; but one *Scopas* being then *Pretor*, him he perswaded to joyn with him in the invasion of the *Messenians*. They two therefore, without any publick Decree, took the advantage of that time, wherein a few days only were remaining to *Timoxenus*, the *Pretor* of the *Acheans*, to continue in his Office (during which time yet *Aratus*, who was to succeed him, could not execute it) and calling together the *Ætolians* to the Promontory of *Ægium*, layed over into *Peloponnesus*, and invading the *Messenians* (who being unable to refist, had secured themselves within their City Walls) waited all with fire and sword. Not only the *Messenians*, but the *Epirotes*, *Acheans*, *Acarnanians*, and *Macedonians* also being declared Enemies by *Scopas*, they gave out Commissions to Pyrats to infect them by Sea. A Ship of the King of Macedonia was taken, and being brought into the Haven was sold, with all the men, and things belonging to it; the Sea-Coasts of *Epirus* were invaded; *Thyreas* a Town of *Acarnania* was set upon, and a band of men being sent privately through *Peloponnesus*, a Castle there was seized on in the Territories of the *Megalopolitans*, which yet *Timoxenus* reduced by the help of *Taurion*, whom *Antigonus* had left to oversee his affairs in those parts.

20. The *Acheans* meeting at *Ægium*, Decreed that aid should be sent to the *Messenians*; but *Timoxenus* whose time was not yet out, being slow in his preparations, *Aratus* who was to succeed him got the publick signet five days before the time, made Levies, and sent to the *Ætolians* to draw away their Forces out of the *Messenian* Territories, and not to trouble *Achaia* upon pain of being prosecuted as Enemies. *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* hearing the *Acheans* were gathered together, marched towards the *Elans* their Allies (with whom the *Ætolians* always maintained friendship, that they might the better Prey upon *Peloponnesus*) so that *Aratus* hearing this, very indifferently, and not like himself (as *Polybius* sheweth) for that he thought they would retreat, dismissed all his Soldiers except three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with which, and *Taurion* his party, he marched after them. He constrained them to fight in a disadvantageous place for himself, so that his forces were overthrown by them, and many being slain, the rest secured themselves in the Towns thereabouts, and the *Ætolians* passing without let or hinderance through *Peloponnesus*, attempted to take *Pellene*, and waſting the Territories of the *Sicyonians*, passed through the *Isthmus*, and so returned home. After this the *Acheans* assembling together, *Aratus* was grievously accused for taking up the Office before his time, disbanding the Army when he knew *Scopas* and *Dorimachus* were in *Peloponnesus*, fighting the Enemy with so few, when he might have easily had aid from the Towns thereabout, and, which was worst of all, for engaging not his best Soldiers in the plain, but only skirmishing at the Roots of the Mountains, where the Enemy

Pausan. in Achajia.

Polyb. lib. 4.

A. M. 3782. Ol. 139. ann. 2. V. C. 531. Antioch. Mages. 1. Ptole. E. 87. 24.

The Original thereof.

Defeated Cleomenes.

Death of a Conqueror.

Idem lib. 6. Plutarch. in Arato.

Aratus is defeated by the Ætolians.

had the advantage of the ground, besides their being the greater number. But as soon as *Aratus* appearing put them in mind of his former services, answered to the things objected against him, and craved pardon in case he had failed of his duty in the fight, and desired they would examine the case not maliciously, but with humanity, the people changed so in their affections, that they were angry a long time with his accusers, and rested upon his Counsels alone for the future.

21. These things having given the occasion to the Social War, it presently was decreed against the *Ætoliæ*. For, the *Acheans* meeting together, ordered that some should be sent to the *Epirotes*, *Boeotians*, *Phocians*, *Acarnanians*, and unto *Philip*, to acquaint them that they had broken the League now twice by the invasion of *Achaia*, to desire help against them, and to receive the *Messeniæ* into the alliance; moreover it was resolved, that the *Pretor* should agree with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messeniæ*, what Forces should be raised by their States. The *Ætoliæ* also assembling, that they might make a breach betwixt the *Acheans* and their associates, resolved to make peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messeniæ*, but as for the *Acheans* themselves, they absurdly decreed, that on no other condition would they have Peace with them, except they forsook the society of the *Messeniæ*. The *Epirotes*, and *Philip*, after audience given to the Embassadors, willingly received the *Messeniæ* into the alliance; but as for the *Ætoliæ*, not at all wondering at their carriage (for that it being but agreeable to their custom of Piracy and robbing, their custom something excused the badness of the action) they resolved still to keep peace with them. But *Scerdilaidas* the General of the *Illyriæ* making an agreement with the *Ætoliæ* about his part in the booty, with them invaded *Achaia*, and took the City of the *Cynethense*, being betrayed by some Exiles, which their Citizens had lovingly received again; but to pay for their ingratitude, these Exiles were put to the sword as well as the rest, and their City was burnt down to the ground upon the report of the *Macedonians* coming into *Peloponnesus*. For, *Aratus* had sent to *Philip* again for aid, who came presently with an Army down to *Corinth*, where the Commissioners from the several associated Cities met him, and unanimously decreed a War against the *Ætoliæ*, in the first year of the 140 Olympiad (as *Polybius* telleth us) and about that time that *Hannibal* took *Saguntum*.

22. While *Philip* was about *Corinth*, great stir hapned at *Lacedæmon* by reason of him. For such as were his Enemies there, caused some of his party, left they should tell how they stood affected, to be slain, and afterwards the *Ephori* (who had brought the People to decree a continuance in the League with him) to be murdered as they were sacrificing, and then joyntly their State to the *Ætoliæ*, and after they had heard of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, made a new election of Kings (whereof one was *Lycurgus*, an obscure man, and not of the Race of *Hercules*) having lived in way of a Free State about three years, ever since they were set free by *Antigonus*, till this time, when their liberty so called, had bred great strife and emulation. *Philip* coming to *Ægium* to the general meeting, the *Acheans* renewed the leagues and confederacies formerly made with his Ancestors, and then with a great deal of credit he returned into *Macedonia*, there to make provisions for the War, where spending the Winter in levying Forces, and fortifying that country against foreign attempts, he also dealt with *Scerdilaidas*, as he drew him over from the *Ætoliæ* to his own party, by reason they had not made him partaker of the booty, as they had covenanted with him. During this time several associates were sent to for assistance in the War, and amongst the rest the *Messeniæ*, who though they gave the occasion of it, yet answered, being overpoured by the *Pretors* of the *Ætoliæ*, that seeing *Phylagæa* was situate in their borders and belonged unto them, they would not assist in the War, except it was first taken out of the hands of the *Ætoliæ*. *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* King getting some Forces together, invaded the borders of the *Argives*, and took several Towns, they not standing at all upon their guard, expecting no acts of Hostility from their friends as they counted them, and then was War proclaimed by the *Ætoliæ* against the *Acheans*. They were much elevated being now in a flourishing condition, the other on the contrary were put to it, for that *Philip* in whom was their chiefest hope, was only yet providing for the War: the *Epirotes* would do nothing till they saw him begin; and the *Messeniæ* remained neuter; but shortly after, the marching of *Philip* from *Macedonia* revived their hopes.

23. For having got together an Army of fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred

dred Horfe, he departed from *Macedonia*, for *Theffalia* and *Epirus*, intending through them to invade *Ætolia*. Coming into *Epirus*, he was persuaded there by the *Illyriæ* to sit upon the City *Ambracis* and recover it, (which the *Ætoliæ* had gotten out of the hands of the *Epirotes*) to which he was loath to agree, and thereby lost the opportunity of finishing the War presently, by neglecting to invade the inland Countries of *Ætolia*, and by harkening to the *Epirotes*, who more regarded their private profit than the publick good. In the meantime, in *Peloponnesus* things went on in favour of the *Ætoliæ*: for though they had been repulsed with some loss from *Ægira*, a City of the *Acheans*, yet *Euripidas* the General of the *Eleans* made inroads upon divers of the associates, got much booty, and took divers Towns with the Castle of the *Dimeans*; *Lycurgus* the *Lacedæmonian* took *Athenæa* a Town belonging to the *Megalopolitans*; and *Aratus* son to the other the Captain of the *Acheans* could hire no Soldiers (because being already with much pay) and with fear and indifferency managed the business. *Scopas* the *Pretor* of the *Ætoliæ* through *Theffaly* invaded *Macedonia*, where waiting all with fire and sword about *Pieria*, he thence went to *Diium*, which the Inhabitants not staying his coming, he burnt, and overthrew the Images of the Kings. *Philip* by this time had taken *Ambracis* in the space of forty days, and thereby satisfied the greedy desires of the *Epirotes*; then hearing what *Scopas* had done in *Macedonia*, he passed speedily over the Bay of *Ambracia*, and through *Acarnania* invaded the *Ætoliæ*.

24. Pitching his tents before *Phœtææ*, after many sharp skirmishes he received that town upon composition, and overthrew a party of five hundred *Ætoliæ*, who were coming to relieve it; after which, as he was waiting the Country, the Ambassadors of the *Acheans* came to him desiring help. He promised to take their business into consideration, and marched for *Metropolis*, the Inhabitants of which flying into the Castle, he burnt the Town, and thence moving towards *Conope*, some Horfe endeavoured to hinder him from passing the River, but finding it to be vain, retired into the Town, and after this, none daring any more to thwart themselves, he passed unopposed through the Country, taking many Towns and Castles, the Walls of which he demolished, only *Oeniadæ* he resolved to fortify. While he thus employed himself, news came from *Macedonia*, that the *Dardaniæ* had resolved to make an invasion; whereupon judging it requisite to look home, he dismissed the *Achean* Ambassadors with this answer, that as soon as he had provided for the security of his own Kingdom, he would use his best endeavour to relieve them. Returning that way he came, with great journeys he passed through *Epirus*, and when he had arrived at *Pella*, the *Dardaniæ* hearing of his return disbanded their Army, and then he presently marched back into *Theffaly*, intending to pass away the remaining of the Summer at *Larissa*, *Dorimachus* who being created *Pretor* of the *Ætoliæ* invaded *Epirus*, and harrying the Country, robbed, and then destroyed the *Dodonæan* Temple; but *Philip* now in Winter, when it was little expected by any, leaveth *Larissa*, and passing over his Army from *Theffaly* into *Eubœa*, marcheth through *Boeotia*, and the confines of *Megaris*, and about the Winter solstice, cometh to *Corinth*, whither calling *Aratus* the elder to him to consult of affairs, he writes to the *Pretor*, and several Cities of the *Acheans*, assigning them when and where to meet him.

25. Having taken this order he departs from *Corinth* to *Diofcurium*, a City of the *Phliæsiæ*, and thence to *Caphyæ*, where he had appointed the *Acheans* to meet him, lighting in his way upon a party which *Euripidas* was leading towards the Territories of the *Sicyonians* to waste them, whereof two thousand, two hundred he took; the other being slain and perishing amongst the high Rocks, one hundred only escaped with their Leader. This Victory got him abundance of honour (it being heard he was come, and had overcome also at the same time) which to maintain and increase, after he was come to *Caphyæ*, he joyntly *Aratus* the younger to him with about ten thousand men, and marched to *Plöphis* an ancient Town of *Arcadia*, situate in the middle of *Peloponnesus*, and upon the confines of the *Eleans*, who then had it in their hands, and whither *Euripidas* their Captain had now withdrawn himself after his defeat. To this place *Philip* had a great mind, as very convenient for carrying on the War. He got the Town presently, and after that had the Castle yielded to him, and staying there some time gave up the place into the hands of the *Acheans*, as also *Lafone* shortly after, which upon his approaching was forsaken by a Garrison of the *Eleans*. After this he came into the Country of the *Eleans*, which giving his Soldiers liberty to sack and plunder, he passed the River

Alpheus,

Scopas the
Ætoliæ invades
Macedonia

And Philip
invades
Ætolia.

A. M. 3785.
Ol. 140. aa. 1.
P. C. 534.
Ann. Meg.
Prel. Philip
sett. 3.

Philip marching down the *peninsulæ*. For, *Aratus* has sent to *Philip* again for aid, who came presently with an Army down to *Corinth*, where the Commissioners from the several associated Cities met him, and unanimously decreed a War against the *Ætoliæ*.

Changes at
Lacedæmon.

And Peloponnesus.

His Exploits.

Apelles, and came into *Tryphalia* including nine Towns situate betwixt *Flea* and *Messina*, which also the inhabitants of the former had got into their possession a few years before, with *Alphira* that belonged to *Arcadia*. Passing his men over by a bridge he caused to be made, he presently took *Alphira*, and within six days all *Tryphalia*, though *Phylidas* was sent from the *Ætolians* to aid the *Eleans* with six hundred men, to whom were joined five hundred Mercenaries, and one thousand of the Inhabitants of *Elea*. Placing a Garrison in the Castle of the *Lepreutians*, he came to *Herea*, where dividing all the booty amongst his Soldiers, and thence marching to *Megalopolis*, in the midst of Winter, he afterwards came to *Argos*, where he spent the remainder of that Season. During these motions *Chilon* the *Lacedemonian* killed the *Ephori* who had made *Lycurgus* King; but the fact being not approved, he was glad to betake himself to his heels.

Apelles his
plot against
Aratus and
others.

26. *Philip* invaded again the Territories of the *Ætolians*, and thence took very much booty, and returning to *Argos* to winter, sent his Army into *Macedonia*. At this time *Apelles* (who was one of them whom *Antigonus* had left his Guardians) much maligned *Aratus*, and joining with *Leontius* Captain of the *Cetrati* (called so from the wearing of a short buckler) and *Megalas* the King's chief Secretary, resolved to remove *Taurion* from the Government of *Peloponnesus*, and *Alexander* from his command of the Life-Guard; and had he not been hindered by *Aratus*, he had accomplish'd his purpose. He had procured also one *Eparatus* to be chosen *Pretor* in the room of *Aratus* the younger, and he managing his affairs very indifferently, the King could get neither money nor provisions, but was fain to flee to *Aratus* for relief; and now it being resolved to carry on the War by Sea, he consulting with his two creatures, determined to stop up provisions from coming to the Army, and went to *Chalcis* for that purpose. He so managed his business, as he forced the King to pawn his plate, who now failed against the *Cephalenians*, whose ships the *Ætolians* constantly used in their invasions of *Peloponnesus*, and coming to *Patra*, there drew up his Ships on shore. He laid siege to the City of the *Pateenians*, and having undermined a piece of the Wall, sent *Leontius* to take the place, but he remembering the conspiracy of *Apelles*, *Megalas*, and himself to hinder the affairs of his Master, had corrupted the chiefest of the Officers, and suffered himself to be repulsed, so that *Philip* raised his Siege, and consulted what was to be done. By this time *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonian* King had invaded the *Messinians*, *Dorimachus* also the *Ætolian* had made an inroad into *Thessaly*, so that from both parts came Ambassadors to crave aid. *Leontius* counselled *Philip* to go to *Messina*; but *Aratus* to invade *Ætolia* again, to whom he agreed, having had experience of his wisdom, and beginning now a little to mistrust the other.

27. Writing to the *Pretor* of the *Acheans* to relieve the *Messinians*, he invaded their Country, and taking *Thermus*, gave his Soldiers leave to plunder the Villages, in revenge for what the *Ætolians* had done at *Diis* in *Macedonia*, and rifled and burnt the Temple, for which he is grievously reprehended by *Polybius*. After this returning on shipboard, *Leontius* and *Megalas* in their cups so abused *Aratus*, as to throw insults at him, for which the former escaping, the later was imprisoned and fined twenty Talents at a Council of War. *Philip* then failed to *Corinth*, whence sending messengers to the associated Cities to meet him at *Tegea*, he marched thither in two days, and getting some Forces together he invaded the *Lacedemonians*, and wasted their territories far and wide, put to flight *Lycurgus* who came out of the City against him, and then returned again unto *Corinth*. While he prepared to attempt some notable thing upon *Phocis*; *Leontius*, *Megalas*, and *Pholony*, moved the Soldiers to sedition, which though he knew very well, yet dissembled he it at present; but *Leontius* sent for *Apelles* from *Chalcis*, who there had very naughtily behaved himself, and now returning was not entertained by the King after the usual manner, nor admitted to the Council. *Megalas* hereat being affrighted fled, leaving *Leontius* behind him engaged for the twenty Talents, whose Soldiers *Philip* sent with *Taurion* into *Thriphyllia* as upon service, and thence sent him into Prison for the payment of the money, and not long after (the Soldiers malapertly interceding for him, that he should not be tried till their return, otherwise they should take it as a great affront) he put him to death. Then came he to *Patra*, where he had appointed the Deputies of the Cities to meet him about a Peace with the *Ætolians*, which the *Rhodians* and *Chians* had by Ambassadors moved both parties to. Here letters of *Megalas* were brought to him, wherein he stirred up the *Ætolians* to proceed in the War, because he would be in great straits for provisions; whereupon he judging *Apelles* to have been the chief cause of those evils; clapt him up at *Corinth*, and ordered

Alexander

The treason
of him and
his complices
discovered.

Alexander to go to *Thebes* and pursue *Megalas*. He hearing this killed himself, and *Apelles* died soon after.

Pholony put
to death for
treason.

Philip hav-
ing vast
things in de-
sign, pur-
chased an
end to the
Social War.

28. The *Ætolians* hearing of these stirr in *Philip's* Court, and thinking thereby some great sedition would be raised, put off their meeting at *Rhium* about the peace, which he was not at all sorry for, but exhorted the Allies rather to bend their minds towards thoughts of War. Then, coming to *Demetrius*, there was condemned *Pholony*, *Apelles* his Companion, by the *Macedonians*, and put to death; and, for that Winter was now begun, having sent his Army before, he himself followed into *Macedonia*. The next year he got *Bylazora* the chiefest Town of *Pæonia* into his hands, and *Thebes* *Pitiotick* also, which the *Ætolians* holding, much molested *Thesphyl*; but receiving news that *Sceordiaida* being revolted, made great waste of all things about *Midea*, he returned into *Peloponnesus* at the time of the celebration of the *Nemean Games*. Here he received letters that *Hannibal* had overthrown the *Romans* at the *Lake of Trasymene*; and *Demetrius* *Phariss*, who had waged War with the people of *Rome*, for the *Illyrians*, advised him to make peace with the *Ætolians*, and undertaking the affairs of *Illyricum* pass thence into *Italy*, and think of no less than arriving at the Monarchy of the World. Being elevated with this fancy, he persuaded the *Acheans* to agreement and then sending *Taurion* and *Aratus* to the *Ætolians*, who desired a Treaty, at their request he went also himself down to them, and made Peace on this condition, that all parties should enjoy what now they held. *Agelaus* of *Naupactus* persuaded the *Greeks* to embrace amity, left cutting one another throats, they might be devoured by the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*. So all the Cities returned to their ancient Laws and Customs; and this Social War ended after it had continued four years, in the sixth of the reign of *Philip*, the first of the 141 Olympiad. A. M. 3789.

29. *Philip* applied himself to the recovery of the Cities which had revolted from him, and then thought of nothing more than settling the affairs of *Illyricum*, necessary for the promoting of his designs, especially the invasion of *Italy*, upon which his mind was so settled, as sleeping and waking his fancy ran wholly upon it, being spurred on by *Demetrius* *Phariss*, not so much for any great affection born to him, as for the others private interest, who thought hereby to recover the Island *Pharus*, which once he enjoyed; and out of hatred to the *Romans*, who having overthrown him in War, about this time sent to demand him of *Philip*, to whom he had fled: After he had recovered the Cities, and sent his Army to the Winter quarters, he bethought him that there would be need of Ships for the carrying on of his project; not for fighting with the *Romans*, but conveying of his men; so that he caused one hundred swift Barks to be built, and yet in the Spring exercising his Soldiers a little in rowing, away he goes through *Euripus* near to *Cephalenia*, harkening continually after the *Roman* Fleet. But the report of it's coming, after a short time put his men into such a panick fear, that though he was going towards *Apollonia*, he tacked about, and in great disorder after a day and a nights sail came back again to *Cephalenia*. For all this he was not discouraged from his enterprise, but understanding how *Hannibal* prospered in *Italy*, thought good to make him his friend, and thereby get an entrance in thither. And this year being the fourth of the second *Punick* War, he sent his Ambassadors to him.

He sent his
Ambassadors
to Hannibal
in Italy.

The terms of
their Alliance.

30. The Ambassadors landing near to the Temple of *Juno Lucina*, went through *Apulia* towards *Capua* where *Hannibal* then lay; but in their way fell into the *Roman* Guards, by which they were brought to *M. Valerius* *Levinus* the *Pretor*, then lying about *Numeria*. Being thus entangled, *Xenophanes*, one of them bolder and wiser than the rest, told the *Pretor* they were come from *Philip* to make a League and Alliance with the People of *Rome*, at which he rejoicing, that after the revolving of their Associates in *Italy* so great a Prince should desire their friendship, entertained him and his fellows very lovingly, and sent them away with some to conduct them, so that coming into *Campania* they presently got to *Hannibal*. The alliance was made on these terms, that *Philip* with as great a Fleet as possible (two hundred ships he thought he could procure) should pass into *Italy*, waste the Maritime parts thereof, and help to carry on the War both by Sea and Land: that *Italy* being Conquered should all fall to *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginians* with all the spoil; and then they should pass into *Greece*, and there make War upon what Princes or States *Philip* pleased, who should enjoy what ever places could be got; either in the continent or Islands, he being willing to content himself with these conditions for a beginning. Things being thus concluded, the Ambassadors were dispatched away; and with them some sent from *Hannibal*, who shipping themselves again where they landed before,

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 141. ann. 1.
P. C. 538.
Justin. lib. 8.
Ptolem. Philip.
7.

Polyb. lib. 5.

Livius l. 22.

Idem lib. 29.

F i f f

The Ambassadors taken by the Romans.

before, were discovered by the *Romans*, who lay upon the Coasts of *Calabria*, and taken. *Xenophanes*, having had such good fortune before, with his skill attempted the same thing again, but the habit and language of the *Carthaginians* discovered them, and, the League being found about them, all was brought to light, and confessed; and then they were sent to *Gracius the Consul to Cumæ*, and by him to the Senate.

Others sent with better success.

31. The Fathers entered into serious debate about it, being much troubled to find, that though they were scarce able to undergo the *Carthaginian War*, they should be engaged in another with the *Macedonian King*; yet notwithstanding they were not dismayed, but considered how they might make work for *Philip* at home, thereby to divert him from *Italy*. Having therefore imprisoned the Ambassadors, and sold their followers, they gave order for fifty ships fitly furnished to hover about *Italy*, and if the Kings attempts should appear answerable to the Ambassage, *Marcus Valerius the Pretor* was then to invade *Macedonia*. While these things were in hand, one of the slaves which being taken accompanied the Ambassadors to *Rome*, escaped, and acquainted *Philip* with things had passed, who then not knowing what was done or concluded betwixt *Hannibal* and himself, sent Messengers, who dispatched the business with better success, but the Summer was too far spent for him to do any thing this year. These high thoughts and designs he now had in his head did so puff him up, that from an excellent Prince as he was at the first, he turned tyrannical, so that he began to wax harsh against the Cities of *Greece*, being set on for *Demetrius Pharius*, who advised him to get *Peloponnesus* into his power, and for that purpose to seize on the two Horns of that beast, (as he accounted them) the *Castle of Corinth*, and that of the *Messenians*, who being now at odds amongst themselves, he laboured to increase their differences; and for that *Aratus* was dissipated at it, and laboured to dissuade him, he cast him out of favour. The year after he had entered into a League with *Hannibal*, finding it yet not convenient to make for *Italy*, he took *Oricus* a Town of *Ilyricum*, in order to the besieging of *Apollonia*, both which had joyined themselves in society with the *Romans* fifteen years before. But when *Levinus the Pretor* heard of it, leaving the Coast of *Brundisium* to the care of *P. Valerius*, he halted to *Oricus*, and presently recovered it, and afterwards sent a party under the Conduct of *Nevius Cripus*, which getting into *Apollonia*, afterwards fell upon the *Macedonians* who lay so securely in their Camp, that about one thousand men entered the Trenches before it was perceived. Hereupon followed such a Panick fear, that no body endeavoured to repulse the Enemy; and three thousand men were slain or taken. The King getting out of his bed, fled half naked to the ships; which *Levinus* being aware of, secured the mouth of the River; so that he was forced to fly with a poor unarmed Army by Land into *Macedonia*.

Polynestis Aratus.

32. About this time, being angry with *Aratus*, because he was concerned at his ill usage of the *Messenians*, he procured him to be poisoned by the help of *Taurion* his Lieutenant in *Peloponnesus*. At the first the thing was not known, it being a slow working poison, but *Aratus* himself was not ignorant of it, yet shewed such calmness of mind as he acquainted none with it, but *Cephala* his nearest attendant, who observing him to spit blood upon the Wall, he only said, *This reward O Cephala have we for our friendship* to *Philip*; but after his death he was honoured by all the *Acheans* as an Hero. *Philip* about this time casting his thoughts upon *Ilyricum*, got *Lysus* a strong Town thereof, and *Acrolyssus* his Castle into his power, having divided his Army into two parts, one whereof he hid on the Land-side, and drew the Defendants towards the Sea with the other, so as they in ambush entered the Castle without opposition (otherwise impregnable) after which he got the Town, though with much trouble, and then most of the Cities out of fear submitted unto him. But the same year *M. Valerius Levinus* withdrew the *Ætolians* from their society and alliance with him, by shewing them the civility of the *Romans* towards their friends, and especially by putting them in hopes to recover *Acarnania* again into their power, having *Scopas the Pretor* and *Dorimachus* to back him in this persuasion. And in this new League were to be included the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Attalus King of Asia* the less, *Plennatus* of *Thrace*, and *Scerdilaidas* of *Ilyricum*, which they pleased. *Levinus* took presently *Zacynthus* an Island near to *Ætolia*, having a City in it of the same name. *Oeniada* also and *Nassus*, Towns of *Acarnania*, all which he gave up to the *Ætolians*, and then judging he had made work enough for *Philip* to keep him at home, that he should not think of the invasion of *Italy*, or of *Hannibal*, or the *Carthaginians*, he departed to *Coreyra*.

A. M. 3751.
Ol. 141. an. 3.
P. C. 540.
Antich. Mæ. 10.
Ptol. Philip.

Idem lib. 6.
Euseb. 9.

Idem lib. 10.
Euseb. 10.

Idem lib. 26.
Lisias lib. 26.

Levinus the Roman Pretor was worth him worse enough.

33. He was Wintering at *Pella*, when the news first came to him, and therefore as he had determined to pass into *Greece* in the Spring, and first to invade, and awe the *Illyrians*, he now made incursions thither, after that into *Pelagania*, and then took a City of the *Dardaniens* in the Borders of *Macedonia*, being as it were the Key into their Country. This done, he halted into *Thessaly*, where leaving *Perseus* with a party to restrain the *Ætolians*, he thence marched towards *Thrace* against the *Mædi*, which were wont to make inroads into *Macedonia* when the King was absent in the Wars; from them he took *Jampharmia*, and attempted other places. But the *Ætolians* now aiming at, and expecting great things, because of their conjunction with their *Romans*, struck terror into almost all the other *Greeks*; wherefore the *Acheans*, *Boeotians*, *Eubœans*, *Epirotes*, and *Acarnanians* implored his help, for all which he provided as well as he might, and sent a party to defend *Preparedus* the Island, at which he heard that *Attalus* coming into *Europe*, arrived, being chosen by the *Ætolians* their Commander in Chief. *Scopas the Ætolian* hearing he was gone into *Thrace*, invaded *Acarnania*, the Inhabitants whereof conveying away their Wives, children, and Aged into *Epyrus*, vowed never to return except as Conquerors, resolving never to be again enslaved under the *Ætolians*. This the Enemy hearing, was something amazed at their resolution, and then knowing of *Philip* his coming, returned home, and he when he heard they had so done, returned also unto *Pella*. The year after he succoured the *Acheans* fore molested by *Machani-das Tyrant of Sparta*, and the *Ætolians*, and went against *Lamia*, a City of the *Ætolians*, who coming out to meet him, he overthrew them in two several engagements, after which they shutting up themselves in the Town, he drew down his Army to *Phalara* a Maritime City of *Thessaly*, whither Ambassadors came from *Ptolemy*, the *Rhodiens*, *Chians*, and *Athenians*, to compose the difference betwixt him and them. Though not so much out of love to the *Ætolians*, as for fear that *Philip* and his Kingdom should grow too great, and become burdensome to the liberty of *Greece*. The Treaty was put off to the meeting of the States-General of the *Acheans*, and a Truce made in the mean time for thirty days.

The Ætolians relate peace.

34. It was also begun with this design, to keep *Attalus*, or the *Romans*, from coming into *Greece*; but the *Ætolians* observing the Term of the Truce almost to be expired, and hearing that *Attalus* was come to *Ægina*, and the *Roman Navy* to *Naupactus*, hindered the conclusion; first complaining of some things done during the Truce, and then plainly refusing to agree, except the *Acheans* would restore *Pylas* to the *Messenians*, and except the *Romans*, *Athamanians*, *Scerdilaidas*, and *Pluratus* were included in the peace. *Philip* holding it an unseemly thing that those who had the worst of it in the War should give Laws to the other, broke up the meeting, and leaving 4000 men for a defence to the *Acheans*, went to *Argos*. In the mean while *P. Sulpicius* coming with the *Roman Fleet* from *Naupactus*, landed betwixt *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, and wasted the Country; but *Philip* lighting upon his men drove them to their ships, and then going to *Dyme*, cast out thence the Garrison of the *Ætolians*, called thither by the *Eleans*. Their Territories he also wasted (*Cycliadas* the General of the *Acheans* having united his Forces with his) and then went against the City *Elis* itself. It happened that *Sulpicius* was secretly got in thither with four thousand men, which struck a terror into the besiegers as soon as they espied the *Roman* colours, and *Philip* would fain have drawn off his men; but a skirmish being begun he was forced to charge the *Roman* Cohort with his horse-men. His own horse being shot under him, a sharp conflict followed about his person now on foot, but he was rescued by his followers, and mounting another fled away. Then pitched he his Tents five miles from *Elis*, and the next day marching to *Pylargus* a Castle not far off, there took a multitude of Country people, which with their Cattel had fled thither for protection; but as he was dividing the plunder, a Messenger came out of *Macedonia*, and informed him, that a certain man of the *Ætoli-ans* had taken *Lychnidas*, and was raising the *Dardaniens*; wherefore leaving two thousand five hundred men under Government of *Menippus* and *Polyphus* for a Guard to the *Acheans*, away he marched into *Thessaly*, where he heard the *Dardaniens* had invaded his Kingdom, and that he was reported to be slain. After his departure *Sulpicius* went and wintered at *Ægina* with *Attalus*; and the *Acheans* fought prosperously against their Enemies.

His aids in Greece.

35. The year after, *P. Sulpicius Galba the Proconsul*, and *Attalus* departing from *Ægina*, with their Navies joyined together (which made up fifty sayl) came into *Enbææ*, and there took *Orcus* through the treachery of *Plator* the Governour. *Philip* now being at *Demetrium*, great complaints came to him of the *Ætolians*, who being

Idem lib. 10.

Idem lib. 27.

A. M. 3755.
Ol. 142. an. 4.
P. C. 545.
Antich. Mæ. 15.
Ptolem. 26.
lib. 19.

Idem lib. 27.

very high, troubled grievously the Associates; the *Acheans* moreover being molested again by *Machinidas* Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, and desiring aid, he dismissed the Messengers with promise to provide for the safety of all as near as he could, and appointed fires to be made on the tops of the Mountains, with a Watch-Tower, to give him warning if the Enemy invaded the Sea-Coasts. The fires upon the coming of the Navy to *Oreus* were by the cunning of *Plator* made too late; but upon the sign given he hastened with his Army (having beaten off the *Ætoli*ans who opposed him at the Straights of *Thermopylae*) and came to *Elatea* a Town in *Phocis*. *Attalus* at this time, and the *Proconsul* having attempted *Chalcis* to no purpose, came to *Opeus*, which being taken, the Kings Soldiers were to have the plunder of it, as the *Romans* had before *Oreus*. Here he staying too long to gather money, was almost surprised by *Philip*, and hasting to his Ships, had not got all his men aboard before he fell upon him; then departing to *Oreus*, he there received news that *Prusias* King of *Bithinia* had invaded his Kingdom, so that he presently returned home, and *Sulpicius* to *Ægina*. *Philip* chiding the *Opuntians* for yielding so soon, went, and took *Thronium* inhabited by them of *Thebes* *Phiotick*, who being ousted thence by him 8 years before, as we said, the *Ætoli*ans had given them this Town to dwell in. After this returning to *Elatia* (where the Ambassadors of *Polony* and the *Rhodians* stayed his coming to move him again about the peace) and hearing that *Machinidas* had determined to set upon the *Eleans*, he resolved to prevent him. *Machinidas* hearing of his coming, retreated presently to *Sparta*, and then went he to *Ægina* to the general Council of the *Acheans*, to whom he restored *Horaea* and *Triphylia*; and *Aliphera* to the *Megalopolitans*. He made some depredations upon the *Ætoli*ans, then returned to *Oreus*, and so to *Demetrias*, where he gave order for making of Ships; (things being quiet there after the departure of *Attalus*) and so into his own Kingdom against the *Dardani*ans.

36. The two years following, little or nothing was done by the *Romans* in Greece, so that the *Ætoli*ans being destitute of their aid (in which they most confided) were forced to make a Peace with him on his own terms. Scarce was it concluded, when *Publius Sempromius* the *Proconsul* was sent to succeed *Sulpicius* (who carefully managed his affairs) with ten thousand Foot, one thousand Horse, and 35 Gallies, who coming to *Dyrrachium* raised the *Parthini*, and set upon *Damallus*. Coming a little after to *Apollonia*, *Philip* having received the news of his arrival, marched down thither, and would have given him battle, but the *Proconsul* refusing it, and he not daring to attempt the Town, as also because he was now inclinable also to Peace, he returned again into his own Kingdom. Not long after the *Epirotes* bearing also the same mind, sent to him, desiring he would think of Peace, which they despaired not of, so he and *Sempromius* would but meet together. He condescended to go down into *Epirus*, and then came to an interview with the *Proconsul* at *Phenice*, together with *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and the Deputies of the *Epirotes* and *Acarnanians*, where it was agreed that the *Parthini*, the Cities *Dindamus*, *Burgulum*, and *Eugenium*, should fall to the share of the *Romans*, and the *Atintane* (because they had desired it from the Senate at Rome) to *Philip*: in the confederacy were included on the Kings part, *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*, the *Acheans*, *Boeotians*, *Theffaloni*ans, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirotes*; and on the Roman, the Inhabitants of *Ilium*, King *Attalus*, *Pleasantus*, the *Eleans*, *Messeni*ans, and *Athenians* with *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, and successor of *Machinidas*, slain in battle by *Philopomenus*, who now had begun to defend his Country from the *Lacedemonians* and others. A truce was made for two months, to have the consent of the People of *Rome*, who now having turned the War into *Africa* upon the *Carthaginians*, were glad to free themselves from all other troubles, and therefore the Peace was confirmed by the suffrages of all the Tribes.

37. But *Philip's* mind was so injured to action, that he could not but make himself work; for perceiving *Philopomenus* (now *Pretor* the second time of the *Acheans*) to be in great respect for his Military skill and valour, he sent to murder him at *Megalopolis*, which being discovered, he deservedly incurred the displeasure of all Greece. He kept some correspondence (together with *Antiochus* the Great) with *Polony* *Philopater*, when living; but after his death, they two consulted together to deprive his young Son of his Kingdom, and might well have done it, (especially seeing the *Ægyptian* Court was much vexed by the discord of the great ones) had they not both been diverted by the *Romans*, and punished justly, as *Polybius* observeth. And though he was never reconciled to the *Ætoli*ans, and used them as his friends and allies, yet now without any pretence did he withdraw *Lyfimachia* from their society, and

and joyned it to himself, after that *Chalcedon*; and to gratify his Son in Law *Prusias* of *Bithinia*, enslaved the City of the *Cians*, though the *Ætoli*ans had sent them a Captain who commanded in chief, which cruelty so incensed the *Rhodians*, as ever after they became his Enemies, and joyned with *Attalus* King of *Asia* against him. Very stoutly did he deal with these his adversaries, never being discouraged by any bad success. He had the worst of it in a battle at Sea near *Chius*, but driving *Attalus* on Land, and taking his Ship (though he had never lost so many men in any battle whatever before) he ascribed the Victory to himself. For all this War in which he was employed by two powerful adversaries, yet feared he not to undertake another with the People of *Rome*, which now a few months after the end of the second *Punic* War was decreed against him, about fourteen years after his entering into confederacy with *Hannibal*, of his own reign the 23, and the first of the 145 Olympiad. A. M. 3805.

38. For though there had been a peace made, yet it was conceived he had broken it by his molesting the *Ætoli*ans, and other associates, and of late by sending aid to *Annibal* in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians*: The *Athenians* by their Ambassadors also called upon the Senate for help, whose Territories he had wasted, and forced them up into the City. The occasion of the War betwixt him and them was from the *Acarnanians*; for two young men of that Nation coming to *Athens*, chanced to go into the Temple of *Ceres*, with the other company at the Feast, being not initiated, and for that reason were put to death, as having committed an unpardonable offence, though ignorantly they did it; now this the *Athamanians* took to heart, as they procured *Philip* to make War upon them. At the same time were come to *Rome* Ambassadors also from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, complaining that the Cities of *Asie* were also molested by him; so that now having little to do after the ending of the second *Punic* War, the Senate unanimously made a Decree, by virtue whereof *Marcus Livinius* the *Vice-prator* was sent into Macedonia with thirty eight Ships brought out of *Sicily* by *Cn. Octavius*: afterwards came news further that he was about to take *Athens*, and then it being propoed to the People, the War (through the persuasion of *Publius Sulpicius Galba* the Consul, to whom it fell by lot) was decreed against him. He had not besieged that City himself, but, sending down *Philotes* one of his Captains thither, went and subdued the *Chersonese* of *Thrace*. Only the Inhabitants of *Alydus* stood out against him, and that with such resolution, as following the example of the *Saguntines* in Spain, they fought it out to the last, and made an end of themselves, after he had denied to receive them upon any other terms than yielding to mercy. Yet *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* might have relieved them had they not loitered.

39. *Sulpicius* the Consul coming to *Apollonia*, upon the desire of the *Athamanians*, sent *C. Claudius Cento* with twenty Ships out of the Fleet which lay at *Corcyra*, furnished with Soldiers, to relieve their City. He hearing that *Chalcis* was badly looked to, though fortified with a Garrison of the *Macedonians*, went thither, took it with ease, then plundering it set on fire, and returned to the *Piræus*, or Haven of *Athens*. *Philip* was now come down to *Demetrias*, where hearing this news he passed over *Euripus* on a bridge, and through *Boeotia* halted to *Athens*, thinking to surprize the Town; but the Inhabitants having got notice of his coming, stood upon their guard, and then perceiving his craft failed him, betook himself to force; but this being to no purpose (the *Romans* coming in, and the Soldiers of *Attalus* from *Ægina*) wasting all about the Town, and not sparing so much as the Sepulchers, he went to *Eleusine* thinking there to get the Temple and Cattle into his power; but the guards being strong, and the Navy coming to help from the *Piræus*, he marched thence to *Megara* and so to *Corinth*. Hearing now that the *Acheans* were met at *Argos*, to consult how to resist *Nabis* Tyrant of *Sparta*, he went down thither, and came upon them unawares, and promised he would make War upon him, on condition they would but find him Soldiers to keep *Oreus*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*. His design was to engage them in the War against the *Romans*, which they very well understood, and therefore *Cyclades* the *Pretor* answered, that it was not lawful to propoed any other matter than that for which they were assembled, and so a Decree being made for raising an Army against *Nabis*, he broke up the meeting.

40. Nothing yet was done by the *Roman* Consul of himself, but encamping upon the River *Aspis* between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrachium*, he sent *L. Apollonius* his Lieutenant with a party to harrae the Enemies Country, who performed what he went about, taking divers Towns of Macedonia, and then returned with much booty.

He ingagerth
against the
Romans.

The grounds
of the War
on the Roman
part.

Philip's frui-
less Expedi-
tion against
Athens.

idem lib. 25.

Polybius l. 11.
excepto. 7.

Plutarch in
Philopomeno.

lib. 5, excepto.
20. c. 1.

ibid. c. 2.

A. M. 3805.
Ol. 145. an. 1.
P. C. 514.
Ann. 21. 24.
Ptol. Epiph. 4.

Pto. Livius
lib. 31.

idem ibid. c.
Polyb. excepto.
lib. 15.

Livius ibid.

The *Ætoli*ans
forced to
make a peace
with him.

A general
peace made
between him,
the *Romans*,
and others.

He incurreth
odium several
ways.

And Having
overcome enemies

He courteth
the *Ætoliens*.

But his had
success against
the Consul
matcheth them
joyn with the
Romans.

Tappalus the
Consul doth
nothing.

Flaminius
succeedeth.

With whom
Philip hath a
fruitless treaty.

And is beaten
by him.

The Consul
takes in fe-
veral places
in *Theffaly*.

booty. *Philip* being come home, made all provision possible for the War, and knowing the restlessness of the *Ætoliens*, for fear they might side with the *Romans*, (which yet they had not done) sent his Ambassadors to the general meeting of them called the *Panetoliens*, whither came also *L. Furius Purpureo*, sent from the Consul, and others from the *Athenians*. The *Macedonian* being first heard, advised them to remain in their society with him; the *Athenians* inveighed bitterly against *Philip*, as having broken the Laws of humanity and Religion, in violating their Sepulchres, and Temples; then *Purpureo* sheweth how the *Romans* had undertaken the War for them, though they formerly made Peace without them, and now how good an occasion was offered them of being restored into their friendship and society, except they would rather perish with *Philip*. This inclined all their minds towards the *Romans*; but *Democritus* the *Pretor* thought the business was to be put off to the next Council. But not long after *Philip* fought twice with the Consul, and that so unprosperously, as he had like to have been taken himself, and then they embraced the society of the *Romans*, and invading *Macedonia*, took and burnt *Cercinnum*, after which going into *Perrhebia*, *Philip* let upon them at unawares, and killing many, forced the rest to flee for their safety under the conduct of *Aminander* into their own Country. This year the *Roman* Navy joyning to that of *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, took the Island *Andrus*, and *Oreus*, the City we have often spoke of, in *Eubœa*.

41. *Philip* taking all care possible for the managing of his affairs, the next Spring sent down his Auxiliaries and others through *Epirus* into *Chæonia*, to seize upon the Straights near *Antigonis*, and he himself following after with the strength of his Army, fortified the Vally betwixt the Mountains, through which the River *Aous* runneth; *Athenagoras* his Lieutenant he commanded to look to the Mountain *Agnus*, and he himself pitched his Tents upon the Hill *Æropus*. To *Sulpicius* the Consul succeeded *P. Villius Tappulus*, who coming late did nothing at all, for leading to towards the Enemy, he with a few went to view the Moors, through which his nearest way lay to him, and consulting many days whether he should pass that way, or take the same *Sulpicius* went into *Macedonia*, before he could determine, news came to him, that his Successor was already come to *Coreyra*. This was *T. Quintius Flamininus*, created Consul, as he was thirty years old, who falling, this Province came sooner than usual, bringing over with him eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. Being arrived at the Camp, after some consultation, he determined to set upon *Philip's* Army in the place where it yet lay; but how to do it was hard to be resolved, and forty days were spent in this deliberation, which time *Philip* was content to make an opportunity to look after Peace, and attempt the procurement of it through the *Epirotes*. They met at the River *Aous* (or *Asus*) but the Consul demanded things seeming so hard to the other, that heasked him if he would impose more hard conditions upon one conquered? and so withdrew himself from the conference.

42. The next day followed some light Skirmishes, neither part receiving either much good or damage, but as they continued in this condition, came a certain Shepherd, sent by *Charops* Prince of the *Epirotes*, undertaking to lead the *Romans* through the Mountains an easie way, and bring them upon the Enemies back. The Consul glad of this opportunity, sent a party with him, and then gave an Alarm with the whole Army to the Camp, which the *Macedonians* received willingly enough, and both Armies being greedy of fighting, they marched out of their Trenches to receive the battel; but then those on their backs setting up a shout, struck them with such terror, that some of them ran away, others by reason of the difficulty of the place for fight were compassed in, and two thousand slain. The King fled again till he came five miles off, and then rallying his men upon an hill, with a great company went into *Theffaly*. Where waiting divers Towns to deprive the Enemy of Provisions, he hence passed into *Macedonia*. The Consul following him into *Theffaly*, laboured to get the good will of the *Epirotes*, and called to him *Aminander* King of the *Albanians* to conduct him on his way; then took he *Phaleria* (where were in Garrison two thousand *Macedonians*) which he plundered and burnt, at which also others being affrighted yielded themselves, and *Philip* not daring to oppose, but keeping within *Tempe*, sent relief upon occasion to such places as wanted. At *Rhaga* the Consul found such opposition as he raised his siege, but thence departing took in divers Cities of *Phœcie*, and besieged *Elatee*, during which things the Navy under the conduct of *L. Quintius* his Brother, in Conjunction with *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, took two of the most considerable Towns

of *Eubœa*, and then prepared to venture for *Corinth*; but by the Consul's advice, they first sent to the *Acheans* to see if they might draw them from *Philip* to their own party.

43. *Aristæus* or *Aristinetus* (as he is called by *Polybius*) their *Pretor*, laboured to persuade them by all means to embrace the society of the *Romans*, at which the *Dymeans* and *Megalopolitans* out of distaste went out of the Council, as unwilling thus to betray *Philip*, and the rest unanimously entered into Alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens*, and for that they could not do as much with the *Romans* without content of the People at *Rome*, put it off only till they might send their Ambassadors thither, and Decreed at the present to dispatch away three to *Lucius Quintius*, and their Army also to *Corinth* before which he now lay. The Town was stoutly defended by the Inhabitants, and *Androfitenes* the Governour for the King, till such time as *Philocrates* came with 1500 fresh men to their relief, after which it seemed best both to *Attalus* and *Quintius* to raise their siege, and then *Philocrates* had *Argos* betrayed to him. The Consul in this mean time got *Elatee*, and then taking up his Winter quarters, news came that the *Opuntians* were at odds amongst themselves, some calling the *Ætoliens*, and some the *Romans*, desirous to give up their City to them. The stronger and richer part called the Consul, but the Castle was still held by the *Macedonians*, who could not be got out by any fair words or foul, and when it should have been stormed came an Herald from *Philip*, desiring a time and place might be set for a meeting to treat again of Peace, which being granted, they met in the Bay near *Nice* at the day appointed, where *Philip* would not come ashore, for fear as he pretended of the *Ætoliens*. Much talk there was on both sides, the treaty being put off from one day to another; but it being required of the King to quit all Greece, he refused to do it, having a great desire to keep *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; and then at his request he had leave given him to send Ambassadors to the Senate, and a Truce was made for two months.

44. The *Greeks* sent their Ambassadors also, and all came to *Rome*, when the debate was about the Provinces of the new Consul, whether one of them should have *Macedonia*, according to the custom, or both stay, and carry on the War against the *Gauls* then depending; for the *Triunes* of the people opposed the custom, alleging that the reason why Wars were so lengthned was because there was every year a new General according to the succession of the Consuls. This being referred to the Senate, it was thought fit to continue the Command to *Quintius*, and then had all the Ambassadors audience. The *Greeks* inveighed fore against *Philip*, and earnestly laboured that he should not be allowed to hold *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Demetrias*, for otherwise Greece could have no thoughts of liberty. They alleged it to his own saying, that these three were the Fetters of Greece, and that not without reason; for if he held *Corinth*, *Peloponnesus* could have no breathing time: if *Chalcis*, the *Locrians*, *Boeotians*, and *Phocians* durst not mutiny; and if *Demetrias*, the *Theffalians*, and *Magnetes* should not be able as much as to taste of liberty: seeing therefore he pretended to be willing to quit all other places, this was but a shift for the present, seeing if he was master of these places he might recover what he had before; therefore they desired he might either relinquish them or that the War might be carried on, seeing the greatest part of it was finished already. The Kings Ambassadors beginning a long Oration, were interrupted at the first, and asked whether their Master would be willing to leave the three Cities: they answered they had no Commission to answer any thing to that point: and so being chidden by the Fathers they made an end, and the affairs of Greece were again left to the management of *Quintius*.

45. *Philip* seeing how things went, wrote to *Philocrates* to deliver up *Argos* to *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, on condition if he prospered he should again restore it to him; but he presently after his getting into the Town, sent word to *Quintius*, who giving him a meeting, desired he would make peace with the *Acheans*, and send aid against the King; the later of which he promised to perform, and as for the peace, granted a Truce for four months. *Philip* shortly after came down again into *Theffaly* (it being no policy at all to expect the Enemy in his own Kingdom) which *Quintius* understanding marched thither, where wandering after each other, they both at length in a thick mist came near to some Hills, from the likeness of the heads of Dogs, called *Cynocephalæ*. Here both their foreguard fixing came to the discovery of each other, and from the skirmishing, and engagement of them, to a set battel, though the King at first did not intend it. The victory seemed at the beginning

The *Acheans*
joyn with the
Roman party.

Another
Treaty.

He sendeth
Ambassadors
to *Rome*.

To no effect.

Polybius re-
cept. 2 lib. 17.

Polybius 12-
cept. 2 lib. 17.

beginning to incline towards the Macedonians in one Wing; but the other being overpowered, they both at length were overthrown by the skill and valour of the Romans, eight thousand perishing, and five thousand being taken prisoners: Of the Romans 700 were slain. Philip, when he saw how things went, fled towards Tempe; at the entry of which he stayed for such as had escaped, and then passed through that Country into Macedonia. The Romans coming to plunder the Enemies Camp, found the Ætolians got thither before them, at which they fore-repined, and grumbled at their General, as if he exposed them to danger, and granted the prey to others. Flaminius was fore-displeased to see the greediness of the Ætolians after Prey; and as this gave occasion to that hatred, which afterwards manifested it self, so it made him more willing to agree with the Enemy, that he might not leave them masters of Greece.

A. M. 382.
O. 145. an. 4.
P. C. 57.
Antioch. 144.
27.
Ptolem. Epit.
Phaniz 7.

46. Philip sent presently to the Roman General to desire another Treaty about a peace, who receiving them in a Council of Officers, without calling the Ætolians, used them very respectfully, and presently granted a Truce for fifteen days. This seeming strange to the Ætolians, they presently concluded he was bribed to it by Philip, not accounting better of others than according to their own covetous humour; But he being displeased with them, not only for the matter of the plunder, but also for that they gave out sleighting words of the Roman valour (attributing the good success to themselves) hearing also that Antiochus King of Asia was coming towards Europe, and so fearing Philip might join with him, and then a new Consul coming might take the glory of concluding the War away from himself, he resolved to make an end of the difference, and appointed a day and place to meet at, to which he summoned the Allies. Being met together he willed them to declare their minds concerning the peace, on what terms they would have it made. Antimander very modestly desired Provisions might be made for him, else he was like to undergo the malice of Philip, who would be able presently to crush him. The Ætolians were point blank against the peace, saying, all would prove fruitless, except the Macedonians were outed his Kingdom, and that Quintus, except he did it, would neither answer the expectations of Greece, nor of those that sent him; to which he replied, that it was not the custom of the People at Rome utterly to undo at once those with whom they Warred, and that the liberty of Greece would better be provided for by the standing of the Macedonian Kingdom, so weakened as it was like to be, than by the destruction of it; seeing then it would be obnoxious to the invasion of the Thracians and Gauls. The day after arrived Philip himself, and the next, coming into a full Council there, very wisely allayed the heats of all parties against him, offering to ratify the former demands of the Romans, and for the rest to submit himself to the pleasure of the Senate. Therefore four months Truce was granted to him, according to his desire, and paying to Quintus four hundred Talents in ready money, and giving up Demetrius his Son, and others for Hostages, he had leave to send to Rome about the conclusion; but with this caution, that if the business should not succeed, he was to have the Hostages and Money returned back unto him.

Obtaineth a
Truce, and
sending again
to Rome,

Procureth
peace.

47. Both Senate and People admitted of peace, though Marcellus the new Consul laboured against it, out of desire to be sent into Macedonia. Philip was enjoined, besides the setting of all Greece at liberty, before the celebration of the Isthmian Games, to restore all Capitives and Renegadoes; to give up all his covered Gallies except five, and one with sixteen Oars on a side; to pay one thousand Talents, half at present, and the other half in the space of ten years, at so many payments. Into Greece were sent ten men of the Chief, with whom Flaminius was joined in commission, to compose affairs, and restore liberty to the several States thereof, which exceedingly affected all with joy, except the Ætolians, who carpied at the Decree, and affirmed that Greece had only changed its Lords; seeing the Romans had Corinth, Demetrius, and Chalcis. When the Commissioners came to sit, some controversy indeed arose about these Towns; for they having it in express charge to set all others at liberty, these were left to their discretion because of Antiochus, who, as all men thought, had intentions to attempt something upon Europe: therefore Flaminius perswaded them to give up Corinth into the hands of the Achæans, and keep that Castle, Demetrius and Chalcis in their own power. Then going to the solemnity of the Isthmian Games he there pronounced liberty, in that great audience, unto all Greece, which so affected the hearers, as with admiration of the thing they were scarce themselves.

idem excep.
Legation. 6.

idem excep.
Legation. 17.
6. p.

Livian lib. 39.

His diffidence
after this
War.

lowed, Philip behaved himself suitably enough to the expectation of the Conquerors: afterwards considering, and comparing his present condition with his former, he grew something impatient, and especially amongst other things, this vexed him, that power of animadverting upon those Macedonians who had revolted in the War, was taken from him; for after that Antiochus was overcome, and the War with the Ætolians was now in hand, Acilius the Consul taking Heraclea, and Philip besieging Lamia, when he was in a fair way of taking it, he was commanded to depart from it, that so it might be surrendered to the other. Acilius to pacify him, gave him leave to make War upon Athamania, and to recover the Cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessilians; so that he presently drove out Antimander from Athamania, recovered divers Cities, amongst which was Demetrias, and possessed himself of the Country of the Magnes, and some Cities in Thrace also. This pacified him for the present, yet did he not let fall his indignation, but in time of peace made all provision possible for another War, increasing his Revenues not only by Customs, but by renewing the works of the Mines, and digging others, as also taking care for encreasing the number of his people now exhausted. Whilest he thus employed himself, there wanted not an occasion to inflame his mind anew; for the Thessilians and Athamanians sent to Rome to complain of him; Eumenes also about the Cities of Thrace. The Senate not being willing to judge the matter in his absence, sent three Commissioners into Greece to hear and determine it, who sitting and hearing all parties as Arbitrators, were something provoked by some words he uttered, affirming, that as yet the Sun of all the days he had to live was not set: and all being heard, they Decreed he should withdraw his Guards from all the Greek Cities, and that the Kingdom of Macedonia should be terminated by its ancient limits. As for the Cities of Thrace, much being alleged pro and con, betwixt him and Eumenes; they kept the middle way, referring the decision of that to the Senate, and ordered in the meantime that his Garrison-Soldiers should be drawn out of them. The Senate resolved he should quit them; and all the Maritime Coasts of Thrace; so that now being sufficiently incensed, he wanted but convenient Forces to make him revolt.

He is displeased
at the favour
of the
Romans to-
wards his
younger son
Demetrius.

49. Being commanded to quit Ænus and Maronea, with all the Sea Coasts of Thrace, he procured the principal of the Maronites who were strongly bent against him, to be murdered in the night, and then the Romans complaining of it as an unworthy deed, he denied it, and when Onomastus and Cassander the instruments of the fact were required to be sent to Rome, the latter he gave way for to go, but then (it's thought) procured him to be poisoned in the way, lest he should tell tales; and as yet his affairs not being ripe for a revolt, he sent Demetrius his younger son to Rome, to purge himself, and deprecate the displeasure of the Senate. Underhand he solicited the inhabitants upon the River Ister to break into Italy. Demetrius had got heretofore so much good-will at Rome, as coming to have audience in the Senate, though he was abashed at that presence, and the heavy loads of imputations laid upon his Father by the Ambassadors of his Enemies. Yet were his Fathers faults passed over at this time for his sake, and so much signified to Philip by Q. Marcius, sent into Macedonia to see whether he had done all that was enjoined him. Then did he quit all the Cities of Thrace inhabited by the Greeks, and performed all other things which the Romans required; that he might not give any suspicion, but get leisure to provide for the intended War. With Demetrius his son he was not well pleased, for that the Senate making no account of himself, had given him the credit of deserving only favour; but especially Perseus his elder son conceived great indignation and malice against him, not only for the credit he had at Rome, but being jealous he might deprive him thereby of his Father's Kingdom. Indeed the Macedonians looking upon Demetrius as one to whom they were obliged for saving them harmless from the Romans, designed the succession to him, whom also they held legitimate, but not Perseus, whose mother was no better than his Father's Concubine.

Which ad-
vantage Per-
seus his eldest
son impro-
ved.

50. Perseus growing more and more sensible of the favour his brother was in both with the Romans and Macedonians, bent his mind to bring him into the jealousy, and hatred of his Father, and thereby to work his destruction. His visit in way of merriment and jollity to him he represents as an opportunity taken to make him away, whereby the young man is called for by his angry Father, and is forced with tears to make an apology, to which credit is hardly enough given, suspicions and jealousies getting ground. At length Perseus accuseth him of having dealt with them as Rome understand about the Kingdom and place of his Father; who sends two

G g g

thither

thither to enquire of it, but such as were *Perseus* his creatures and partners in the plot. *Philip* having a mind to go up to the top of the Mountain *Hemus*, for to have a view and prospect of the Country round about, took with him his eldest, and sendeth his youngest into *Macedonia* to look unto it, with whom he sent one *Didas* Governour of *Paonia* with a small guard. He being also one of *Perseus* his Complices, he gave him in charge to insinuate into him, and thereby get out his most inward intentions, which he easily did, the poor young man being resolved to fliceto the *Romans* for shelter, and desirous to use his help therein. This is presently made known to *Perseus*, and by him with improvement to *Philip*, who having wearied himself and Soldiers to little purpose, and being troubled with this report, returneth home, calls *Herodatus*, *Demetrius* his chiefest friend into Prison, and causeth him also to be narrowly looked to. Some months remained the King thus exceedingly troubled and anxious in himself till the Ambassadors returning from *Rome*, put an end within a short time to his resolutions.

51. These men being returned, feigned grievous accusations against *Demetrius*, and amongst the rest brought counterfeited letters as from *Quintius*, wherein he begs pardon of the King, if the young man had dealt with him in any kind out of his desire to the Kingdom, but promitteth he will do nothing against any one that belongs to him, for that he would not be accounted for the time to come, the author of any evil purpose. Credit being given hereunto, *Herodatus* is racked to death, confessing nothing, and *Demetrius* being again accused by his brother of intended flight, is destined to die, though for fear of giving any offence to the *Romans*, and discovering his intentions against them, it's resolved to be done cunningly. Being sent to *Æstreum* a Town of *Paonia*, and thence called to *Heraclea*, he is there first poisoned by *Didas*, crying out against the cruelty of his Father, the paricide of his Brother, and wickedness of *Didas*. Being tormented with the working of the Poison, two lusty Ruffians were let into the room, who filled him with the Tapestry, and so the innocent young man was murdered. His Father within a year or two fell into a sad melancholy, for the loss of him, which being perceived by one *Antigonus* the son of *Echeater*, and Nephew also to *Antigonus* who was *Philip's* Father, he having been always a faithful friend to the King, laboured to discover to him the whole device, and brought to him one *Xystus*, who was privy to the whole design. He laid out the series of all things to him. Hereupon *Philotes* one of the Ambassadors that were sent to *Rome* being present, was put to death: *Apelles* the other, hearing the business was come out, fled into *Italy*, *Perseus* only kept him out of sight, but his Father intending to frustrate his expectations of the Kingdom, which he so wickedly sought after, declared *Antigonus* his heir and successor, saying, he had rather his Kingdom should be destroyed, than ever come into the hands of *Perseus*. Not long after being spent with extreme grief and melancholy, and having commended *Antigonus* to the States of *Macedonia*, and uttered many a bitter curse against *Perseus*, he died at *Amphipolis*, after he had reigned 44 years. A. M. 3826, the second of the 150 *Olympiads*, 146 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

52. Had *Philip* lived a little longer, *Antigonus* had got possession of the Kingdom by his means; but things being not now ripe, he lost it by the procurement of the Kings Physician, who when he saw there was no hopes of life, sent and acquainted *Perseus* with it, and kept close his death till his arrival, so that then having opportunity to oppress his Enemies not once thinking of it, he obtained the Kingdom. Being a little settled therein, he caused *Antigonus* to be slain, and then sent to *Rome* to renew the League made with his Father, and to desire that he might be owned as King, doing this only to secure himself for the present, and intending as soon as his affairs would permit, to make use of the preparation his Father had made for another War; as afterwards proved. His Father a little before his death had prevailed with the *Bastarnæ*, who lived near the River *Riter*, to leave their ancient seat, and come and live in the Country of the *Dardanians*, which he intended to give unto them, that there leaving their Wives and Children, they might together with the *Scordisci* (who being some of those *Galls* that invaded *Thrace*, had feared themselves at the meeting of *Damianus* and *Sabaz*, and so called themselves) invade *Italy*. They re-entred *Thrace* again with quietness, but after *Philip's* death falling out with the Inhabitants, and pursuing them to the Mountains, they were set upon with such a Tempest as seized on the *Galls* at *Delphi*, and being pressed also by the *Thracians*, only thirty thousand got into *Dardania*, the rest of the Multitude returning back beyond *Damianus*. Those that arrived in *Dardania* now did *Perseus* stir

stir up against the Inhabitants as much as possible, which being distasteful to the *Romans*, their Ambassadors also returning from *Carthage*, reported to the Senate that he held intelligence with them there; for his Ambassadors had private audience of them by night, and others were sent by them into *Macedonia*.

53. About this time some of the *Dolopians* refusing to obey him, and willing to submit their cause to the *Roman* Senate, he went down; and by force brought all their Country into his power; he laboured then to curry favour with several Cities of *Æolia* and *Thessaly* in his passage, and either sent or wrote to several others in *Greece*; desiring them that an end might be put to the ancient grudges betwixt his Father and them; the *Achaëans* especially. The *Roman* Senate upon the report of the stir in *Dardania*, sent three to see how matters went, but he refused to see them; it being alleged sometimes that he was absent, and otherwhiles that he was sick; but it clearly appeared to them that he was providing for the War, and so much the more, for that the *Ætolians* were now so seditious, as though their commissions gave them power to take up the differences amongst them, yet could they not prevail by their authority. Indeed now he was better provided to make War than the *Romans* to resist, having thirty thousand Foot, with five thousand Horse, in readiness, and provisions too for ten years. *Thrace* was at Peace with him, and though he was so infamous for his cruelty, not only in respect of his brother's death, but also the killing of *Apelles*, whom he used as an instrument in that business, and also for making away his Wife, and upon other accounts, yet either out of reverence to the Court of *Macedonia*, or by reason of their emulation against the *Romans*, were both the *Greeks* and *Asiatics* generally more favourable to him than to *Emmanuel* the King of *Pergamus*, though of a clean contrary disposition. *Emmanuel* himself came to *Rome* to complain against him; to answer to whose accusations he sent Ambassadors and with them the *Rhodiens*, who inclined to his side, and as *Emmanuel* returned home, he most basely sent some to murder him, whom though that King clemenced as to his life, yet was he fore wounded in the straight passage to the Temple at *Delphi*: This as it left *Perseus* much with his friends, so it made him be the sooner declared an Enemy by the *Romans*.

54. It was thought good that some forces should be raised to be in a readiness, and that certain Commissioners should be sent into *Greece* to retain the States in their fidelity, with Soldiers also to put into such places as wanted. He perceiving their resolutions, began to repent himself and procured a truce, that he might send Ambassadors to *Rome*, the Commissioners giving way to it, for that they knew him in a good posture for War, and themselves unprovided as yet; but the Senate for all this would not grant him Peace, his faults being so aggravated against him, that the War was denounced. *P. Licinius Crassus* the Consul being sent against him, he had the better of it in an engagement; but yet his heart failed him, so contrary to his former humour, as that then he sent and desired Peace, offering to perform all his Father was tied to; but had answer by the stout *Romans*, that on no other terms could it be granted, except he absolutely refer himself and Kingdom to the censure of the Senate, and cast all into their hands. After this he sent to *Genthius* King of the *Illyrians*, to draw him to his party, having taken divers Towns from him, and might have done himself good thereby had he not been deceived; for that Prince was inclinable enough to him, only he said, he wanted money, which though he had enough by him, yet neglected he to send. He laboured also to draw into his aid *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, and subdued again the *Dardaniens*, but *Quæsus* *Jupiter* *perdere*, *deceat prius*. *Q. Marcus Philippus* coming against him, by reason of the difficulty of the wayes, and want of provisions, might easily have been utterly defeated; but he cried out he was conquered, without fighting ran away, left the Straights open for his Enemy, sent to *Thessalonica* to burn his Ships, to *Pella* to cast his treasures into the Sea, and then being angry with the *Mellengers*, the one for that he had not obeyed him, the other for that he had, he put them both to death and recovering most of his treasure by those that dived out of the water, only satisfied himself for this madness by recovering *Thoe* which had been taken by the Enemy.

55. *L. Paulus Rutilius* the Consul was at length sent against him, who found some difficulty at first to come at him, having incamped himself near the Sea under the Mountain *Olympus*; but *Scipio* *Naficus* getting over a Rock led the way, and then *Perseus* retired, and pitched his Tents near to *Pydna*. The Consul was warie of engaging with him (who now had an Army of thirty nine thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse) his own men being tired; but the night before the fight, the Moon being eclipsed, so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they accounted it to preface the

And compare his brother's death by false accusations.

The device is discovered.

Whereas *Philip* laboured to disinheret *Perseus* and death of *Melancholy*.

Yet *Perseus* perished the Kingdom, and resolved to renew the War with the *Romans*.

Isis lib. 40.

A. M. 3824. Ol. 149. an. 4. P. C. 578. *Silvius* *Philop.* 6. *Plut.* *Epiph.* 12.

A. M. 3826. Ol. 150. an. 2. P. C. 575. *Silvius* *Philop.* 9. *Plut.* *Philom.* 2.

Isis lib. 41.

His bad carriage towards *Emmanuel* makes him the sooner be declared an Enemy.

He desired Peace which will not now be granted.

His configuration of mind.

Isis lib. 41.

Isis lib. 41.

A. M. 3836. Ol. 152. an. 4. P. C. 585. *Ant.* *Epiph.* 12. *Plut.* *Fulvius* 12.

Isis lib. 41.

Plutarch in *Æmiliis*.

He is overthrown,

ruine of their Kingdom, which made the *Romans* (to whom it was foretold on purpose) more eagerly to begin the fight. *Cato* son to *M. Cato*, and son in Law to the Consul, behaved himself so stoutly, as this encouraged the rest, and thereby he was the means to gain the victory. Of the *Macedonians* were slain twenty thousand, and six thousand taken; of the Conquerours but one hundred lost their lives. *Perseus* fled to *Amphipolis*, and finding there no relief, sayled to *Samothrace*, where hoping to be secure in that sanctuary, *Cn. Octavius* the Admiral being sent after him, promised by the voice of a Crier safety and freedom to all that would come in, whereby he was forsaken of almost all his followers, and *Ion of Thessalonica* gave up his young children into the hands of the *Romans*. He thought now of clapping to *Crete*; but, being left thus, gave up himself and eldest son to *Octavius*, when he had reigned eleven years; and after being led in Triumph by the Consul was cast into Prison at *Alba*, where for seven dayes he lay in a most bad condition, till through the importunity of *Aemilius* it was changed into a better. Two years he thus continued, and then through the desire of life and liberty, encouraging himself in new and vain hopes, ended his dayes, some say through the barbarousness of his Keepers, who would not suffer him to take any rest, but others, by course of nature in free custody, having his Funeral discharged at the publick cost. Thus ended this *Macedonian* Kingdom, being changed into a free State through the seeming bounty of the Conquerours, A. M. 3837. the first of the 153 *Olympiad*, 156 years after the death of *Alexander* the Great.

Yieldeth himself, and dieth in custody after two years.

CHAP. V.

The Asian and Syrian Kingdom.

From the death of *Seleucus*, to the reducing of Syria into the form of a Roman Province by *Pompey*, containing the space of two hundred and twenty years.

FOUR or five years after the death of *Cassander*, it hapned that *Antiochus* the eldest son of *Seleucus* fell in love with *Stratonice*, daughter to *Demetrius* (which woman we said before that *Seleucus* married, after her father was overthrown, and beaten out of *Asia*) and for that he was ashamed to reveal his affection, pined away, and resolved to starve himself, had not his disease been discovered by *Erasistratus* the Physician, by the changing of his countenance when the came in or out, and by other tokens. *Seleucus*, who was ready to redeem his sons life with his own blood, presently gave him her to wife, though he had a Child by her; and that the business might seem to proceed of himself, calling his Army together, he declared it to be his pleasure to make them two King and Queen of all the upper Countreys, having married them together; and that he thought his son, who had hitherto been obedient to him in all other things, would also herein be ruled by him; but if his wife should displease so unusual a thing, he desired his friends to strew and persuade her, that whatsoever the King should think fit, and the affairs of State required, that the ought to account of as just, and fitting. After this he took *Demetrius* her father, and imprisoned him in the *Chorion* of *Syria*, where he died, after three years as was before said, and within a year after his death fought his last (and the last of *Alexander's* Companions) battel with *Lysimachus*, in which he being Conquerour, and his Enemy slain, left *Alba* wholly to his son, having a desire to go into *Macedonia* (where he had never been since he came over with *Alexander*) and end his dayes in his Native Countrey. But as he was journeying towards *Lysimachia*, he was traitorously slain by *Philoterus* Cerannus whom he had lovingly entertained, A. M. 3722. twenty three years after he had taken the title of King, being aged 73. and 42 after the death of *Alexander*. From his Conquests he was called *Nicator* and *Nicator*, and is reported to have had

Platarch in *Demetrius* *Plutarch* *Maximus* lib. 54. p. 7. *Appian* in *Syriacis*

A. M. 3712. Ol. 121. ann. 4. P. C. 161. *Seleucus* 20. *Plut. Lysim.* 31.

vide *Justin.* lib. 25. the

Antiochus the son of *Seleucus* falling in love with his father's wife hath her granted to him.

the print of an Anchor on his Thigh, and his posterity also after him, as a note of their Original.

2. *Antiochus* succeeded his father, and was named *Soter* from repelling the *Gauls*, which in his time at the invitation of *Mithridates* King of *Bithynia* had seized on part of *Asia*. Having with many battels recovered (though not all) his Father's Kingdom from divers, which now began feverally to pluck the parts of his body, he sent over a strong party under the command of *Patrocles* beyond *Taurus*, who took to himself *Hermogenes* for his Lieutenant. He intended amongst other places to fall upon *Heraclea* a City of *Pontus*; but the Inhabitants coming out, and pacifying him, he made a League with them, and thence through *Phrygia* invaded *Bithynia*, where in an ambush laid for him he was cut off, though he fought stoutly with his whole Army, after which *Zipetes* the King built a City upon the Hill *Lysipolis*, which being called after his own name became famous, and not long after he dying, left his Kingdom to *Nicomedes* his eldest son. Against him *Antiochus* being about to undertake an Expedition, he craved help of those of *Heraclea*, promising them to requite them with the like favour in their necessity, which they took as an occasion to fall off again, and break the League made with *Hermogenes*; and partly by force, and partly by purchase recovered divers places taken from them, and attempting to do so by *Ameis*, which one *Eumenes* held, he chose rather, out of anger, to deliver up the Town to *Ariobarzanes* the son of *Mithridates*, than to sell it to them. Not long after *Antiochus* and *Antigonus* *Gonatas* being at difference, and preparing for the War on both sides, *Nicomedes* joyned himself with *Antigonus*, against whom therefore the other thought first to try his strength. *Mithridates* fortifying himself, procured 13 Gallies from *Heraclea*, which adding to his own Fleet, he went against that of *Antiochus*, but facing one another for some time, they departed at length without a fight.

Antigonus *Gonatas* matcheth a League with him.

He repelleth the *Gauls*, and thence hath the name of *Soter*.

3. *Antigonus* *Gonatas* being resolved to venture for *Macedonia* (where his father *Demetrius* *Polioretes* once reigned) though he had already been overthrown by *Philoterus* *Cerannus*, who now held that Kingdom, made a League with *Antiochus*. This Prince might be the more willing to embrace it, by reason that the *Gauls* were now come into *Asia*, brought by *Nicomedes* of *Bithynia* to help him against *Zyphus* (or *Zipetes*) the younger, who held from him (whether his brother or no is uncertain) the Maritime part of that Countrey. After they had helped him to recover *Bithynia*, they harraled all the Countreys far and wide, and though they were but twenty thousand, and of them but half fighting men, yet struck they such a Terror into all Nations on this side *Taurus*, as most, though they had never seen them, submitted unto them. But *Antiochus*, as we have it from *Appian*, repelled them from his Territories, and thence, for saving the Countrey harmless, had the name of *Soter* or *Saviour*, having before sent asaid into *Greece* five hundred men against their Countrey-men, under the conduct of *Telearchus* the *Syrian*. After this having married his daughter *Apame* to *Magas* King of *Cyrene*, and brother to *Philoterus* *Phileadelphus*, he was persuaded by his Son-in-Law to break the League which his father *Seleucus* had made with *Philoterus*, and invade *Egypt*; but as he was about to do this, and was gathering forces for it, *Philoterus* sent several parties of Soldiers into all the Countreys over which he reigned, whereof some attacking the parts of Robbers, and others of Enemies, diverted him from his purpose. The last engagement he was in that we read of, was with *Eumenes*, the first King of *Pergamus*, near *Sardis*, from whom he received an overthrow.

The Original of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*.

4. For there was one *Phileterus* an Eunuch born at *Tier* in *Paphlagonia*, and belonging to *Lysimachus* who made him Keeper of his Treasure placed at *Pergamus*, which he built very strong upon the Hill. He continued very faithful to him, till such time as *Artaban* caused him to murder *Agathocles* his eldest Son, at which he being troubled, and thereupon the accusing him to her husband, he revolted from him, and sending to *Seleucus* offered himself and the money to him: then in the troubles betwixt them two so cunningly behaved himself, as he kept possession, and always favouring upon, and obliging the next, and most potent Prince, remained Master of the place and Treasure for twenty years; For *Seleucus* being murdered by *Philoterus* *Cerannus*, he redeemed the body with a great sum of Gold, and sent the ashes thereof to this *Antiochus* *Soter* his Son. This *Phileterus* had two brothers, *Eumenes* and *Aistabus*, the former of which had a Son of his own name, who succeeded his deceased Uncle, and having in his possession the places lying about *Pergamus*, overthrew *Antiochus* (who now it seemeth counted him an encroaching neighbour) as we said before. *Antiochus* also built a City in *Syria*, which he called by his wives

Apian in *Syriacis* *Plutarch* *Maximus* lib. 15. p. 7. *Antiochus* 20.

A. M. 3728. Ol. 124. ann. 3. P. C. 172. *Plut. Phil.* 32.

Plutarch in *Phileadelphus*.

him in *Antiochus*.

Strabo lib. 13.

Plutarch in *Antiochus*.

name

name *Apamea*, and after that another of the same name called after his mother, who was the daughter of *Artabazus*; herein imitating his Father. At length having killed one Son, and nominated another his Successor, he died, after he had reigned nineteen years, A.M. 3742. the second of the one hundred twenty nine *Olympiads*.

5. *Antiochus* his son succeeded him, surnamed *Theos* most prophane by the *Misellians*, because he rid them of *Timarchus* their Tyrant. From him the *Parthians* first revolted, who being (as *Justin* out of *Tragus* tells us) Exiles out of *Sythia* (in the language of which Countrey *Parthia* signifieth such an one) were very obscure under the Government of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and being Conquered by *Alexander*, when none of his Captains after his death would accept of the Sovereignty over them, fell to the lot of *Satagena* a stranger, but a friend to the *Macedonians*. They followed first *Eumenes* in the Civil Wars; after his death *Antigonos*, and then submitted themselves to *Seleucus* and his Successors, till now they took occasion to revolt at the insultation of *Arfaces*. We must know that *Arfaces* and *Tridates* were two Brothers, the sons of *Arfaces* and Grand-sons of *Phriapius*. The second or *Tridates* was attempted by *Pheroles* the *Satrapa* of *Parthia* to be carnally and filthily abused, and discovered the Villany to *Arfaces* his Brother. They taking to their assistance five other Conspirators, set upon *Pheroles*, killed him, and then called on the *Parthians* to stand up for their liberty, and drove out the *Macedonians*. For this valiant Act performed the *Parthians* gave the title of King to *Arfaces* as to whose name all Writers agree, though not to that of the *Persian* *Saitapa*, whom some call by that of *Agathodes*. At the same time *Theodotus* the Governour of the one thousand *Bactrian* Cities revolted also, which the people of the East using for a pattern, in like manner fell off from *Antiochus*. He waged many Wars with *Ptolomy* *Philadelphus*, till such time as both being weary they contracted an Alliance, *Ptolomy* giving his daughter *Berenice* to the other, who had two sons already, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, by *Lacidie* his former Wife. Herein that Prophecie of *Daniel* is taken to be fulfilled, which saith, that in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the Kings daughter of the South shall come to the King of the North, to make an agreement. But, as it followeth, she shall not retain the power of the Arm, neither shall he stand nor his Arm, &c. For, *Philadelphus* dying shortly after, *Antiochus* took again his former Wife *Lacidie*, who being sensible of the injury, and fearing her husbands incontinency, poisoned him, after he had reigned 15 years.

6. *Lacidie* his wife kept his death close, till such time as she had secured the Kingdom to *Seleucus* her eldest son, surnamed for his victories (though of none but one we read) *Callinicus*, and from his beard *Pogon*. The next thing she went about was to make away *Berenice*, who understanding that some were sent to kill her shut up herself in *Daphne*, a Town near *Antioch*, and when she was besieged, news flying about the Cities of *Asia*, they commiserated her condition, and out of respect of her Fathers and Grandfathers Dignity, sent men to her relief. But above all, her brother *Ptolomy* *Euergetes* being affrighted at her danger, hastened out of his Kingdom with his whole power. Yet ere any relief could come the was taken by treachery (promise of safety being made to her) and quickly slain; at which base and unworthy Act the Cities conceiving great indignation, provided a great Fleet, and to revenge her death, gave up themselves to *Ptolomy*, who invading *Syria* slew *Lacidie*, killed upon *Celestria*, with *Seleucia*, got into his hands *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and the upper Provinces beyond *Euphrates*, and almost all *Asia*, even as far as *Bactria*. Without doubt he had conquered all *Seleucus* his Kingdom, had he not been forced by a Domestick Sedition to return, after whole departure *Seleucus* having prepared a great Fleet for the reducing of those Cities which revolted from him, lost it in a great Tempest, at the which they were so far from rejoicing, that plying him for this Shipwreck, they voluntarily returned to obedience.

7. Rejoicing that he fared so well by his shipwreck, he now made War upon *Ptolomy*, but being overthrown fled to *Antioch* in great fear, being as destitute as before, though he found not such relief. For, writing to his younger brother *Antiochus*, he craved his help, offering him all *Asia* within the Mountain *Taurus* for a reward, (who though he was but yet fourteen years old) being greedy of reigning embraced this occasion, and then behaved not himself not as a helper or brother, but like a Robber, intending to get the whole Kingdom. He shewed incredible boldness in invading and snatching, whence he had the Surname of *Hierax* or *Goshawk*.

Goshawk, *Ptolomy* hearing of his aiding his Brother, left he should have two to deal with at once, made peace with *Seleucus* for ten years; and then *Antiochus* hiring the *Gauls*, with them made War upon his Brother in the other's stead, in which he had the better of it, and they supposing *Seleucus* to be slain in the Battle (that cutting off all the Royal Race they might be Lords of *Asia*) turned their force against him that hired them; so that *Antiochus* was glad to purchase his freedom with Gold, and enter into society with his Mercenaries. The two Brothers being thus at odds, and every one gaping after *Asia*, *Eumenes* of *Bithinia* puts in amongst the rest, and overthrowing the *Gauls*, and after them *Antiochus*, got a great part of it into his possession. Now also *Arfaces* hearing of the distress of *Seleucus*, perfected the revolt of the *Parthians*; for, invading that Country with a Band of Robbers, he slew the Governour *Andragoras*, and invaded the Principality, and not long after seizing on the Kingdom of the *Hyrcanians*, so strengthened himself thereby, that after some years he overthrew *Seleucus*, and established his Kingdom. Hence a double Epoché is to be made of the *Parthian* Kingdom or Dominion. Of these the first is to be fetched from the Revolt of the *Parthians* from *Antiochus* *Theos*; and the second from the famous Victory obtained over this *Seleucus* *Callinicus*; and so several dissenting Writers may be reconciled. But hence the *Parthians* accounting ever after the day of this Victory as the day of their Liberty, constantly observed it, and *Arfaces* being no less memorable to them than *Cyrus* to the *Persians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, or *Romulus* to the *Romans*; out of honour to him they called all their Kings by his name. This beginning of *Arfaces* fell out in the first of the 125 *Olympiads*, of the City 510, the second of *Seleucus*, and the third of *Ptolomy* *Euergetes*. A. M. 3761.

8. Now understanding that *Eumenes* had got the greatest part of *Asia* into his power, and both the brothers had even lost their Principality, yet could they not agree, but in stead of opposing the foreign and common Enemies, fought the destruction of each other, by renewing the War. In the next battle *Antiochus* was overthrown, and flying many days, and not knowing how to bestow himself, at length being wearied he went to *Artamenes* King of *Cappadocia* his Father in Law, by whom at first being received very civilly, he afterwards understood there was a plot laid against him, and fled thence. Whereupon not knowing where to be secure, he betook himself to *Ptolomy*, judging he might rather trust to him than his brother, being (as well he might be) mindful of what he would have done to him, or had deserved of him. *Ptolomy* commanded him to be narrowly looked to; but by the help of a certain Harlot with whom he had been too familiar, he deceived his Keepers and got away. Yet as he was flying he was slain by thieves. *Seleucus* also almost at the same time, being outed of his Kingdom, and thrown by an horse, ended his life, after he had reigned about twenty years. A. M. 3779, the third of the one hundred thirty eight *Olympiads*, 98 years after the death of *Alexander*.

9. He left two sons, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* of which the former succeeded according to his birthright, in the seventh year of *Antigonos* *Dofon* King of *Macedonia*, and was surnamed *Ceraunus*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, who had got so much of *Asia* into his power now being dead of Drunkennes, *Attalus* his younger brother's Son succeeded him, and had got all on this side *Taurus* into his power, which being understood by *Seleucus* *Ceraunus*, he thought it concerned him to look about him, and with *Acheus* (whose Father *Andromachus* was brother to *Lacidie* his wife) passed over *Taurus* with an Army against him; but then was poisoned in *Phrygia* by the treachery of *Apaturius* a *Galatian*, and *Nicanor*, after he had reigned scarce three years. *Acheus* to revenge his death presently slew the conspirators, and then ordering the Army with great wisdom and courage, recovered all on this side the Mountain *Taurus*, which had been lost; inasmuch that the People admiring him would have accepted of him as King, if he would have taken this opportunity; but he refused it, and kept the Sovereignty for *Antiochus* his brother, who afterwards was called the Great. He in his brothers time lived a private life in the upper Provinces, and now was called from *Babylon* by the Army into *Syria*, to take upon him the Government; being about fifteen years old; after which he entrusted *Acheus* with all that Region he had lately recovered, made *Molen* Governour of *Media* and his brother *Alexander* of the Country of *Perfis*.

10. He fell into great troubles immediately upon his first entrance upon the Kingdom; for *Molen* and his brother considering his youth, and hoping that *Acheus* would joy in them in their enterprise, especially out of fear and hatred of

of one *Hermias*, who now ruled all at Court, conspired together to withdraw all the upper Provinces from their allegiance. This *Hermias* a *Carian* by birth, had been left by *Seleucus* to look to his Kingdom when he took his Expedition over *Taurus*, and then being set in so high a place, began to envy the power of all others, grew proud and cruel, his malice above all others being against *Epigenes*, who had been *Seleucus* his General; for that he saw him to be a wife and prudent man, and the Army much in his devotion. A Council being called to consult about the Rebellion, *Epigenes* advised that the King should go in person to suppress it; for thereby the Rebels would either be terrified and desist, or the Country at his preference would be moved to cross their designs, and deliver them up; but *Hermias* interrupting him, imputed this to a desire that the Kingdom should miscarry, that thereby he might seize upon his estate, and prevailed that two others should be sent against *Molo*, and the King go against *Protomy Philopater* (who now thinking himself secure in the youth of *Antiochus*, and *Philip of Macedonia*, had given himself up to all luxury) hoping thereby to have an easy War of it, for that he was of a cowardly disposition, and hoped by exposing the young King to dangers and hazards, to escape the punishment due unto him, and maintain that power he already enjoyed. *Antiochus* being very young, was very earnest to get *Celestria*, and *Hermias* to prick him still forward, framed a letter from *Achæus*, wherein he tells he is desired by *Protomy* to take the Diadem and assume the title of King to himself, promising to send him ships, money, and all things necessary for that enterprise.

Falleth immediately into great troubles by the means of *Hermias*.

Who procured him to march against *Protomy*, though *Molo* rebelled.

He is necessitated to go against *Molo*.

11. Having married first *Laodice* daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Cappadocia*, he prepared for his Expedition, when news came that *Molo* went on with his design, and how the Captains sent against him, out of fear had secured themselves in Garisons. Hereupon he bent his mind to go himself, but *Hermias* being tenacious of his purpose, again diverted him, telling him, it was fitter for Subjects to fight against such, and Kings against their equals, and so sending one *Xinetas* an *Achean* against *Molo*, again turned his mind now obnoxious to him for want of years. Then marched they to *Laodicea*, and thence through the Defart to the Valley called *Marsia*, lying between the Mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, where about the Straights he took in divers Towns; but the principal Fort held out and put him to a stand, which made him the more desirous to go now against *Molo*; For *Xinetas*, who was sent against him with full power, growing arrogant and careless, had rashly ventured over the River *Tigris*, and then *Molo* making as if he fled, came upon him in the night, and cut him off with most of his men, and those that escaped the Sword taking the River, scarce any got to the other side. After this, *Molo* pursuing his Victory took *Seleucia*, all the upper Provinces, the Principality of *Babylon*, those parts lying upon the Red Sea, all about *Tigris* as far as *Euphrates*, and *Mesopotamia* as far as *Dura*; only the Castle at *Susa* stood out, the Town being taken; *Antiochus* at this report called a Council to consult what was to be done, where *Epigenes* expostulating that his former advice was not followed, moved the same again; but was taken up as before by *Hermias*, with foul language, who desired the King he would not think of leaving *Celestria*; but all being for going against *Molo*, it was concluded, and he was glad to comply for his own turn.

12. The Army before it stirred mutinied for pay, and then *Hermias* taking advantage at the Kings necessity, offered to lay down money, on condition *Epigenes* might be removed from his presence, which having obtained, he procured the men to be murdered. The Army marched and came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* at the Winter solstice, where staying forty days till the extremity of the cold was over, after forty days it came to *Liba*, *Molo* then lying at hand about *Babylon*. Here a Council of War being called to consult which way was to be taken, that they might not fail of Provisions; *Hermias* was for going along by *Tigris*, that is, and two other Rivers, *Lycus* and *Kapros*, they might have for a defence; but *Zeuxis*, though fearful to speak because of him, shewed the danger of that advice, because it would be a great compass, and after six days travel through a Defart, they should come to a place called *The Kings Ditch*, which if the Enemy got before them, they should in no wise be able to pass, and be reduced into great Straights for want of Victuals; but on the contrary, if they passed over *Tigris*, there was no doubt but the Inhabitants of the Country called *Apolloniatis* would return to obedience, obeying *Molo* at present out of necessity; further, in that plentiful Country they should have plentiful of Victuals, and (what was most considerable) *Molo* would be hindered from retreating into *Media*, and thereby being straightened, after that

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 135-44-9.
P. C. 53.
Ant. M. 5.
Prot. Phil. 11.

the place where he yet remained was emptied of provisions, would be forced to fight, or if he durst not do that, then his Soldiers would revolt to the King. This counsel being taken, all things fell out accordingly; for *Molo* fearing his passage into *Media* might be stopped, little trusting those parts in which he then was, determined to get if he could, to the hilly Country of *Apolloniatis*; but it hapned that the Scouts of both parties met there, and skirmishing for some time, afterwards retreated to their several Bodies, and so gave occasion to a total engagement the day following.

13. *Molo* considering how dangerous it was to bring his Soldiers forth in open face against their King, thought it the best way to chuse out the most strong and valiant, and set upon his Camp in the night. Going about to do this, ten young men went over to the King and told him the design of the Rebels, so that *Molo* was glad to return, and put his other Army left behind him into such an Alarm, for that they were ignorant of the enterprise, that much ado he had to quiet them. The King being provided to fight, drew out his men by break of day, and placed them in *batalia*; *Molo* could but do it in great disorder and confusion, by reason of that consternation which fell upon his men in the night. In the fight which presently followed, the right Wing of his Army fought fast to him, and fought very earnestly, but the left as soon as it came in fight all revolted, which he understanding, now compassed in with Enemies, and considering the torments he was likely to undergo if taken alive, killed himself, and so did all his companions in the conspiracy, but his body being found was nailed, for an example, to a cross in the highest parts of *Media*. After this Victory *Antiochus* settled the affairs of these Countries, dealing more mercifully with his Subjects than was desired by *Hermias*, and then resolved to invade the Territories of the *Barbarians* lying upon his borders, to terrify them from afflicting his rebels for the time to come; which *Hermias* disliked for the danger of the War, his mind still running upon *Celestria*, but news being brought that a young son was born to the King, he was content he should expose himself to this danger, hoping that in case he should miscarry he must be made Guardian and Protector of the infant, but he was ignorant that his just reward hung over his head. For one *Artabanus*, his Country being invaded, being unfit for resistance because of old age, made Peace with *Antiochus*, submitting to whatsoever he demanded, and at the same time *Apollonius*, the Physician to the King, and his great favourite, perceiving *Hermias* not able to bear that high condition to which he was advanced, any longer, being solicitous for his Masters safety, and much more for his own, so wrought the King (inclined enough to it before) as being called to walk abroad one morning more early than usual, before his return he was made away.

Molo and his Army destroyed.

And *Hermias* put to death.

Achæus treasonously assisted the Diadem, and Tide of King.

Yet *Antiochus* maketh War upon *Protomy* for *Celestria*.

And getteth into *Seleucia*.

14. *Antiochus* his mind was now turned towards *Achæus*, who, though at the first he had born himself very modestly, being elevated with success, and thinking that the King in his expedition against *Artabanus* might possibly miscarry, or if he did not, yet hoping that he being at so great a distance, he might have opportunity enough to break into *Syria*, and have help to seize upon the Kingdom, marched with his whole Army from *Lydia*, and coming to *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, then set the Diadem upon his head, and first took the Tide of King upon him. He continued his march till he drew near to *Lycounia*; but there the Soldiers mutined, refusing to fight against their natural King, so that seeing this, he strove to persuade them that he had no intention to invade *Syria*, and diverted discourse to *Pisidia*, which harping, and increasing the Army with booty thereby, he returned home again. The King not being ignorant of any of this, first expostulated it with him, and sending him threatening messages, put off the rest for this time, and set himself with all his might to prepare for the War against *Protomy*. Consulting then what way to invade *Syria*, he was persuaded first of all to attempt *Seleucia* (held by the *Protomyes* ever since the Invasion of *Euergetes*, to revenge the death of his Sister *Berenice*) being the Chief Seat almost of the whole Empire, from whence would arise much trouble being thus in the Enemies hands, and very commodiously by its situation for carrying on the War both by Land and Sea. He first then corrupted some of the Officers of the Garrison within, who promised, that if he could but take part of the Suburbs, they would procure the whole Town to be yielded. This being done, the Conspirators came to the Governour, and moved him to yield, as from the necessity of the thing, who being struck at this consternation, as it appeared, of the Soldiers, surrendered presently the Town upon Composition.

15. While he was employed about this Town, Letters came to him from one *Theodotus*, desiring him with all speed to come into *Syria*, signifying that he would betray

A. M. 3785.
Ol. 140-39-2.
P. C. 53.
Ant. M. 5.
Prot. Phil. 11.

H h h

it all into his power; for he being an *Æthiopian* born, had done the Kings of *Egypt* special service, but was so well required for it as he was brought into danger of life, and therefore at what time *Antiochus* went against *Molau*, looking upon *Ptolomy* as a defpicable Creature, and distrusting his Courtiers, he had seized upon *Ptolomæus* and *Tyre* and solicited him to come down. Now therefore *Antiochus* putting off the business of *Achens* till another time, marched down to *Morise*, the same Valley and Straights as before, where hearing *Theodotus* was besieged in *Ptolemais*, he went, and relieved him, and then having that and *Tyre* delivered up unto him, and beating the Enemy out of the Straights, he had then determined to march towards *Pellusum*, but understanding that *Ptolomey's* Army was come thither, and all opposition possible making for hindering his passage, he went on in taking in the Towns thereabouts, divers whereof pretently submitted, and others stood it out. *Ptolomy* himself being given wholly up to sluggishness, though thus betrayed, took no order about his affairs; All the burthen of them lay upon *Agathocles* and *Sophisus*, then the greatest Officers of State, who being able men, sent up and down to raise Forces, and make all speedy preparations for the War, thought to divert *Antiochus* they sent Ambassadors to him to treat of peace (as desiring only to go that way to work) and procured Embassies from the *Rhodiens*, *Byzantians*, *Æthiopiens*, and them of *Cyprus*, to mediate betwixt them, during which they gained time, and deceived the Enemy, carrying all things to clofe as his Ambassadors could understand nothing of their Provisions. A Truce was granted by *Antiochus* for four months, during which time he willed them to fend to him to *Seleucia*, giving hopes to make up the difference, but contrary to his intentions: though now he was in a manner constrained to return into his own Kingdom, for that *Achens* plotted against him, and held Intelligence with *Ptolomy*.

16. The Commissioners coming to debate the particulars according to their instructions, *Antiochus* laboured to overcome them with his Arguments for the justice of his cause, as well as with his Weapons, pleading he had done *Ptolomy* no injury in making that invasion, for that he had but recovered his right, alleging much the Conquests of those parts by *Antigonus Coeles*, and the possession of them by *Seleucus*, and that *Ptolomy* the first waged not War with *Antigonus* for his own particular, but to help *Seleucus* to the Sovereignty of that Province, but above all, he pressed the common agreement of all the Kings, made at that time when *Antigonus* was overthrown, wherein by *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*, all *Syria* was decreed to *Seleucus*. On the contrary, *Ptolomey's* Commissioners aggravated the height of the injury offered to him, by the unworthiness of cloathing with the treasonable practices of *Theodotus*, and affirmed, that *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* intended the Dominion of *Syria* to himself, and joynt with *Seleucus* on no other terms, than that indeed all *Asia* should be his, but *Syria* fall to his own share. Such like objections and replies as there were made often to no purpose, but that which put the greatest stop to the Treaty, was the comprehending of *Achens* in the League, which *Ptolomy* stickled hard for, and the other as impatiently heard, crying out of the unworthiness of the thing, that he should protect, or make any mention of Rebels. Winter being thus spun out with these discourses, and Spring drawing on, *Antiochus* intending to set upon the Enemy both by Sea and Land, drew together his Forces, to the taking in of what remained unconquered of *Syria*; and *Nicolaus* on the other part, as the *Egyptian General*, with *Perigenes* the Admiral, made all possible provision for resistance.

17. *Antiochus* going to *Marathus*, there entered into Confederacy with the *Aradians*; then entering *Syria* through *Theu-propolis* came to *Berytus*, in his passage taking in *Botris*, and burning *Trieres* and *Calamus*. The Mountain *Libanus* straightning much the passage betwixt it and the Sea, and almost making it impassible, *Nicolaus* with a party also placed himself in the Straights, not doubting but to stop *Antiochus* there: but he dividing his Forces, and having his Fleet constantly near him, caused it first to engage with the *Egyptian*, in which fight both sides came off on equal terms, but *Theodotus* beating back the Enemy upon the Mountain, got over, and then cleared the passage below for the King. He after this came near *Sidon* with his Army, but judging it to no purpose to set upon the Town very strong with men, and full of Provisions, he gave order to *Diogenetus* his Admiral to go with the Fleet to *Tyre*, and marched to *Philoteria* situate upon the Sea of *Tiberias*, which he took, together with * *Seythopolis*. Now he conceived great hopes of the perfecting his work, being come into a Countrey plentiful of Provisions, so that placing Garrisons in these two Cities he took in *Antayrium* by a Stratagem, making

as if he fled before the Inhabitants, but having men lying in wait who arose against them, and then the whole Army with such violence, as put them into a great fear, and they yielded up the place. After this, *Kareus*, one of *Ptolomey's* Chiefest of Officers revolted to him. *Hippolochus* the *Theffalan* brought over with him four hundred horse, and then the *Arabians* moved by his success joyned themselves to him. Shortly after he took in *Galatia* and *Gadara* beyond expectation, because of the strength thereof; but the Inhabitants terrified at his preparations themselves: then hearing that a great number of Enemies had met at *Rabath-ben Amos*, or *Rabatana*, a City in *Arabia*, and thence made incursions into the Territories of his friends, he marched thither, and striving by force in vain to be Master of the place, at length he effected it by stopping the course of Water, for want of which it was then surrendered. Then leaving a strong Garrison here, and sending *Hippolochus* and *Kareus* to Govern the Coasts of *Samarita*, he went to *Ptolemais*, and there took up his Winter quarters.

18. *Ptolomy* to give him a stop, prepared against the Spring a great Army, and then marched from *Alexandria* with seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three Elephants, and came to *Pellusum*. *Antiochus* hearing this, gathered his Forces together, amounting to seventy two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and two Elephants. *Ptolomy* proceeding on his journey came to *Gaza*, and thence near to *Raphia* (the first City of *Syria*, except *Rhinoecerus*, as one cometh from *Egypt*) and *Antiochus* passing by that place shortly pitched his Tents at first within ten furlongs of the Enemy, and the next day, partly for the commodiousness of the ground, and partly to embolden his Soldiers, approached within five furlongs of them. Being so near, several skirmishes fell out amongst those which on both sides issued forth for provisions, and *Theodotus* the *Æthiopian*, after a most bold adventure taking but two in his company, for that he had been in *Ptolomey's* Court, and knew his manner of life, went out in the dusk of the evening, and not being known got into the Kings Tent where he used to give audience, and though he missed of him being in a more obscure place, yet wounded he two which waited there, and killing out-right *Andrew* his principal Phytition, escaped back in safety to his own Camp; having only failed of his purpose for want of informing himself when the King was wont to take his rest. For five days continued these two Princes in this posture, and then both resolved to try the matter in a set battle.

19. *Ptolomy* first drew out his men, and then presently *Antiochus* ranged his in battel array against him. Each of the Armies had two wings, wherein the two Kings met each other, guarded with Elephants, betwixt which the fight was begun, after *Antiochus* had caused the charge to be sounded; their manner being first with their Trunks to thrust each other, and strive for the ground, and then after that for the one by force to remove the other's Trunk, and to fall upon him like a Bull, and gore his sides. Few of *Ptolomey's* beasts would fight at all, for that being *Africans*, they could neither endure the smell nor noise of those of *India*, so that the ranks being disordered by them, his left Wing was quite broke by the charge of the Enemy, and put to flight. *Echeateris*, who commanded in the right, stayed first for the engagement of the former, then seeing that his Elephants would not fight, gave order to *Phinidas* Commander of the Mercenary Greek to invade his opposites, and he himself also wheeling about to be out of the danger of the Beasts, fell upon the Flanks and Rear of the Enemies Horse; so that both together they made them all being *Arabians* and *Medes* to give ground, and put all the Wing to flight, thus being even with *Antiochus*. Then came the bodies themselves to engage: *Antiochus* was buffe in the pursuit of that Wing wherein he fought; but *Ptolomy* coming to his Army much encouraged the Soldiers, and disheartened his adversaries, who being charged by *Andromachus* and *Sophisus*, the *Syrians* for some time maintained their ground, but the rest scarce fighting one stroke shifted for themselves. *Antiochus* being yet unskilful and young, was still following the chase, (thinking because he had the better of it in his Wing, that he returned, and seeing things so contrary to his expectation, endeavoured to break in within his Guard, to the place where his Army stood, but finding all his men fled, retired also unto *Raphia*, being persuaded that he had done as became him, however, by reason of the Cowardliness of others the work had miscarried. On his part were slain little less than ten thousand Foot, about three hundred Horse, and four thousand taken prisoners: three of his Elephants were slain outright, and two afterwards died of their wounds.

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Ptolomy

Ptolomy in the Spring following takes the Field.

A pitch's battle.

The manner of the fighting of Elephants.

Antiochus beaten.

With several other places.

Is by the practices of *Achens* recalled.

A Treaty betwixt him and the King of *Egypt*.

His plea for *Calistia*.

The answer of *Ptolomey's* Commissioners, and the Treaty ends without effect.

Hostility thereupon in *Syria* is renewed, where by *Antiochus* is greatly much.

* Called by *Jephias* *Libanus* in the Tribe of *Manasse*, through whose grounds *Judas* flows,

A. M. 3728.
Ol. 140. ann. 4.
P. C. 537.
Antiochus Mag.
117.

Ptolomy lost one thousand five hundred Foot, and seven hundred Horse, sixteen Ele- *Ptol. Ptolep. 6*
phants were killed, and the rest taken for the most part.

Ptol. Philop. 6

20. *Antiochus* had intended after the rallying of his men to have fortified himself without *Raphia*; but most of them being got into the Town, he desired leave to bury his dead, and then returned into his own Kingdom. *Ptolomy* presently received all *Celefria* again into his power, the Inhabitants accomodating themselves to his present condition (as indeed bearing always great reverence to his family) and striving who should first yield themselves. *Antiochus* coming to *Antioch*, presently dispatched *Antipater* his brother's Son, and *Theodotus Hieroculus* in an Ambassage to him, fearing exceedingly he should be prosecuted with War, distrustful his Subjects because of his adverse fortune, and suspecting *Achæus* might make use of this opportunity against him. But *Ptolomy* thought of nothing less than molesting him, being overjoyed that he had above all expectation recovered *Celefria*, and desiring exceedingly to be quiet, out of his sluggish disposition, and other vices familiar to him; wherefore at first receiving the Ambassadors with threatening language, and complaints of the injuries received from their Master, he presently granted a Truce for a year, and then sent *Sophis* to confirm the League, wanting onely courage and resolution to spoil *Antiochus* of his Kingdom.

Desireth
peace and
easily obtain-
eth it.

He besiegeth
Achaens in
Sardis.

For whose
safety *Sofisti*
plotreth,

Idem excerpt.
lib. 7.

Idem excerptum
lib. 8.

21. *Antiochus* spent all the Winter in preparations, and in Spring marched over the Mountain *Taurus* against *Achens*, whom he besieged in the City *Sardis*. Above a year he lay before it, having only sometimes light skirmishes with the defendants, till *Lagorus a Cretian*, a man of great experience, observing that the strongest Cities are many times taken at such places as are by reason of their strength least looked to, and perceiving a piece of the wall, beyond which they used to throw carrion and filth into a pit, to be destitute of any watch, by the fitting of fowls upon it, which came to feed on the carcases, he took unto him *Theodotus the Eolian*, and *Dionysius*, with some Soldiers, and they made a shift to get over and open the gates; the King to divert the Enemy making as if he would give the onset at another place, and so the Town was taken. *Achens* and *Aribazus* the Governour got into the Castle, and then were straitly besieged again, till such time as *Solimus* the chief Minister of State in *Ægypt*, pitying the condition of the former, made means for his deliverance, which by the treachery of the instrument wrought his destruction. There was at that time in the *Egyptian* Court one *Bolis a Cretian*, second to no one Captain, as he was reputed, for prudence, extraordinary boldness, and military skill; with him *Solimus* dealt, having obliged him by his favours, and assured him that nothing could be perform more acceptable to the King his Master, than some way or other to work the deliverance of *Achens*. He asking some time to consider of it, within two or three days took the business upon him, which to effect he had as he said a good opportunity, for that *Cambyses* the Commander of the *Cretians* serving under *Antiochus* was not only known to him, but his kinsman, and had the charge of a Fort behind the Castle, which, because it could not be fortified with works, was kept by a continual Guard of Soldiers.

22. Being supplied with money largely by *Sofilius*, and loaded with promises, away he sailed for *Rhodes* to *Nicomachus*, and thence for *Ephesus*, to *Melanchoma*, his acquaintance, and friends of *Achens*, with whom dealing about his business, he sent one *Arianus* to *Camblyus* to let him know that he was sent from *Alexandria* to raise Forces, and that he must needs speak with him, desiring he would appoint time and place for their meeting, without the privacy of any. Having observed this, and bethinking with himself what to do, he gave him a letter concerning which *like Cretians they had a Cretian conference*, as *Polysius* termeth it. For not respecting the safety of the befieged, or their faith given to those that employed them, but agreeing to divide the ten Talents already given in advance by *Sofilius*, they resolved to acquaint *Antiochus* with the matter, and undertake upon promise of money in hand, and a good reward afterwards, to deliver *Achens* into his power. This being with great earnestness promised, *Bolus* prevails with *Nicomachus* and *Melanchoma*, wholly ignorant of his treacherous intent, to write letters in cipher to *Achens*, which he sent by *Arianus*, for whom passage was procured into the Castle by means of *Camblyus*. *Achens* being earnestly advised by his two friends to trust *Bolus* and *Camblyus*, and withall considering the difficulty from him to escape, hoping if he got out to pass presently into *Syria* whilst *Antiochus* was yet at *Sardis*, and then to get all the parts about *Antioch* into his power, yielded to put himself

into the hands of *Bolis*, who was sent presently by *Melancomas* with great entreaties and promises if he could accomplish the business. *Bolis* went to *Cambylis* at night, and staying with him the next day to consult of the business how it should be managed, after he had been with *Antiochus*, and was much encouraged by him, he went up for *Acheus* into the Castle.

23. Receiving *Bols* with great respect, and after all his lifting of him perceiving nothing disagreeable to ferioufness, he much rejoiced; but bethinking himself how weighty a thing it was, and what a hazard he was like to run, he trembled again at the thought of it, and at first resolv'd to fend some before to *Melanconus*; but at length out he went of the Castle, and according to former agreement, *Bols* coming behind him by a whistle gave a sign to those in Ambush, and held him by the clothes till he was taken. Being brought into *Antiochus* his Tent, who late late at night with a few attendants to see the issue of the project, the King was amazed, and could not forbear weeping to see him, so eminent a man, lie bound before him upon the ground in so bad a condition; but a Council of War being called, after several ways of punishment propos'd, at last it was agreed, that he should have his outward members and limbs cut off, after that his head, and that being fow'd into an Affes bladder, his body should be nailed to a cross, which was executed accordingly. This end had he who was son to *Andromachus* the brother of *Laudice* Wife to *Selenus*, who had married *Laudice* daughter to *Mithridates*, and had held all *Afie* on this side *Taurus*, having recovered it by his own industry and valour: a man he was exceeding wise, and of great experience, yet left (as *Polybins* observeth for us) a double warning to potterity, not to trust any rashly, and not to be puffed up with potterity, or be secure of any thing incident to mankind, to which we may add another, viz. that none presume to rebel against their Sovereigns, for punishment will overtake them. His death being known within, as they all first agreed in making lamentations for him, so shortly after they fell at odds, being divided into two factions, of which the one stuck to his Wife and the other to *Ariobasus* the Governour; so that having suspicion of each other, both parties yielded themselves and the place to *Antiochus*.

A. M. 3791.
Ol. 141. an. 3.
V. C. 540.
Ant. Mag. 10.
Ptol. Philom. 9.

24. A year or two after, *Antiochus* undertook an Expedition into the *Eaſt* to reduce *Media* and *Parthia* which had revolted, and he paſſing through both, there-upon cauſed *Arſaces* to withdraw himſelf into *Hyracania*, which he conſidering, and judging that he would not have forſaken this Countrey if he had been able to have defended it, reſolved to follow him, ſo that with great difficulty he paſſed over the hills, and entered alſo into that Region, where we finde that he took ſome Towns; but what further he did againſt *Arſaces*, or upon what terms he returned, if *Polybius* his Hiſtory had been kept entire, we might have known. After this he quieted the upper *Aſia*, and coming into *Bactria* for a good while endeavourd to drive out the ſciths *Euthydemus* the King thereof, whom he defeated, and behaved himſelf, moſt ſtoutly, whence he got great credit for his valour. At length *Euthydemus* complaining that he was injurious in oppoſing him ſuch who had not revolted from him, but cut off the poltertry of thoſe that had, beſeeching him alſo not to envy him the name of King, eſpecially conſidering that by this diſſention neither of their affaires could be ſecure, for that a number of the *Scythian Nomades* hovered at the borders, and were like to overrun the Countrey, *Antiochus*, who being tired with the tediousneſs of the War, had ſought occaſion to make a Peace, not unwillingly now heard the overtures of it, eſpecially after that *Euthydemus* ſent his ſon *Demetrius* to him, with whom he was ſo taken for his perſon and parts, as thinking him worthy of a Kingdom, he firſt promiſed him one of his daughters, and then yielded that his Father ſhould take the title of King. Then the conditions of the league being writtten down, and ſworn to, and taking with him all the *Elephants*; that *Euthydemus* had, he marched over *Caucuſus*, and renewed the confederacy with *Sophagenuſus* the *Indian* King; then taking with him more *Elephants* (of which he had now one hundred and fifty) and leaving *Androtiſthenes* of *Cyzicus* to bring the treaſure promiſed him, he came to *Arachofa*, and ſo through *Drangiana* into *Carmania*, where he was forced to Winter, having received this fruit by this Expedition, that beſides the Countreies recovered, and the maritime Cities and Dynaſties on this ſide *Taurus* added to his Dominions, he ſtruck ſuch an awe into his Subjects, as kept them more in order, and he waſtought to be eſteemed as well by the People of *Europe* as thoſe of *Aſia*, worthy to govern.

*Polyb. lib. 10.
excerpt. et
Appian in Sy-
riacis.*

g Polybius ex
comp. lib. 11

The fruits of
it.

25. Not long after this, *Ptolemy Philopater* dying and leaving a young son behind him but four years old, *Philip* of *Macedonia* and he (as we before hinted) made a wicked

1 A.M. 3803;
Ol. 144 an. 3.
V.C. 552.

wicked League for the ouing him of his Kingdom, and dividing it amongst them, wherefore he striking again at *Celestria* and *Phoenicia*, got *Judea* into his power, which * as *Josephus* telleth us, was toiled betwixt these two Crowns as a ship with the waves. For *Scopas* the *Ætolian* recovered it again out of his hands for young *Epiphanes*, and yet again not long after lost it with *Celestria*, being overthrown by *Antiochus* (near the fountains or heads of *Jordan*) at the City *Panæas*, with whom the *Jews* then presently joyed, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* standing still out for *Protony*, their City was taken and razed. In the mean time whilst *Scopas* was recovering the Cities of *Syria*, *Antiochus* himself was busie in invading the Kingdom of *Attalus*, who then being employed with the *Romans* in the Macedonian War against *Philip*, had left it naked of defence both by Land and Sea, but upon his complaint to the *Roman* Senate they sent to *Antiochus* to tell him, that seeing *Attalus* was employed by them against *Philip* the common Enemy, he would do a thing very acceptable unto them to abstain from his Territories, adding withall, that it was convenient for all the Kings which were the friends and allies of the People of *Rome* to be at peace amongst themselves; with the authority of which message he was so moved, as he drew out his Army again from the borders. But this respect to the *Romans* continued not many years, he entering upon such courses as gave them offence, and proceeding therein at length to an open War.

26. For having reduced all *Celestria* into his power, and wintered at *Antioch*, the next Spring sending before his two sons *Ardes* and *Mithridates* with the Army, and command to stay for him at *Sardis*, he himself followed with the Fleet to attempt the several maritime Towns of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, which were under *Protony*, and also to help *Philip* both at Sea and Land, who now was busie in the War with the *Romans*. Divers places by fair and foul means together he took in; yet *Caracassum* stood out, and whilst he lay before it came Ambassadors from the *Rhodiens* to denounce War against him, in case he came within *Nephele* the Promontory of *Cilicia*, not out of any hatred to him as they said, but left joining with *Philip* he should hinder the *Romans* now active for the liberty of *Greece*. Though he heard this with much disdain, yet thought he it wisdom to give them good words for the present, and please them in this particular, but they, after all danger was over from *Philip* (who this Summer was beaten at *Cynosephale*) not tying themselves with him to the former condition, sent aid to the Cities their associates, and preserved several in their liberty. He took at length *Caracassum*, and after it several others, and amongst the rest *Ephesus*, where wintering, he endeavoured to reduce also the Cities of *Asia*, under the obedience they payed to his Ancestors, and thinking it not difficult to be done by any of them, except two, viz. *Smyrna* in *Æolia*, and *Lampascus* upon the *Hellepont*, he sent Forces to besiege them both.

27. Now the *Romans*, with all others, doubted not but his Army was for *Europe*, after his affairs had succeeded in *Asia*, and they had the more cause to be jealous of him, for that *Hannibal* their old and sworn Enemy had now been with him; therefore in the setting of the *Greek* Cities at liberty (after the overthrow of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*) the Senate had left it to the Commissioners appointed for that work, to deal as they should think fit with *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Corinth*, the keys of the Country, and whether out of a desire of the glory of setting all the *Greeks* at liberty, or to awe and affright him, they decreed, that all such Cities, as well in *Asia* as *Europe*, should be freed. The ten Commissioners sitting now in *Greece* about these affairs, they of *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* (whom he had besieged) sent to them for relief, and *Antiochus* himself thinking fit not to anticipate his opportunities, sent thither also his Ambassadors, to whom the Commissioners layd open the pleasure of the Senate, and in case he contain not himself and Forces in *Asia*, threaten him with War: and withall promise that some of their number should come to him. Yet he in the beginning of Spring comes over into *Europe*, got a great part of the *Chersonesus* into his power, and then marching to *Lyfimaehia*, there found the Commissioners, who pressing him to the things formerly mentioned, he demanded by what right the *Romans* questioned with him about *Asia*, seeing he meddled with nothing done in *Italy*; and added, that the *Greek* Cities should obtain their liberty, not by their commands, but his bounty. Now it was moved that those of *Smyrna* and *Lampascus* might be heard; which being obtained, and the Delegates using their liberty of speech, he out of indignation, that he should be forced to plead with them before those Judges, interrupted them, saying the

Rhodiens

Ant. M. 22.
Prel. Epiph. 2.
Ant. Epiph. 1.
Liv. 33.

A. M. 3807.
Ant. 145-146.
P. C. 556.
Ant. M. 26.
Prel. Epiph. 2.
Liv. 33.

liv. 33.

He joyneeth
with Philip
against Protony,
and presently
loseth it again.
Falling upon
Attalus his
Territories
the Romans
procure him
to desist.

Ye the mini-
sters occa-
sion for a War
with them.

Antiochus the
Great and
the Romans
grow jealous
one of ano-
ther.

Rhodiens (and not the *Romans*) should have the hearing of the cause; and so the Treaty ended without any conclusion or agreement at all.

28. A rumour was spread abroad, during this Treaty, that *Protony* the King of *Ægypt* was dead, which much affected both parties, yet drove they to hide it from each other: *Lucius Cornelius* one of the ten, who was also ordered to endeavour the reconciliation of the two Kings, demanded a little time to go into *Ægypt*; and *Antiochus* being restless, out of an itching desire to get that Country into his hands, failed with his Fleet back to *Ephesus*, whence sending again his Ambassadors to treat with *T. Flamininus* chief of the Commissioners (on purpose to hold them a little in hand till he could bring about his design) came to *Panæra*, where he heard that *Protony* was alive. Now he changed his purpose of invading *Ægypt*; but withal resolved for *Cyprus*, to attempt that Island; but such a tempest fell upon him, that he almost lost his whole Fleet. Not long after, *Hannibal* being driven from home (by the malice of such as incensed the *Romans* against him, whilst he only endeavoured the Publick good) returned to *Antiochus*, who though before he did but fluctuate in his resolutions for the War, yet was now confirmed by him so in his purpose, that henceforth he thought not so much of it, as of the reward of the Victory. *Hannibal* denied that the *Romans* could be overcome any where but in *Italy*, and desired but one hundred Gallies, sixteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, with which he would first go to *Carthage*, hoping to draw his Countrymen to revolt, and though that should not succeed, yet would he seize upon some part of *Italy*. The King closing with his propositions at this time, he went not himself, but sent a certain *Lyrian* to *Carthage*, who under pretence of trading should break the ice; but he being suspected by *Hannibal's* adversaries, was glad to shift for himself, and notice thereof was presently given to the *Romans*. In the mean time *Antiochus* sent three Ambassadors to *Rome*, who under colour of procuring a right understanding, should feel how the Senate stood affected. They expostulating the matter, that their Master should be forced to quit the Cities of *Asia*, and forsake his ancient right in *Thrace*, were referred to the Commissioners in *Greece* for answer; to whom repairing, *Flamininus* and his Colleague, urged that the King should either leave *Europe*, or the *Romans* have power to protect their friends in *Asia*, and make as many more there as they could. The Ambassadors answer, they neither can, nor will conclude any thing to the prejudice of their Master's crown, and so the Peace was not nearer than before.

29. *Antiochus* his resolution being set therefore for the War, that he might prevent any thing that would divert or call him back, he resolved to make alliances with his neighbours. To *Protony* he married his Daughter *Cleopatra* (giving with her in portion all *Celestria*, which before he had taken from him); to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* another named *Antiochus*; and a third he offered to *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*, but he being acquainted with his design to make War upon the *Romans*, and by this affinity to oblige him to his party, conceiving it also his interest rather to stick to them whom he had some ground to think would prove victorious; he waved his offer. In Spring he set upon the *Psylide*, a people inhabiting about *Selga*, being desirous first to bring all *Asia* to his beck, and at the same time came Ambassadors from *Rome* to discover his designs and preparations, and either to take off the edge of *Hannibal's* hatred, or at least by their intercourse with him to render him suspected to the King. Visiting *Eumenes* first, as they had it in charge, they were egged on by him to the War. *Sulpitius* one of them falling sick, was forced to stay at *Pergamus*, but *Vilius* hearing how *Antiochus* was employed, went to *Ephesus* where *Hannibal* then lay, and according to his instructions often met and discoursed with him. Thence he travelled to *Apamea*, where the King met him; but news coming that *Antiochus* his Son (whom he had lately sent into *Syria*) was dead, it broke off the Treaty; so that *Vilius* loath to be unfavourable returned to *Pergamus*, and the King breaking off the War, to *Ephesus*, where holding secret consultation with one *Minio*, he gave way that the Ambassadors should be called thither. When they had there arrived, they were referred to *Minio*, and both sides arguing for themselves as formerly, came to the same conclusion, and the *Romans* having scarcely obtained that they came for, returned home.

30. The Ambassadors being departed, *Antiochus* then fell into another serious debate about the War, to which *Hannibal* being now suspected was not called, till acquainting him how, when a Child, his Father had made him swear at the Altar never to be a friend to the people of *Rome*, all jealousies were removed. About the same time came *Thoon*, and others from the *Ætolians* (who being fallen out with the

Upon a false
rumour of
Protony's
death he re-
solved to in-
vade Ægypt.

Hannibal's ad-
vice to invade
Italy.

Antiochus in-
tending a War
seeketh Con-
federates.

Livius lib. 34.
Apian at prius

Livius lib. 35.
Apian ibid.

A. M. 3813.
Liv. 33.
P. C. 556.
Antioch. M. 26.
Prel. Epiph. 2.
Liv. 33.

Livius lib. 34.
Apian at prius

The *Ætolians* stir him up to the War, and he passeth over into *Greece*.

Mariæan obscure Girl at *Chalcis*.

The preparations of the *Romans* resolved on.

Gl'rio the Consul first over.

Overthrown Antiochus at the Straights of *Thermopylae*.

Antiochus his acts in *Asia*.

the *Romans* about plunder, after the overthrow of *Philip* at *Cynosephale*, had ever since greatly grudged, and now stirred up the several Princes against them, offering him the Command of their Forces, and exhorting him to pass over into *Greece*, where things were ripe enough for the War, and not expect the coming down of his Army from the Inland Countreys. They having gotten *Demetrius* (a Town of prime note) into their hands by a wife, in confidence of an opportunity thence arising, he came over with an Army of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and six Elephants, after which going to the general meeting, he was by a publick Decree received as General, and then sending to summon *Chalcis*, had the Gates opened to him, and so easily became Master of all *Eubœa*. In the midst of Winter holding another Council, he thought fit the *Thessalonians* should be, by all means, drawn in to joyn with them; but *Hannibal* pressed above all things that *Philip* and the *Macedonians* might be dealt with; for then as he said, the *Thessalonians*, and other *Grecians* (seeing themselves invaded by the *Romans*) would easily return to their accustomed duty: he advised further, that the Forces with all speed should be sent for out of *Asia*; and this only was observed. *Antiochus* returning to *Chalcis*, fell in Love with an obscure Girl, daughter to *Cleopolemus* his Host, with whom prevailing at length to marry her, he spent all the remaining of the Winter in feasting and jollity, his Army for Company falling into idleness and all excess.

31. Hitherto the *Romans* had rather severally, every man by himself, designed him an Enemy, than made any preparations against him. *Italy* was Decreed this year to both the *Consuls*; only one of them, if need should require, was to be in readiness to march to any other place, and *Attilius Serranus* one of the *Prætors*, was ordered with his Fleet to go into *Greece*, and attend the affairs of the Confederates; and with him four Commissioners, men picked out, who by their authority might perfwade much. Moreover *Marcus Bibulus* was commanded to draw down the Legions towards *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, that thence, if need should be, they might pass over into *Macedonia*. But upon *Antiochus* his crossing the *Hellepont*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* sent his Brother *Attalus* to acquaint the Senate therewith, and that the *Ætolians* were preparing to joyn with him; whereupon *Bibulus* was then ordered, with all his Forces, to pass over into *Epirus*, and hover about *Apollonia*. The next year came over *M. Acilius Glabrio* the Consul, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants; who taking in divers places held by *Antiochus* his Garrisons, marched towards the Bay of *Malea*, took *Thaumachia*, and wasted the Territories of *Hydruntum*. *Antiochus* something herewith awaked, sent to the *Ætolians* to have all their Forces in readiness, and then came down with less than ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; but fewer of the *Ætolians* came together than usual, and his own Army, expected out of *Asia*, loitered, so that wanting it, and forsaken of his Confederates, he fortified himself in the Straights of *Thermopylae*, and sent the *Ætolians* (whereof there were but four thousand) to keep *Heraclea* and *Hydruntum*. Upon the approach of this Consul, bethinking himself of the Mountains, which he knew had been formerly paid by some of *Xerxes* his Army, and fearing the *Romans* should come over upon his back he procured some *Ætolians* to secure the passages. But *Glabrio* hearing of it, sent *M. Porcius Cato* (then a Colonel in the Army) and *L. Valerius Flaccus* to beat them off, which being done by the former, he got over, and approaching the Enemies Camp, they at the first light supposed them, to be friends; but then again understanding their error, cast away their Arms and fled. But being closely pursued five hundred of them only escaped, though but fifty of the *Romans* were missing.

32. *Antiochus* flying to *Chalcis*, passed thence with his new married wife unto *Ephefus*, after whole departure the Gates of *Chalcis* were presently opened to the Consul, who having taken in *Phocis* and *Boeotia* in his passage thither, all *Eubœa* presently returned to obedience. Then fell he upon the *Ætolians*, whom (though not long before they had sent to the King for aid, yet) now he forced to yield, and after he had used their Ambassadors something roughly, and threatened to chastize them to purpose; through the intercession of *T. Flamininus*, gave them liberty to send their Ambassadors to *Rome*. *Antiochus* now lay at *Ephefus* altogether secure of the *Romans*; but *Hannibal* told him, he rather wondered they were not there already, than doubted at all of their coming, and procured the Forces to be sent for out of the upper Provinces; and with those ships which were ready the King sailed into the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, fortifying it, and placed firmest

Livius lib. 36.

A. M. 3814.
O. 147.
P. C. 563.
Antiochus, *King*.
33.
Ætol. Ephefus.

Garrisons in *Selusus* and *Abydus*, where the *Romans* were to pass over the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. At this time *Leius Salmator* being sent from *Rome* to succed *Attilius* in the Government of the Fleet, came with it to *Delus*, which *Antiochus* hearing, halted from *Thrace* to fight him before the *Rhodes* and *Eumenes* should joyn with him; but they coming in in good time, his Fleet was worsted, and chased as far as *Ephefus*.

33. After this defeat he set himself with all his might to repair his Navy, and left his Son *Seleucus* in *Æolis* to look to the Maritime Coasts. *Livius* the Roman Admiral coming into the *Hellepont*, took *Selusus*, and had done the same by *Abydus*, had not *Polyxenidas* a Fugitive of *Rhodes*, destroyed by Treachery all the Fleet belonging to that Island; whereupon he raised his siege and departed. *Seleucus* fell upon the Territories of *Pergamus*, and then besieged the City it self (*Attalus* being unable to grapple with him in the field) with whom also at length *Antiochus* himself joyned, till hearing that the Roman and *Rhodian* Fleets were coming to relieve the place; and, worse than this, that *Lucius Scipio* the Consul (together with his Brother the African) was already in his march as far as *Macedonia*, and preparing now to pass the *Hellepont* against him, he sent to *Æmythia* *Rhegillus* who had succeeded *Leius* in the Fleet, to treat of a peace. He calling *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and the Officers of the *Rhodian* to consult, these were content to Treat, but *Eumenes* being averse to it, and urging that nothing could be concluded before the coming of the Consul, an answer to that effect was returned to the King, who leaving his Son still before *Pergamus*, harried the Territories of the Roman Confederates, and taking divers places, returned to *Sardis*. *Seleucus* was presently beaten off, and forced to raise his siege, by one thousand Foot, and one hundred Horse, sent to relieve the place by the *Æcheans*, and *Hannibal* returning with ships from *Syria*, was met by the *Rhodian*, who put him to flight, and caused him to be blocked up in *Pamphilia*.

Hannibal worsted at *Sea*.

And Polyxenidas destroyed

Antiochus his impudence.

He sends to the Consul about a peace.

34. *Antiochus* from *Sardis* sent to *Prusias* King of *Bithinia*, to joyn in Confederacy with him against the *Romans*; but he (though he formerly hung in suspense, yet) of late was fully drawn to their party by the Letters of the *Scipios*, and an Ambassage sent from *Rome* for the same purpose. Failing therefore in this enterprise, he went to *Ephefus* to his Navy, where (concluding that no other way could he hinder the Consul's passing the *Hellepont* than by being strongest at *Sea*) he resolved to try another battle, and so set upon the Maritime Town near to *Ephefus*, that the *Romans* coming in to succour their friends, *Polyxenidas* his Admiral might have an opportunity to work some notable feat. But he engaging with ninety Gallies against *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian*, who made up a Fleet together of about eighty three, being overmatched both in the valour of his men, and the nimbleness of his Vessels, he lost forty two of his Navy (thirteen of which, together with the men, were taken) having broken but two of the *Romans*, and by meer chance carried a *Rhodian* away with him to *Ephefus*. The King now terrified at the message of this third overthrow, madly drew out his Garrison from *Lysimachia* (which might have given a stop to the passage of the Consul) lest it should be cut off; and raising his siege from before *Colophonis*, departed to *Sardis*, whence he sent into *Cappadocia*, to *Ariarathes* his Son-in-law, for aid, and all over else where he could bethink himself, he raised Forces, neglecting in the mean time his true opportunities. For, the *Scipios* in the mean while came to *Lysimachia*, where they were received with such plenty of all things, as if Provision had been made for the Roman Army, and thence marched through the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*, where all things being in readiness through the care of *Eumenes*, they passed over without any disturbance into *Asia*.

35. *Antiochus* being so bestord as to lie still, and suffer the Consul quietly to come over, was now exceedingly discouraged, and sent out of hand to him, and his Brother, to treat of peace; with order also to deal in private with the African about it, whose authority he knew would sway his Brother to either side indifferently. The Ambassadors being arrived at the Roman Camp, deferred the delivering of his message till the African's coming, who was yet behind; but after his arrival, and audience given, had these conditions set him: To pay all the expenses of the War, of which *Antiochus* had been the cause, and not only quit the Cities in *Æolis* and *Ionis* but all *Asia* on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. Being no whit satisfied with the proposals, he made no further overtures to the Consul; but, according to his instructions, offered to his Brother (in case he would procure a peace on the proposed

Livius lib. 37.

A. M. 3815.
O. 147.
P. C. 564.
Antiochus, *King*.
34.
Ætol. Ephefus.

Polyxenidas.

33.

proposed by his Master) the restitution of his Son who had been taken Prisoner, as much Money as he would ask, and more than that, to be partaker of what the Kingdom it self would amount to. The African answered, that the discharging of his Son would exceedingly oblige him, and as for the rest, had he kept *Lymmachia* in his hands, fortified the passage into the *Chersonesus of Thrace*; or at least had he opposed them at the *Hellepont*, and then offered these conditions, much might have been done for him. As things now stood, he advised to confide into what estate he had brought himself, by all means to decline the War, and refuse no conditions offered to him. But he thought no harsher terms could be imposed upon one already Conquered, and therefore casting off all thoughts of peace, made what Provision he could possible for a battle.

36. The Consul being desirous to do something before Winter (which now drew on) resolved, if possible, to fight him, though, his Brother the African falling sick, had departed to *Elex*, to whom *Antiochus* now to comfort him, restored his Son without any ransom; which hapning as a Cordial to him in that condition, he advised him in way of requital (being able to do no more at present) that he should not engage in fight with his Brother, before his return to the Camp. Being much moved with his authority, he declined an engagement to his utmost endeavour; but the Consul still digging him from place to place, and being ready to storm his Camp, for fear of utterly discouraging his men, he was forced to draw them out. (a) Some say he had seventy thousand Foot, and about twelve thousand Horse, (though others (b) mention but seventy thousand in all) with fifty four Elephants. The Consul brought into the field but thirty thousand, whereof two, being *Macedonians*, were left to keep the baggage; and sixteen African beasts placed in the rear for a reserve, left (being worsted by the *Indians*) they should break their ranks: The battle was fought near *Magnesia* a Town situate at the foot of the Hill *Siphus*. It hapned then that such a mist fell as blinded to the Kings Army, that both the wings thereof could not be seen to one standing still in the same place; and their weapons were also spoiled with the wet. His Chariots armed with fitches which he had placed in the front, proved his ruin: for the Horses being gored with arrows (according to the direction of *Eumenes*) brake down all behind them, and so disordered the ranks, that the Auxiliaries fled; which occasion the *Romans* taking, pressed hard upwards, and discomfited the whole left wing. In the right he had better fortune; for he put both Horse and Foot to flight, and drove them to their Camp; but *M. Pambilius Lepidus* who was left there for the security of it, met them; and forced them to face about and to charge the pursuing Enemy, so that he and *Attalus* (the Brother of *Eumenes*, who came in in good time with two hundred Horse) renewed the battle with such earnestness, that now the King (who ere while gave the charge) betook himself to his heels. The Roman Cavalry, in the pursuit, did great execution, and the rather, because of the multitude of Chariots, and Camels, which blocked up the way; in such manner as fifty four thousand were slain, and one thousand four hundred taken. Of the *Romans* fell but three hundred forty nine.

37. *Antiochus*, with a few about him, fled to *Sardis*, and thence to *Apamea*, making *Zeno* Governour of the former, and *Timon* of *Lydia*; but they were despised by the Soldiers and Townsmen that held the Castle, who gave up the places to the Consul; which was followed as an example by divers Cities of *Asia*. The Consul being once arrived at *Sardis* (with his Brother now upon his recovery) the King presently sent and desired safe conduct for some Commissioners to treat of Peace. This being granted, *Zeno* who had formerly governed *Lydia*, and *Antipater* the Kings Brothers Son, shortly after arrived, desiring their Master might know upon what terms to purchase the friendship of the People of *Rome*. *Publius Scipio the African*, in the name of the rest, answered, that the *Romans* used not to insult over their conquered Enemies, and therefore nothing should be required of him more than formerly; save only to pay fifteen thousand Talents of *Eubæa* to desist of the charges of the War, by certain portions; four hundred to *Eumenes* (together with such Corn as was due to him, by virtue of an agreement made with his Father) to give up *Hannibal*, Thos the *Pætolian*, and other incendiaries, and lastly, to deliver for the performance of these conditions twenty Hostages. These proposals being accepted of, Ambassadors were out of hand dispatched to *Rome*, to pray the confirmation of the Peace, which accordingly was ratified both by Senate and People; and for that *Eumenes* and the Ambassadors of *Rhodes*, differed about some Cities in *Asia*, it was ordered by the *Fathers*, that the People inhabiting on this side *Taurus*, which before obeyed

obeyed *Antiochus*, should now be subject to *Eumenes*, except *Caria* and *Lydia* as far as *Meander*; and these should be delivered up to the *Rhodian*. As for the Greek Cities, they which were formerly tributaries to *Attalus*, should remain under *Eumenes* his Successor; but such as had been under the jurisdiction of *Antiochus*, should be left to their own Laws: and ten Commissioners were sent to compose all differences risen betwixt the several Cities and States.

38. *Antiochus*, unwilling to give up *Hannibal*, gave him notice of what was required, that he might shift for himself. The Province of *Asia* being taken from him, he said the Conquerors dealt bountifully with him therein; for now seeing his Kingdom was contained within moderate bounds, he was only discharged from too great a burthen of Government. Two or three years after, he got another Army together, and having declared his Son *Selenus* his Successor, made a progress into the upper Provinces; where (either for that he really wanted money to pay the Tribute imposed on him, or took that occasion to pretend poverty) hearing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in *Elymais* to be exceeding rich, he went with his Forces by night and spoiled it of a vast treasure, making a show as if War had been made upon him by the Inhabitants thereabouts, who getting knowledge of it, came upon him, and without the help of any other, destroyed him and his whole Army. This is the end which, by the consent of Historians, hapned to him; though one there be * that telleth us, how after he was overcome and banished beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, he was slain by his Companions, whom he had beaten in a drunken fit. He died when he had reigned thirty six years, A. M. 3818. in the second of the one hundred forty eighth *Olympiad*, one hundred and eighty five years before the *Æra* of Christ: *M. Pambilius Lepidus*, and *C. Flaminius* being Consul.

39. *Selenus* his Son succeeded him (whom he formerly declared his Successor as was said) in the thirty fifth year of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. This *Selenus* Stennamed *Philopater*, was no stirring man, and might have an excuse for it, being lo weakened by that blow his Father received from the *Romans*. Once he got together a considerable force of men, and prepared to pass over *Taurus* to the aid of *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus* (who now waged War with *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Eumenes* of *Pergamus*) but bethinking himself that it was not lawful to do it, by virtue of the League which the People of *Rome* had made with his Father, he gave over his enterprize. He revered much at first the Temple of *Hierajalent*, allowing out of his own revenues the charges of the publick Sacrifices; but afterwards his bounty was almost turned into rapacity by the means of *Simon a Benjamite*. This man being Captain of the Temple, and in contention with *Onias the High Priest*, when he could not have the better of him, told *Apollonius* Governor of *Cælephria* and *Phœnicia*, that in the treasury there were great sums of money, which the Priests having no need of, it might well enough be taken out into the Kings Coffers. *Apollonius* acquainting the King with this, he sent *Heliodorus* his Treasurer to seize upon the money, to whom *Onias* declared that it belonged to widows and orphans, that the sum of it amounted but to four hundred talents of Silver, and two hundred of Gold, and that such was the holiness of the place, that it must not be violated. *Heliodorus* not being perswaded by this, entered the Temple, and was smitten by an Angel dead for the present, but being restored by the prayers of *Onias*, returned to the King, declaring the holiness of the place, and power of God. *Simon* after this calumniated *Onias*, as if he, who had well deserved of his Nation, had been the cause of this evil, and being backed by *Apollonius*, in his fury proceeded to slaughters, so that *Onias* was forced to go to *Selenus*, and, as some have it, got him banished, though it seems not incredible that the King was dead ere he came to him, being slain by the treachery of *Heliodorus* after he had reigned twelve years.

40. He left a son behind him named *Demetrius*, whom he sent, being but young, to *Rome*, an Hostage in the room of *Antiochus* his younger brother; for that he was tyed by the agreement made with his Father, to change the Hostages at the pleasure of the *Romans*. But when he dyed *Antiochus* was in his way home come as far as *Athens*. *Eumenes* therefore and *Attalus*, that they might bind him to them, being now a little offended at, and jealous of the *Romans*, drove out *Heliodorus*, *Apas* in Syria who affected the Kingdom, and placed him in possession of it. He was called by the *Syrians* *Epiphanes* or *Illustris*, because strangers usurping the Kingdom, he appeared the vindicator of the Dominion of his Ancestors, though others accounted him

Rejecting the terms.

He prepared for a battle.

He is slain in Elymais.

His son Selenus succeeded him.

The treachery of Simon a Benjamite against his religion and Country.

Selenus is slain.

Wherein he is overthrown.

And hath well nigh the same terms as formerly were let him.

(A) Livius says.

(B) Apian is.

Livius & Apian at this place.

Polyp. Legat.

Julius lib. 32. Valerius Maximus. l. 4. c. 1. Julius lib. 1. Strabo lib. 16. & Excurs. Di. edari.

* Aurelius V. de viris illustribus c. 4.

A. M. 3818. O. l. 148. c. 2. V. C. 567. Silvestrius c. 126. Hist. Epiphanius 17. Apian lib. 1. Excurs. Di. edari. V. C. 567. Silvestrius c. 126.

Antiochus his brother succeeded him, Si named Epiphanes.

him rather *Epimanes* or *Mad*, because of his Phanatick practices, and by the Angel he was termed a *vile person*. Being possessed of the Kingdom, he would slip privately out, with two other in his company, and wander about the City, keep company and drink with the meanest persons, coming on a sudden upon them with his cup and musick. Laying off his robe he put on a gown, and according to the custome of the *Roman Candidates* (who stood for Offices) took the people by the hand, desiring their voices for the *Edileship* or *Tribuneship* of the people. Having then obtained the Magistracy by the Suffrages of the people after the *Roman* manner, he sat and gave Judgment out of an ivory chair with such diligence, as the wisest wondered what he meant, some attributing it to simplicity, some to impudence, and others to madness it self.

A. M. 3829.
Ol. 151. an. 1.
P. C. 578.
Ptolem. Philometris 5.

Hieronym. in
Dan. cap. 11.
Apollonius Phil.

2 Antioch. 4.

Joseph the Jew having bought the High-Priesthood out of his brothers hands, is served in the same manner by Antiochus.

Antiochus seized on Egypt.

Again.

Joseph reigns at Jerusalem against his Countrymen.

Antiochus his cruelty and profaneness against Jews and Temple.

41. In *Syria* he was not acknowledged at first by those who favoured *Ptolemy*; but afterwards obtained it by a counterfeit clemency, and then having entered into League with *Enmenes*, seized himself strongly enough. In the beginning of his reign *Jason* the brother of *Onias* the third, the High-priest of the Jews, purchased the Priesthood of him for three hundred sixty Talents of Silver, and another rent of eighty Talents; and not satisfying himself with wronging his brother, promised one hundred and fifty more for a Licence to set up in *Jerusalem* a place of exercise for the training up of youth after the fashion of the Heathen, whereby an inlet was made, as unto idolatry, and profaneness, so unto that bloodied and cruelty which ensued from the wickedness of this Prince, his instruments and successors. For three years only kept he this Office, being then served in his own kind. For, sending *Menelaus* the brother of that *Simon* whom we before mentioned, to the King, to carry the money promised, and solicit his affairs, he circumvented him after the same manner he had done his brother, promising for the Priesthood, over and above what he paid, three hundred Talents; so that he had his desire, and *Jason* was forced to flee into the Country of the *Ammonites*. *Antiochus* being seized of *Celestria*, *Ptolemy* *Philopater*, who pretended it belonged to him being passed over to his father as his mothers portion, fought to recover it out of his hands, whereupon he marched down to *Egypt*, which, having overthrown his Enemies in battle betwixt *Pelufium* and the mountain *Cassus*, he easily got into his power, pretending friendship to the young King for all this, and a provident care for his affairs. *Menelaus* taking occasion at his absence, took divers Golden Vessels out of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, some of which he gave away, and others he sold to *Tyre*, and other places, for which being accused of Sacrilege by *Onias* the lawful-High-priest, he procured him to be murdered. Going on in such mischiefs he was accused to the King; but bribing *Ptolemy* the son of *Dorymeus*, got off, and procured the death of his accusers. At this time *Antiochus* went down the second time with a great power into *Egypt*, which he recovered again (the King thereof flying before him) and getting the fortified Towns into his hands, he retained, till the sons of the Jews procured his return to their destruction.

2 Antioch. 5.

42. A false rumour being spread abroad of his death, *Jason* having got one thousand men at his heels, set upon *Jerusalem*, and getting the City into his hands, forced *Menelaus* into the Castle, and then made slaughters, as if he had not been amongst his Countrymen and kindred, but foreigners and Enemies, yet obtained he not the Priesthood, but was forced to betake himself back into the Country of the *Ammonites*, where being accused to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, he fled from place to place like a Vagabond, hated of all men as a forsaker of the Laws, and as the publick Enemy of his Country, and died at length at *Lacedemon*. *Antiochus* hearing in *Egypt* that they at *Hierusalem* rejoiced at the report of his death, and suspecting because of these stirs of *Jason*, that *Judea* was about to rebel, in a great rage departed thence, and came and took the City by force, and giving no quarter for three days space, put eighty thousand to the sword, and afterwards sold as many. Yet not contenting himself with this, he profanely entered the Temple, *Menelaus* that Traitor to his Country being his guide, and rifling it of the holy Vessels, killed swine upon the Altar, and with the broth of the flesh of them sprinkled the place; then taking away with him one thousand eight hundred Talents, he got him back to *Antioch*, leaving behind him to afflict still the people at *Jerusalem* *Philip* a *Piryan*, and *Andronicus* in *Samaria*; and besides them *Menelaus* more grievous to, and despicable against, his fellow Citizens, than the other. Two years also after this, he sent *Apollonius* a cruel man with an Army of twenty two thousand, commanding him to kill all that were arrived at ripeness of age, and sell the women and children for slaves. He coming to *Jerusalem*, kept himself still until the

Joseph. Antioch. lib. 13.

the Sabbath, and then taking the opportunity of the solemnity of the day, set upon those employed therein, then running through the City flew a great multitude, plundering and setting it on fire, pulled down the houses and walls round about, and led away many women and children into captivity, whilst *Antiochus* his Master was busie again in his attempts upon *Egypt*.

He gets all Egypt into his hands except Alexandria.

43. For *Ptolemy* being stirred up by *Rhodus* the *Eumach* to attempt again the recovery of *Celestria*, to prevent that, he went down into *Egypt*, where putting him again to flight, he might have destroyed all his men, but riding to and fro himself to forbid it, he thereby procured such love, as he presently got into his hands *Pelufium*, and not long after all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*. *Ptolemy* after this sent his Ambassadors to him, with those of the *Acheans*, *Athenians*, and others, to execute the matter and lay all the blame upon the *Eumach*; but getting no good thereby, after he had spent some time carelessly without any further provision for his affairs, he departed to his younger brother to *Alexandria*, whom the Citizens there had made King after his overthrow. The *Alexandrians* at first received him, and made him partake with his brother, but afterwards for some distaste banished him again, at which *Antiochus* took an opportunity, as thinking it best to accomplish his designs, by pretending to protect and reduce him into his Kingdom; wherefore he engaged at *Pelufium* with *Ptolemy* the younger in a naval fight, and getting the better, on a sudden laid a bridge over the Nile and besieged *Alexandria*. *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* his sister being in this danger, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to crave aid; but he attempting once the walls, and experiencing the strength of the places, having sent his Ambassadors also to *Rome* after the other, raised his siege. About this time came the Ambassadors of the *Rhodians* to him to intercede, whom he put off, saying, that his intent was only to re-establish the elder *Ptolemy*, which if the *Alexandrians* would admit of, all things with his consent might be composed. Presently after this, leaving at *Memphis* *Ptolemy* the elder, for whose sake he pretended to wage this War, and giving up the rest of *Egypt* to him, he only left a strong Garrison at *Pelufium*, and so departed into *Syria*, concluding with himself that keeping this in his power, the key of the Country, he might safely suffer the two brothers to try out the quarrel; for the Conqueror being wearied beforehand, would easily be brought under by him.

Receiveth.

He returns into Egypt.

44. The Ambassadors of *Ptolemy* obtained their desire, the *Romans* being jealous of the increasing power of *Antiochus*. For, *C. Popilius Lenax*, with two others, were sent with order first to go to *Antiochus*, after that to *Ptolemy*, and to denounce unto them, that except they gave over the War, him that was the hinderer of the Peace they would not account as their friend or ally. Whilst they were on their way, *Ptolemy* the elder bethinking himself what little cause he had to trust *Antiochus*, sent to his brother, and through the mediation of *Cleopatra* was reconciled to him, and reigned with him, the *Alexandrians* being willing to receive him, because their City was much straitened for provisions, by reason of the War. *Antiochus* hearing this, contrary to his former pretences, was grievously fretted, and then more eagerly than ever preparing for the War against them both, sent a Fleet against *Cyprus*, where *Ptolemy's* Forces were worsted, and in the beginning of Spring marched down for *Egypt*. In *Celestria* the Ambassadors of *Philometor* met him, and gave him thanks in their Masters name, for that by his means he had obtained the Kingdom, desiring he would continue his friend, and protect what he had helped him to, and rather say what he would have done, than by force to attempt it as an Enemy; but he replied, he would neither withdraw his Fleet nor Army, except he had all *Cyprus*, *Pelufium*, and all the ground lying upon that Mouth of the Nile given up unto him, and he set a day whereon at further he would have an answer to these conditions. *Popilius* and his companions hearing of his design (*Perseus* of *Macedonia* being now overthrown) made haste to get to him before he reached *Alexandria*, and staying some time at *Rhodes*, they came to him, when he was but four miles off from the City, upon the sight of whom he reached out his hand to *Popilius*; but he being a severe man, reached him the Tables, wherein was written the Decree of the Senate, which commanded him to abstain from War, bidding him first to read them. Having perused them, he said he would confider with his friends what was to be done, and then give an answer, but *Popilius* after a certain insolent fashion made a Circle round about him with his Rod, and commanded him to answer before he went out of it; at which the King being amazed, after a little pause, said he would do whatsoever the people of *Rome* commanded; and so within a short time prefixed, grievously unwilling, and sorrowing, but judging

Excerpt. Diod. lib. 21.

Joseph lib. 24.
Polybius Lib. 2.
84.
Liber 1. 44.
C. 45.

A. M. 3835.
Ol. 152. an. 3.
P. C. 584.
Antiochus Epiphanes 5.
Ptolem.
Philometris 15.

Idem ibid.
Polybius Lib. 2.
85.

Idem ibid.
Polybius Lib. 2.
86.
Polybius Lib. 2.
87.
Idem ibid.
Polybius Lib. 2.
88.

it fit for the present to yield to the time, he drew out his Forces from *Egypt* and *Cyprus*.

He persecuteth the Jews for their Religion.

45. After this he published an Edict, commanding all throughout his Dominions to observe one and the same Religion, and relinquishing their own and former Rites, to conform themselves to the Religion of the *Greeks* under pain of death: sending divers Overseers who should compel each people to the observation of his Order. Into *Judea* he sent an old man of *Athens*, with order to defile the Temple, and name it the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, as that at *Gerizim* the Temple of *Jupiter Hospitalis*; he commanded the sacrifices to be left off, the Sabbath he prohibited, he commanded them to defile the Sanctuary, built up Altars, Groves, and Chappels to Idols, to Sacrifice Swine, and other unclean beasts, not to Circumcise their sons, but to forget the Law: Moreover, an order was sent to the Neighbouring Cities, that they should force the Jews to partake of their sacrifices, and kill those which would not come over to their Rites, so that many by fear obeyed, the Temple was polluted by the dalliances of the Gentiles, the abomination of desolation, viz. the abominable Idol of *Jupiter Olympius* was set up therein, the Scriptures burnt, and a Decree published, that with whomsoever they should be found, or whosoever should approve them, should be put to death. Many yet were they that stood out, condemned the Kings Edict, and defiled not themselves, so that being enraged he caused divers to be brought before him to force them by Torments, but they stood out courageously, and enduring the pains sealed the truth with their blood; amongst whom are very notable the Mother and her seven Sons, from the eldest of them called *Maccabæans*. The rage of this persecution coming to *Modin*, a Town situate near to *Diospolis* found some opposition; for there *Mattathias* a Priest eminent in degree, especially for his five Sons, not only refused to sacrifice, but killed a Jew at the Altar that was so doing, and after that the Kings Officer who was sent to compel the people. Then exhorting all that were zealous for their Law to follow him, he fled with his Sons into the Mountains.

Mattathias maketh opposition.

46. Many went out after him, and lived with their Wives, Children, and Cattel, in Dens, and Caves, which coming to the knowledge of *Philip* the Governour of *Jerusalem*, the Garrison Soldiers were presently drawn out to pursue them, so that falling on them on the Sabbath, and they not at all resisting for the observance thereof, they cast in fire, and burnt them to the number of one thousand persons *Mattathias*, and they that were with him hearing this, resolved for the time to come to repulse the Enemy on the Sabbath, and then the *Asideans*, a sort of religious men joining with him, with such as daily fled out of the Country, he made up a little Army, and therewith persecuted the wicked ones, and drove them to fly to the Nations about, pulled down the Altars, and Circumcised such Children as they found in the Coasts of *Israel*; then after he had been Captain of this wandering Company the space of a year, he died, leaving his son *Simon* for a Counsellor, and *Judas* firnamed *Maccabæus* for a Captain to them. This *Mattathias* was the Son of *John*, and Grand-son to *Simeon*, firnamed *Asmoneus*. * *Jacobus Capellus* thinketh that this *Simon* was *Simon* the second, son of *Onias* the second, and Grand-son to *Simon* the first, firnamed *Jussif*. But *Schinnerus* thinketh this *Simon* to have been the Son of *Hyfmonus*. From the * words of *Josephus* it should seem that *Mattathias* was the Great-grand-son of *Asmoneus*, so called, or *Hasmon*, from whom his posterity were named *Hasmonæans*. * *David* useth the word *Hasmonian* to express Ambassadors, Princes, or Great-men. It is also observed that the Jews in Italy call the Cardinals *Hasmonim* or *Hasmonæans*.

And Judas his son after him.

47. *Judas* being afflicted by his brethren, and his Fathers followers, fell upon the Enemy, burnt divers of their Towns, and seized upon the Commodious places, coming usually upon them in the night, so as he forced many of them to quit the Land; *Apollonius* the Governour of *Samarina* coming against him, he overthrew, and slew him, and getting his Sword, ever after used it in the Wars, and after him he overthrew also *Seron*, who governed *Cele-Syria*. *Antiochus* in this mean while lying about *Antioch*, made there Magnificent Games and Shows, employing the money he had got in *Egypt*, and out of the Temples he had rifled, to that end and purpose, and entertaining his Guests in a vile and servile kind of observance. This being ended, an Ambassador from *Rome* arrived at his Court, sent on purpose to spy out his designs. Whom he received with such courtship, as overdoing in that point, he easily concealed the grudge he had conceived for his stop at *Alexandria*, and the bent of his mind which was sufficiently alienated from the Romans. But hearing of the success of

1 Maccab. 1.
2 Maccab. 6.

1 Maccab. 2.

1 Maccab. 3.
2 Maccab. 1.
3 Maccab. 1.
4 Maccab. 1.
5 Maccab. 1.
6 Maccab. 1.
7 Maccab. 1.
8 Maccab. 1.
9 Maccab. 1.
10 Maccab. 1.

1 Maccab. 1.
2 Maccab. 1.

Which enraged him.

of *Maccabæus*, and the loss of his Forces, he was exceedingly enraged, mulctured all his Army, to which he gave a years pay, and commanded they should be ready at all occasions.

Who intending to go against him, yet changed his mind and giveth order to Lysias to destroy the Jews.

He crusheth several Capivores into Judaea.

48. He purposed to march against *Maccabæus*, but seeing his Treasury exhausted by the pay of the Army (for that the Jews now being revolted, he thereby lost his three hundred Talents of annual Tribute, and much also which he was wont to receive from other places, which being unwilling to quit their own religions as well as the other, were in combustions) and fearing he should not have to satisfy for his gifts, wherein he took a pride to exceed all his ancestors, he resolved to make a progress into *Perfia*, and the upper Countries, to gather the Tributes thereof, and fill his Coffers. But before his departure, making *Lysias* his Kinsman Governour of the Regions betwixt *Euphrates* and *Egypt*, to whose care he also committed his young son, he gave to him half his forces, and this in charge, to blot out the Nation of the Jews utterly, and to give their Country to strangers to inhabit. *Philip* the Governour of *Jerusalem* seeing to what an height *Maccabæus* was grown, wrote to *Proionus* the son of *Dorymenes* the Governour of *Celefria* and *Cilicia*, who presently dispatched *Nicanor* one of his chiefest friends, and the son of *Patroclus* with twenty thousand men, joining *Gorgias* to him, a man of great experience; and not long after he himself was sent by *Lysias* with more aid, so that all three together made an Army of forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse. *Antiochus* at this time was behind hand in his Tribute to the Romans two thousand Talents, therefore *Nicanor* resolved to raise this money out of Jewish slaves, and sent about for Chapmen for them, promising ninety persons for a Talent; so that one thousand Merchants came together with ready money into his Camp; more forces also from *Syria* and the Countrey of the *Philistines* came in to him.

But they are defeated.

And Lysias himself.

49. *Judas* having kept a fast at *Morpah* (because the Heathen now held *Jerusalem*, and the Temple was defiled) for his good success against so great an Army, having himself but six or seven thousand men, gave all the fearful, those that had built Houses, married Wives, or planted Vineyards leave to depart, according to the Law of *Moses*; then marched down to *Emmusa* where the Enemy was intrenched. That night *Gorgias*, thinking to oppress the Jews, at unawares, came to their Tents with a party of five thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse; but *Judas* having notice thereof turned it to his own advantage, resolving to go and fall upon *Nicanor* in the absence of the other, whom he knew to be the more experienced Captain. *Gorgias* finding the Camp empty, thought the owners had fled for fear of him into the Mountains, and fought for them there, but they being got to *Nicanor* engaged with him in the morning, and routed his whole Army, laying above nine thousand dead upon the place; so that he and his men perceiving presently what was done by the smoke of their Camp now set on fire, fled amain, and the Jews coming to plunder the field found great Treasure, of which part being set aside for the infirm, Widows, and Orphans, the rest the Soldiers divided amongst them. After this, *Judas* overthrew *Timotheus* and *Bachides*, both of the Kings party, killing above twenty thousand men, so that then they recovered many strong holds, at which *Lysias* was exceedingly troubled, things falling out so contrary to his expectations, and the next year invaded *Judea* with an army of sixty thousand choice foot, and five thousand horse, but being met by *Judas* with ten thousand men, he was received with such resolution that with the loss of five thousand he was glad to retreat to *Antioch*, intending greater preparations for his next expedition. *Judas* returning to *Jerusalem* cleansed the Temple, and offered sacrifice upon a new Altar, after the Heathen had held it just three years; then kept they a feast for eight days, and ordered it to be observed to posterity, which in the Gospel is called the Feast of the Dedication.

Antiochus in the mean time prospecteth in the upper Countries.

50. *Antiochus* in the mean while waged War against *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and that with such success, as cutting off many of his men, he took him prisoner. Afterwards hearing that the City *Elymais* in *Perfia* was exceeding rich, and therein a Temple of *Venus*, or *Diana*, both being asserted) wherein were laid up very rich Arms left by *Alexander* the Great, he being greedy of this prey, attempted to rifle them both, but the Inhabitants taking Arms, repelled, and caused him shamefully to retreat. Being come to *Ecbatane*, he there heard of the overthrow of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, and then journeying towards *Babylon*, in the Borders of *Perfia*, of the defeat given to that great Army of *Lysias*, the throwing down the Idol of *Jupiter Olympius*, and the fortification of the Sanctuary, whereupon he fell into a great rage, resolved to revenge himself upon the Jews for his shameful retreat, and com-

2 Maccab. 5.

And in his return hearing of the miracle of *Lysias*, and the rest breathe revenge, but is presently struck with a foul disease.

commanded his Chariot driver to make speed, saying, he would make *Jerusalem* the common burying place of them when he should come thither. Scarce had he made an end of threatening, when he was suddenly struck with exceeding torment in his bowels, which yet reduced him not to any good constitution of mind, he still breathing fury and revenge against the *Jews*, and crying out to make haste, but the Chariot being driven very fast, he was shaken out of it, and by the fall fore bruised, that he was constrained to betake himself to his Litter, and then Worms crawled out of his body, the flesh whereof rotted, and fell from him yet alive. None could endure to carry him for the stench thereof, which also offended his Army, wherefore being forced to stay his journey, he stayed at *Tabas*, a Town in *Perfia*. Before his death he confessed this to have fallen upon him for the injuries offered to the *Jews*, acknowledged the Sovereignty of God, and his own pride, vowed if God would restore him, to grant immunities to his people, to adorn his Temple, to turn *Jew* himself, and to travel through the habitable world to declare his strength and power. And when he perceived his end to draw near, he wrote most kind Letters to the *Jews*, desiring them to stand faithful to him, and his son after him, then constituting *Philip*, who had been brought up with him, the *Protector* and Guardian of his son, till he should come to age, he died, after he had reigned twelve years, A. M. 3841. after the beginning of *Seleucus* the 149. the first of the 154 *Olympiad*.

And dieth.

Antiochus Epiphanes.

Demetrius the Son of *Seleucus Philopator* and the right heir, desirous of the Romans to restore him; but they out of policy refuse it.

Gorgias to-morrowth a War with the *Jews*.

51. *Antiochus* his Son, a Child of nine years old succeeded him, named *Epiphanes* by the *Syrians* for his fathers virtue. Him *Lysias* governed, who had brought him up; so that *Philip* his designed Guardian by his Father fled into *Egypt*, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Dorymenes*, for that being convinced how the *Jews* were wronged, he went about to compose the difference with them, was forced to drink poison. *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, whom we before said to have been sent Hostage to *Rome*, hearing there of his Uncles death, desired of the Senate that he might be restored to his Fathers Kingdom, so long unjustly detained from him, affirming he esteemed of *Rome* as his own Country, in which he had been brought up; of the sons of Senators as his Brethren, and themselves as so many Fathers; but they judging it more for their interest that the Kingdom of *Syria* should be under a child than one of mans Estate (such as he was, being now twenty three years old) resolved it should be secured to *Antiochus*, and presently ordered three Commissioners to be sent thither to settle the affairs thereof, according to instructions received from themselves, which might now be done easily enough, the King himself being so young, and his Courtiers thinking they were well enough dealt withal, so *Demetrius* was not restored; but especially they gave them in charge to burn all the Ships they should find there, not allowed to *Antiochus* by the League, and though the Legs of all the Elephants, and diminish the Kings strength as much as possible. These things being executed, provoked one *Leptinus* so far as he flew *C. Othacius* the chief Commissioner (and who first brought the Consulship into his family, out of which *Augustus Caesar* issued) whom *Lysias*, though he was suspected to incense the People against the *Romans*, honourably buried, and dispatched quickly Ambassadors to *Rome* in the Kings name to disclaim any consciousness to the fact.

52. *Gorgias* being Governour of the parts about *Judea*, fomented a continual War with the *Jews*, and with him joyned the *Idumians*, who received all runagates, and gave them entertainment. Against those therefore, *Judas Maccabeus* marched, took divers places, and put twenty thousand to the Sword, after which turning upon the *Ammonites*, he overthrew them in divers engagements, and taking *Jazer* with the Territories thereto belonging, returned again into *Judea*. *Timotheus* the General of the *Ammonites* hereat enraged, and gathering many men out of *Asia*, came as if he would devour *Judea*; but *Judas* with his having humbled themselves, and called upon the name of God, gave him battle, in which twenty thousand five hundred Foot, and six hundred of his Horse being slain, he fled to *Gazara*, a strong Garrison kept by his brother, but that being taken he was pulled out of a Cave where he had hid himself, and slain, together with the other. After this the Nations about *Galaad* and *Galilee* afflicting for the *Jews*, *Maccabeus* divided his Army into three parts, one of which (viz. threethousand men) he delivered to his brother *Simon* to relieve them of *Galilee*, the second to *Joseph* the Son of *Zechariah*, to defend *Judea*, giving it in charge not to fight with any Enemy till his return, with the other he marched himself to the succour of them in *Galaad*. *Simon* fought many battles with the Enemy, and killed many of them, brought his Countrymen

A. M. 3841.
Ol. 154. ann. 1.
Seleucida 149th
Phil. Philomet.

Polph. Legat.
107.

Maccab. 10.

Maccab. 5.

Judas is victorious.

Lysias again defeated.

And the *Syrian* *Nomades*.

Asallo *Timotheus*.

And *Gorgias*.

The *Edomites* and *Philistines* subdued.

men into *Judea* with great gladness, and *Judas* had the like success, taking many Towns, and putting many thousands to the Sword; but those that were left at home desiring also upon the report hereof to achieve some military glory, marched to *Jamnia*, whence *Gorgias* issuing out, put them to flight, and following the chase as far as the borders of *Judea*, killed about two thousand of them.

53. *Lysias* the King's *Protector* and chief Minister of State, was displeased at the report of *Judas*'s success, and taking eighty thousand Foot with all the Horse along with him, resolved to make *Jerusalem* an habitation for the *Greeks*, the Temple to pay tribute, and the Priesthood thereof to fet to sale every year. He came and besieged *Bethsura* nigh to *Jerusalem*; but *Maccabeus* then meeting with him killed eleven thousand of his Foot, with one thousand six hundred Horse-men, and forced him with the rest (many of them wounded and disarmed) to thift for themselves. Considering this defeat, and that God fought for the *Jews*, he went to them to treat of Peace, and according to his promise brought the King to yield to such reasonable conditions as were offered by *Maccabeus*; but it was quickly broken by *Timotheus*, and other Captains, that governed the places adjoining to *Judea*, at which time they of *Joppe* also drawing two hundred *Jews* craftily on shipboard, drowned them in the Sea. *Judas* hearing this, went and burned all the Vessels in the Haven at *Joppe*, and understanding that the inhabitants of *Jamnia* had also intended such a thing against his Countrymen, he did as much for them; then marching against *Timotheus*, the *Arabian Nomades* set upon him, being five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, but were so entertained, as yielding themselves, with a promise of giving up their Cartel, and being at his beck for the time to come, they obtained Peace. After this he stormed the City *Caspis* (wherein was such a slaughter made of the Inhabitants, that a Lake thereto adjoining seemed to be full of blood) and then proceeding seven hundred and fifty Furlongs came to the *Jews* called *Tubien* inhabiting the Land of *Tob* (concerning which mention is made in the Book of *Judges*) whence *Timotheus* was departed, but had left a strong Garrison, which being taken by *Dositheus* and *Sospater* two of *Judas* his Officers, they put to the sword above ten thousand men.

54. *Timotheus* gathered together from the Nations round about him and the *Arabians* a hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, where-with, putting up the women and children into a strong Fort called *Carnion*, he came and pitched his Tents against *Raphon* beyond the brook; but his great multitude was so surprized with fear upon the approaching of *Judas*, that every man fluted for himself, and what by their running upon one anothers Swords, and the pursue which *Maccabeus* followed on with much earnestness, thirty thousand of them were slain, and he himself fell into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Sospater*, from whom he obtained his liberty; upon promise of dismissing such of their Countrymen as he had taken. *Judas* then proceeding took *Carnion*, wherein twenty five thousand were put to the Sword, after which he gathered all the *Jews* out of *Galaad* to bring them into *Judea*, and for that the City *Ephron*, through which they must needs pass, denied them entrance, they took it by force, and destroying the Inhabitants, went through, and came up to *Jerusalem* to the Feast of *Pentecost*. The Feast being ended, he taking three thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse along with him, went and fought with *Gorgias*, whom one *Dositheus* of *Baccor* his Company had once taken, but holding him by the Cloak, a certain *Thracian* came and cut off his shoulder, so that the Prisoner escaped. After the Victory the *Jews* coming to strip and bury such of their own party as had lain that day, found under their coats certain things dedicated to the idols of *Jamnia*, so that it appearing that this being forbidden them by the Law was the cause of their death, they betook themselves by Prayer to God, imprecating that it might not be charged upon them all. After this *Judas* subdued the *Edomites*, and the *Philistines*, their idols he burnt, and overthrew their altars, and then returning into *Judea*, for that he found the Kings Garrison Souldiers which yet kept the Castle to straighten and infect the *Jews* about the Sanctuary, with all the People, he besieged them close, but some of them with certain *Jewish* fugitives getting out, went straight to *Antiochus*, and perwaded him with all expedition to come and give a check to the growing power of the *Jews*.

55. *Antiochus* gathering together all his friends and Captains, and a great Army (concerning the number of which the two Books of *Maccabees* differ) in a great rage marched thither, intending to deal worse with them than his father had done before him, and to him *Menelaus* joyned himself, hoping by his means to regain the Priesthood.

K k k

Maccab. 11.
2. 12.

Chap. 11.

Maccab. 4. 5.
Maccab. 12.

Maccab. 6.

11d. 6.
Maccab. 13.

Antiochus be- sieged *Bith- ynia*, which he be- sieged *Jeru- salem*, But is called away by the motions of *Philip*.

Priesthood. Passing through *Idumea* he came and fate down before *Bethsura*, where *Judas* by night with a choice party fell upon his Camp, and piercing as far as his own Tent slew four thousand men, and the prime Elephant, with those upon him, and giving an Alarm to the whole Army at break of the day, safely retreated, whereupon the King marched towards him the next day, and coming to an engagement lost fix hundred men more; but the *Jews* seeing themselves overpowered, retreated. Then returned he to the siege, which *Judas* for molested, cutting off many of his men, and relieving the besieged with provisions, who being not provided within themselves, because this was the *Sabbatical* year, yielded up the Town upon composition. *Antiochus* having herein placed a Garrison marched up to *Jerusalem*, and there made all provision possible for gaining it, all manner of engines being raised for the casting of fire and stones; which the besieged resisted as well as they might by others of their own, but as for provisions, were in no better condition than they of *Bethsura* had been, which gave opportunity enough to the King, but before he could perfect his work, came news that *Philip*, whom his Father had ordered to be his guardian, being returned out of *Egypt*, was coming with the Forces which *Epiphanes* had left in *Perlis* and *Media* to recover his right usurped by *Lysias*. Hereupon both he and his Captains were presently persuaded by *Lysias* (because their provisions began to fail, the place was strong, and the affairs of the Kingdom required it) to make Peace with the besieged upon such terms as they required.

56. Going to the Temple he offered sacrifice, and shewed civility and respect towards the place, but a little after considering the strength thereof, caused the wall round about to be demolished, contrary to his oath. Then returning to *Ptolemais*, the Inhabitants being great Enemies to the *Jews*, tickled hard to break the League, but *Lysias* by his defence quieted their minds, and confirmed the Peace. The King halting thence towards *Antioch*, *Lysias* accused *Meneleus* the High-priest to him, as an incendiary, and he that had been the cause of the War, so that being thrown into a Tower full of ashes, he there miserably ended his life, and in his room was substituted one *Alcimus* of *Aron's* line, but not of the family of the Priests, through *Lysias* his direction, which *Onias* the son of the last *Onias* the Priest understanding, went into *Egypt*, where insinuating himself into *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Cleopatra*, he obtained a Temple like that at *Jerusalem* to be built in the Province of *Helopoli- tis*, and himself to be made Priest thereof. *Antiochus* coming to *Alexandria*, found *Philip* Master thereof, but setting upon it he took it by force, and taking him therein put him to death, and so quickly quieted the stir, being reserved with his Guardian, though but a little time, for others more dangerous. His Ambassadors now, which *Lysias* had sent about the death of *Onias*, had been at *Rome*, where labouring to clear him of the fact, they were sent back without answer, whereas *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus* being much startled, began to cast again in his head how to obtain his freedom, and the Kingdom, according to his title, which was so clear and evident.

57. Consulting with *Polybius* the *Achaean* and *Historian*, whether he should not once more move the Senate in the business, he advised him not to dash himself twice against the same Rock, but attempt something of himself worthy of a Kingdom, hinting thereby what he would have him to do. But he being ruled by one *Apollonius* his intimate friend, but a young inexperienced man, requested the Fathers again, that at least he might not be constrained to stay there as an Hostage, seeing they had secured the Kingdom of his Cousin *Antiochus*. They yet remained in the same opinion, and resolved as formerly, so that then he consulted how to escape, first with *Diodorus* a cunning man, who was come from *Syria*, and had belonged to him, and then with *Polybius*, who procured *Menechylus* the *Egyptian* Ambassador to hire a *Carthaginian* ship just then sailing for *Tyre*; so that *Diodorus* being sent before to feel the Peoples mind, and seek for advantages, he taking a few friends along with him supped at a friends house, whither, for fear he should stay too long, *Polybius* sent him a secret hint, not to let slip this opportunity; whereupon making as though he was sick, he arose from the table, and came that night, to *Offia* upon the mouth of *Tyber*. *Menechylus* going before told the Master of the ship, that he had received orders from his Prince to reside still at *Rome*; but that he would send some young men of approved fidelity to him, to acquaint him with the affairs of his negotiation: so *Demetrius* and his followers going on shipboard, away they sailed by break of day. At *Rome* nothing was known of his escape till the fourth day. On the fifth the Senate met about it; yet did not make any provision

A. M. 3846.
Ol. 145. ann. 3.
Seleucid. ann.
150.
Antioch.
Epiphanes 2.
Ptolom. Phil.
lumi. 18.
P. C. 594.
Jephth.
Antioch. lib. 12.
cap. 15.

Polybius lib.
est. 114.
Maccab. 7. c.
2 Maccab. 14.

A. M. 3849.
Ol. 154. ann. 3.
P. C. 597.
Seleucid. ann.
151.
P. C. Philom.
19.

vision for the pursuing of him, thinking it to be too late; but a few days after, they sent three Commissioners into *Greece*, who viewing the affairs there, were commanded thence to pass into *Asia*, and amongst other things have an eye to what he should attempt.

58. Landing in *Lycia*, he thence wrote to the Senate, that he had no intentions to disturb his Cousin *Antiochus*, but only revenge upon *Lysias* the death of *Onias*, then getting into his hands *Tripolis*, a Town of *Phenicia*, as sent by the Senate to possess the Kingdom, none gain-said him; so that he seized also upon *Spartana*. Thence, having gotten some forces together, he marched towards *Antioch*, out of which *Antiochus*, with *Lysias* his Governour (for that they thought he was sent by the *Romans*, and therefore feared to oppose him) coming out to meet him in a friendly manner, was presently made away, after he had reigned about two years. *Demetrius* having thus obtained the Kingdom, displaced *Hercules*, whom *Epiphanes* his Uncle had made Treasurer at *Babylon*, and his Brother *Timarchus*, whom he had also placed Governour there; for that he had badly behaved himself in his Office, whence from the *Babylonians* he got the surname of *Soter*, the next after *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus Nicator*, as *Aprian* observeth. The *Roman* Commissioners being now come to *Ariarathes* into *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menecharchis* thither to them, to deal with them about his confirmation in the Kingdom; offered also to *Ariarathes* the Widow of *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, and his sister to wife; but he refused her for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. After the return of *Menecharchis* and his report, thinking it his main interest to oblige these men, he cast off all other things, and labouring to please them, sent first to them into *Pamphylia*, then to *Rhodes*, offering to do any thing whereby to purchase his being acknowledged King by the *Romans*, and *Tiberius* one of the Commissioners stood him in great treat for the obtaining of this desire. He shortly after sent *Menecharchis*, and others in Ambassage to *Rome*, and with them *Leptines* the murderer of *Onias* (who offered himself to be sent) and a Crown of Gold in token of his thankfulness for his good usage all the time of his being an Hostage. The Senate long deliberating upon the business, resolved at length not to receive *Leptines*, lest they should seem to be satisfied for the public affront; but rather lay the blame upon all *Syria*, and reserve to themselves an occasion of revenge, when, and as often as they should see convenient: as for *Demetrius* himself, they bestowed their friendship upon him, with this condition, if he would give sufficient caution to be thenceforth as much in their power as formerly.

59. *Alcimus*, who had procured from *Eupator* to be made High-Priest, and now was not received nor owned by the people, because that in the days of *Epiphanes* he had defiled himself, came to *Demetrius* with other Apostates, and such like as himself, and accused his Country-men, especially the *Hajimeans* (i.e. *Judas* and his brethren) that they had cut off, and banished his friends; whereupon he sent one *Bachides* a trusty friend with great Forces into *Judea*, confirming the Priesthood to *Alcimus*, whom he sent back with him. All their design, being arrived there, was to get *Judas* into their hands; divers *Scribes* going out to them to solicit for peace, being confident because the Priest was of the seed of *Aaron*, he most wickedly, and contrary to his Oath given, slew sixty of them in one day; then *Bachides* going from *Jerusalem*, sent about, and caused divers that had fled from him, and many of the people whom being slain he cast into a great pit, and so committing the Country to *Alcimus* (to the defence of which he left him some Forces) he returned unto his King. After his departure, *Alcimus* striving to confirm himself in the Priesthood, made great havock of the people, to restrain which, *Judas* went throughout the Country, and compelled his party to shut themselves up within their holds, and growing stronger, he restrained their invasions, so that *Alcimus* being afraid of him goes once more unto the King, carrying along with him a Crown of Gold, a Palm, and of the boughs which were used solemnly in the Temple; and seeing he could not have any more access to the Holy Altar, taking a fit opportunity when he was asked of the affairs of his Country, accused the *Asideans*, and especially *Judas*, as seditious, of depriving him of the Priesthood (the honour as he said of his Ancestors) and plainly affirmed that as long as *Maccabees* lived, the Kings affairs could not be secure. This being seconded by some ill-willers to the *Jews*, *Demetrius* was inflamed, and sending for *Nicanor* one of his chiefest Princes, and a bitter Enemy to the *Isralites*, made him Captain over *Judea*, and sent him forth with a Command to lay *Judas*, to scatter them that were with him, and make *Alcimus* High-Priest of the great Temple.

R. k. k. 2

661. When

Geteth the Kingdom, and kills *Soter*.

He counsell the Commis- sioners of *Rome* that he may be con- pelled a King.

Bachides sent by him against the *Jews*.

Leaveth *Alcimus* the High-Priest with some forces.

Who according *Judas*, *Nicanor* is sent against him.

Zonaras 15. *Dion.* *Jephth.* lib. 12. cap. 16. *Joh. lib. 3. c. 10. Maccab. 2. c. 12.*

* In *Syriac*. *Polybius* lib. 12. cap. 120. c. 122.

A. M. 3844. *Ol. 154. ann. 4. P. C. 595. Seleucid. 150. Dinit. Antioch. 2. Ptol. Philom. 20.*

* *Maccab. 7. c. 14.*

Nicanor as first
much loveth
Maccabees;

Then com-
plained of by
Alcimus & de-
eth his de-
struction.

His blasphemous
threats.

He is slain in
battel.

The end of
the second
book of Mac-
cabees.

Bachides
sent into Judas
against Judas.

Maccabees is
 slain.

60. When he was comethither, and understood the courage and resolution of Judas, his brethren and companions, for the defence of their Country, he feared to try the chance of War, and sent to make peace with the people, who having agreed unto the Covenants, the two Captains came together to consult about the League. Nicanor was so taken with Judas that he continued with him, loved him in his heart, and perfwaded him to marry, and beget Children; and so remained constant in his affection to him, till Alcimus perceiving it, and understanding the Covenants which were made betwixt them, took a third journey to the King, told him that Nicanor had taken strange matters in hand, and appointed Judas, a Traitor to the Realm, to be his Successor. Demetrius being hereat displeased, by Letters checked him for these things, and commanded him in all haste to send Maccabees bound in Chains unto Antioch, which grievously troubled him, that he, who had done no hurt, should be thus used, but conceiving it necessary for him to comply with the pleasure of the King, he waited for a convenient opportunity to accomplish it. Behaving himself thenceforth more roughly to him, the other suspected something by the great change of his demeanour, and therefore gathering a few of his men, withdrew himself from him, but he followed him with a strong power to Hierusalem, and drawing him out to talk with him, had prepared some to seize on him; yet he having notice hereof got away, and would see him no more. Seeing his design to be discovered, he went and fought with him near Capharsalama, in which he lost about five thousand of his men, and the rest fled into the City of David. After this he came up to Mount Zion, and some of the Priests with the Elders of the people went forth of the Sanctuary to salute him peaceably, and shew him the burnt-offering that was offered for the King; but he jeering hereat, demanded Judas to be delivered unto him, and they affirming with an Oath that they knew not where he was, he stretching out his hand against the Temple, swore that except Judas and his Forces were delivered up, he would when he should return in peace, let the sanctuary on fire, demolish the Altar, and build there a stately Temple to Bacchus. The Priests hearing this, went in, and standing before the Altar, with tears begged of God that he would frustrate the mans intentions, and be avenged upon him and his Host for his blasphemous words.

61. Hearing that Judas was gone from Jerusalem into Samaria, he went and pitched his Tents in Bethbaram, where new supplies from Syria came to him, the Enemy being in Hadda thirty Furlongs off, with no more than three thousand men. He would fain have fought on the Sabbath day, which the Jews, who were constrained to follow, friendly deterring him from, with great blasphemy uttered against God, he refused to hear them, demanding if there were a living Lord in Heaven, who commanded that seventh day to be kept, and saying, he himself was mighty upon earth to command them to Arm themselves, and to perform the Kings business. But coming to the engagement, he himself was slain first, which when his Army saw, they cast away their Arms and fled, and the *Isradites* following the chase slew thirty thousand, so that not one of the Army was left remaining. Coming to the plunder of the field they cut off Nicanor's head and hands, and carried them to Jerusalem, where they were hung up before the Temple; his tongue being cut in pieces, and cast unto the Fowls. Then they decreed, that the thirtieth day of the twelfth month *Adar* (as the *Syrians* call it) the day before *Mardocheus*'s day, should be observed every year, as the Author of the second book of Maccabees tells us, who with this story finisheth his work, being the *Epitome* of the five books of *Jafon*, a Jew of *Cyrene*. After Nicanor's death, Judas was quiet for some time, and then Judas hearing of the power of the *Romans*, and their compassion of the distressed, and how much Demetrius stood in awe of them, sent *Eupolemus* the son of *John*, and *Jafon* the son of *Elezar* on an Ambassage to the Senate, that entering into society with them, the people might be freed from the yoke of Demetrius and the Greeks. But Demetrius hearing of the mischance of Nicanor and his Forces, sent Bachides and Alcimus again into Judaea with the greater part of his Forces, who coming to Jerusalem to seek for Judas, marched thence with twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse against him, who had but three thousand men in all. With these few he setting upon Bachides, all of them forsook him but eight hundred, with which yet he charged him, as fighting from morning till night, he put to flight the right wing in which he stood, but they of the left perceiving this, followed him behind as he gave the charge, and compassing him in, slew him, all his men then shifting for themselves. This hapned A.M. 3844. of the Greeks or Seleucide the 152. in the second of Demetrius Soter; and after he led the People, from his Fathers death, fix years

62. A

Jonathan his
brother cho-
sen Captain
in his room.

Demetrius
subdulen by
the Romans to
hurther the Jews.

Alcimus his
ill-cad.

Bachides
saweth ne-
ver more to
molest the
Jews.

62. A great Famine then raging, almost all the Country submitted to Bachides, that they might the more commodiously get bread, and he made such wicked persons Governors, as bringing to him the friends of Judas, he mocked them, and revenged himself upon them. But such of them as remained, and could do it, assembled themselves together, and chose Jonathan (Surnamed *Apphus*) their Captain in the room of Judas his brother, which Bachides hearing fought to kill him, but he understanding thereof, fled into the Desert *Thecoa*, having sent his brother John (Surnamed *Gaddei*) with a party to the *Nabathian Arabs*, to desire they might leave their baggage amongst them. He going down with it, was met in the way by the children of *Iambri* from *Medaba*, who killing him and those with him, seized upon the prey; but no great joy had they of their booty; for Jonathan and his brother Simon hearing that they were about to make a great marriage, and bring the bride from *Medaba* with great pomp, being the Daughter of one of the noblest Princes of *Canaan*, they went, and hiding themselves under the covert of the Mountain, when the Bridegroom and his friends came forth with Timbrels and instruments of Musick, rose up out of the ambush, slew many of them, and took the spoil; so having revenged the death of their brother, they returned again unto Jordan. When Bachides heard this, he marched down, and came thither with a great Army upon the Sabbath day, and Jonathan being best behind and before with the Enemy, and on each side with the River and Marishes, encouraged yet his men to fight, and lifting up his hand struck at Bachides; but he declined the blow. Then seeing himself too weak for the Enemy he leaped into the River after he had slain one thousand of them, and from over with his men to the further side. Bachides did not adventure to follow, but returning to Jerusalem, built up the strong Forts throughout the Land, and placed therein strong Garrisons, that thence making excursions, he might endamage the Jews. He fortified the Cities *Bethfura* and *Gazara*, with the Castle at Jerusalem, where he placed Soldiers with provisions, and taking the sons of the chief of the Country for Hostages, he secured them in the later.

63. The Ambassadors sent by Maccabees to the Romans were well received, and entered into a League and society with the Romans, which being written in Tables of brass, contained an engagement mutually to succour and relieve each other. The Senate also wrote to Demetrius, charging him no more to hurt or indamage the Jews, being their confederates, under pain of being prosecuted with War both at Land and Sea. Not long after Alcimus the High-priest commanded the wall in the Temple, which severed the Court of the People from that of the Gentiles, to be pulled down, which had been built by *Zorobabel*, and the Prophets, whose monuments he began to pull down and destroy; but at the same time he was so smitten that he could not open his mouth, being taken with a Palfie, so as he could not speak nor give order concerning his house, and died with great torment. When Bachides saw that he was dead, he returned unto the King. Two years then did the Land continue quiet, but at the end thereof, certain wicked persons sent for Bachides to return, telling him he might easily apprehend Jonathan and all his company in one night, at which message he arose with great haste, and sent Letters privately to his adherents to take them, and they having notice of it, took fifty of these men, which had been the greatest sticklers, and slew them. Then Jonathan departing into the Wilderness, built up the walls of *Bethfussa*, and fortified it; which Bachides having notice of went down thither, and closely besieged it; but such was his entertainment from the besieged (who getting out killed his men, and burnt his engines,) that having lain before the place a long time to no purpose, and seeing his journey to be frustrate, he eased his stomach against those that had been the cause of his Expedition, and putting to death many of them, resolved to retreat into his own Country. Jonathan having notice of this, sent to him to treat of Peace, and exchange the prisoners, which he gladly accepted of, and made an oath never more to disturb him. Returning then home he never brake it; so that the War being removed, Jonathan dwelt at *Macbus* (or *Mischmab*) in the Tribe of Benjamin, began to govern the People, and destroy the Ungodly out of *Irad*.

64. *Ariarathes* (the fifth of that name) King of *Cappadocia*, married (as we find before) Antiochis the daughter of Antiochus the Great. She having no children by him at the first, introduced two supposititious boys, *Ariarathes* and *Orophernes*, he knowing nothing hereof, but a little after growing fruitful, he brought forth two daughters, and a son called *Mithridates*, and then acquainting her husband with what she had formerly done, procured the two Counterfeits to be sent, the

1 Maccab. 9.

A. M. 3845.
Ol. 155. ann. 1.
J. C. 594.
Seleucide. 152.
Demetrius. 153.
3. Ptolem.
Ephemeris. 21.

1 Maccab. 9.

1 Maccab. 9.

Excerpt. Diod. &
Sicili &
Papp.

Orophernes one of the most powerful Greek Captains by the help of Demetrius.

the one to *Rome*, and the other into *Ionis*, left they should disturb the true one in his succession, who, being named *Ariarathes*, and being brought up in the faiths and customs of the *Greeks*, obtained the Kingdom after his Fathers death. *Orophernes* afterwards resolving to venture for it, came to *Demetrius*, complaining he was injuriously deprived of the Kingdom by his younger brother, and craved his assistance for the recovery of it. He being offended at *Ariarathes* for the refusing the marriage of his sister the widow of *Perseus*, bargained with *Orophernes* for one thousand Talents, and expelled *Ariarathes* from *Cappadocia*, though he was helped by *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. *Orophernes* having thus invaded the Kingdom, behaved himself not like one who intended to secure it to himself in the love of his People, but raging against them with pillages and slaughters, and corrupting himself with the luxury of *Ionis* (where he had been brought up) pulled upon him the hatred of all his Subjects, which he perceiving, made only as an occasion further to prosecute his wicked and unreasonable designs. *Ariarathes* went straight to *Rome* to crave aid; and the Ambassadors both of *Demetrius* and the other, followed to excuse what was done, and recriminate him, which those of *Orophernes* performed so dexterously, that no body being present that could confute their lies, they seemed to gain credit, and *Ariarathes* because he had been the confederate of the *Romans*, was ordered to reign together with his brother. This was all he got at *Rome*; but shortly after *Antiochus* the brother and Successor of *Eumenes* expelled *Orophernes*, and *Demetrius* quite out of *Cappadocia*, and restored him to the entire possession of his Kingdom.

'Antiochus the true heir restored by Antiochus.

One Balas suborned by several Princes for the son of Epiphanes.

65. Not long after, *Demetrius* casting in his head how to enlarge his Dominions, offered *Archias*, the Governour of *Cyprus* for *Pholomy Philometer*, five hundred Talents to betray the Island into his hands; which the man consented to, but being discovered and sentenced, prevented the execution by hanging himself. Being thus frustrated in this design, he therefore giving himself up to idleness, having built a Castle fortified with four Towers not far from *Antioch*, wherein he passeth away the time without any attendance of State affairs, out of the sight of his Subjects. Hereby he contracted such hatred, that the *Antiochians* revolted from him, and made choice of *Orophernes*, then living in exile at his Court, who so badly requited him for his former kindness, as to conspire with them to rob him of his Kingdom and life. He getting knowledge of this, feared his life, left he should free *Ariarathes* from the fear of a competitor, and caused him to be kept securely at *Seleucia*; but the *Antiochians* not at all terrified from their attempt, went on in their Rebellion, to which *Antiochus* of *Asia*, *Ariarathes* of *Cappadocia*, and *Pholomy* lending their helping hand, they suborned a young man of the basest condition (by one (a) called *Prompatus*, by others (b) *Balas*, and (c) *Balles* giving him the name of *Alexander*, and reporting him to be son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, to recover as it were his Fathers Kingdom by force. This youth, together with *Laodice Antiochus* his daughter, did (d) *Heraclides* (whom *Demetrius* cast out, as we said, of the Office of Treasurer at *Babylon*) carry to *Rome*, where he brought him into the Senate, and caused him to desire that he might be helped in the recovery of the Kingdom, at least that he might not be hindered in his endeavour that way; then he seconding him inveighed against *Demetrius*, and heaped up the praises and merits of *Antiochus* so far, as though to all sober minded men his impudence was distasteful as well as his person, yet he so bewitched the generality of the Fathers, that a Decree was made, whereby power was given to them to return, and aid ordered them for the recovery of the Kingdom (being the children of their late friend and ally) as they had required.

66. *Heraclides* having obtained this act of the Senate, presently hired Souldiers, and getting many eminent men to joyn with him, went to *Epiphanes*, where he made all possible preparation for the War. Not long after *Alexander* got *Ptolemais* a City of *Phoenicia*, being betrayed to him by the Garrison Soldiers, which *Demetrius* hearing, gathered together his Forces to go and fight with him, but considering the uncertainty of the chance of War, sent away his two Sons *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* unto *Umidus* to be out of the danger, and be reserved to revenge his death or deprivation if need should require. He sent also unto *Jonathan* the Captain of the Jews, to renew Peace with him, giving him power to raise Forces against *Alexander*, and commanding the Hostages kept in the Castle of *Hierusalem* to be restored to him, which he using as a good opportunity, began to build *Hierusalem* anew, and repair the walls, but *Alexander* having notice of *Demetrius* his meslage, and the promises made by him, sent to him in like manner, and amongst many privileges

Except Polybius for Ptolemais.

(a) Josph. lib. 11. c. 16. (b) Strabo lib. 16. (c) Josphus lib. 11. c. 16. (d) Josphus lib. 11. c. 16. Legit. 140.

Macchab. 10.

Josphus in Syria lib. 11. c. 16.

Conventi for the Kingdom of Syria.

And Demetrius being slain in battle,

'Alexander the son of Demetrius being slain in battle,

Demetrius the son of Demetrius being slain in battle,

Pholomy assisting him in recovering his Fathers Kingdom.

'Alexander slain,

ledges and immunities granted to the Nation appointed him to be the High-Priest, sending him Purple and a Crown of Gold. So, in the seventh month of the one hundred and sixtieth year of the *Seleucide*, *Jonathan* put on the Holy Robe, in the ninth after the death of his brother *Judas* (the Priesthood having been vacant seven years from the death of *Alcimus*) being the first of the *Hasmoneans* that arrived at this dignity, and of the Priestly Family, but not of the *Pontifical*, to which *Onias* (who now was in *Aegypt*) was next heir. *Demetrius* hearing of the agreement his Enemy had made with the Jews, was sore troubled thereat, and laboured again by incredible promises to allure them to his own party; but they having had experience formerly how his affections stood towards them, refused to entertain his overtures. *Balas* gathering his Forces together, not onely those that revolted to him in *Syria*, but his Auxiliaries also sent from *Jonathan*, *Ariarathes*, *Attalus*, and especially from *Ptolemy Philometer*, gave battel to *Demetrius*, whose left wing put those to flight which fought against it, but the right having the contrary fortune was forced to run, which yet he would not do, though in it, but fighting manfully, light with his Horse into a bog, where he fought stoutly on his feet, till at last he was slain with many wounds, after he had reigned twelve years. A. M. 3854. the second of the one hundred fifty seventh Olympiad, of the *Seleucid* the 161.

67. *Alexander Balas* obtained the Kingdom, and shortly after his possession of it, remembering how much he was beholding to *Ptolemy Philometer* for it, sent to him for his Daughter to Wife, which he willingly assenting to, brought her to *Ptolemais*, and married her to him with royal magnificence. Thither came down *Jonathan* from *Hierusalem*, bringing presents for both the Kings, but was followed by divers naughty persons to accuse him; Yet *Alexander* was so far from listening to any tales, that he caused him to be clothed in purple, to sit near him, and by proclamation commanded all his accusers to forbear, at which they being discouraged, went their ways. After this *Alexander* giving up himself to idleness and luxury, and minding nothing else, the affairs of the State were wholly managed by one *Antiochus*, who made laughter of all his friends, and amongst the rest *Leodice* & *Josphus* the Daughter of *Epiphanes*. Which being heard by *Demetrius* the eldest Son of *Demetrius Soter*, he hired Soldiers in *Crete*, and came into *Cilicia*, at which the other being affrighted, halted to *Antioch* to secure his estate before his coming; where he made *Eurax*, and *Diadotus* (or *Tryphon*) Governours. With *Demetrius* joyned *Apollonius* the Governour of *Celestria*, who being ordered to fight against the Jews, who still stood close to *Alexander*, with great pride provoked *Jonathan* to fight with him, and he accordingly marched from *Hierusalem* against him with ten thousand men. In his way he took *Joppa*, which *Apollonius* understanding marched to *Ashdod*, and left an Ambush in the way to intrap him, but he getting clear of the Ambush, put all his Forces to flight, whereof many men fled into the Temple of the Idol *Dagon*, which he set on fire, and what by this means and by the sword perished about eight thousand men. This coming to the ears of *Alexander*, he honoured *Jonathan* more than ever: he sent him a button of Gold, wont to be given to the Kings kinsmen, and gave him *Acaran* a City of the *Philistines* with its Territories as an inheritance.

68. *Ptolemy Philometer* with great forces both by Land and Sea, came out of *Aegypt*, upon pretence of aiding his son in Law, but indeed with an intention to seize upon *Syria*, and accordingly all the Cities being commanded to receive him honourably, he placed therein Garrisons of his own. He got into his hands all the maritime Cities as far as *Seleucia* upon *Orontes*, and then being clear out of conceit with *Alexander* (for that he demanding *Antiochus* who had plotted his destruction, he would not deliver him up) he sent and made an agreement with *Demetrius*, promising him to take away his daughter from *Balas* and give her to him, together with the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. The *Antiochians* flew *Antiochus*, and let *Ptolemy* into their City, who there put two *Diadems* upon his head; but presently brought them to receive *Demetrius*, promising them that this should make amends for the injury formerly offered his Father, and then the Soldiers revolted also. *Alexander* being now in *Cilicia* consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo Sardonian*, from which he had answer, that he should look to himself in that place which had brought forth a double formed spectacle, which seemed to point out the City *Abas* in *Arabia*, where a certain Woman named *Hera*, being married to one *Samas* turned to a man; and where he was slain not long after. For invading *Syria* with fire and sword, *Ptolemy* with *Demetrius* his new son in Law met and overthrew

A. M. 3852. Ol. 158. ann. 17. c. 601. Demetrius 160. Seleucid. 165. Philomet. 28.

Macchab. 10.

Josphus lib. 12. cap. 8. c. 6. Lxxviii. 50. Josphus lib. 12.

A. M. 3857. Ol. 158. ann. 17. c. 606. Seleucid. 165. Ptolemy Philomet. 33.

Macchab. 11.

Josphus & Tosephus in Syria lib. 11. c. 16.

Diad. 161. Josphus & Tosephus in Syria lib. 11. c. 16. A. M. 3858. Seleucid. 165.

And Ptolemy
died of his
wounds.

overthrew him at the River *Oenopara*, and then he flying to *Abas*, his head was cut off by *Zabdi* the Prince of the place, and sent to *Ptolomy*, who though he received it with much joy, yet having in the fight received a great hurt in the head, upon the searhing of the wound he died also the third day after. Such end had the strange fortune of this counterfeit *Alexander*, after he had reigned about five years.

69. *Demetrius* then according to his right obtained his Father's Kingdom, and for that he had subdued this counterfeit of his Family had (the next after *Selenus* the founder of the Race) the surname of *Nicanor* or *Nicator*. About this time *Jonathan* besieged the Castle at *Hierusalem*, and did all he could with his Egyptians to reduce it; but this being by some ill-willers made known to *Demetrius*, he wrote to him in anger, to raise his siege, and appear before him at *Ptolemais*, which he obeyed so far as to go to him; and partly by his presents and otherways to appeased him, as rejecting his accusers, he confirmed to him the Priesthood, and upon promise of three hundred Talents granted him immunity from tribute, with the Principality of three other places. After this, seeing his Realm to be quiet on every side, *Demetrius* disbanded all his old Soldiers, retaining only some *Cretians* and other *Islanders*, which so enraged them, being wont by the former Kings to be kept in pay, as an encouragement to them for the future service, that they thenceforth became his Enemies, and shewed it upon occasion which he also himself presented them being wholly ruled by one *Lathenes*, who had helped him in the recovery of the Kingdom. By this man's advice, thinking himself secure enough of his estate, he cruelly raged against such as had been against him, and plunged himself into bad courses; which (together with the alienation of the minds of the Soldiers) one *Diodorus* an *Apamean*, and one of *Alexander Balas* his Captains, considering, went to *Elmalchus* the *Arabian*, with whom *Antiochus* the youngson of that *Alexander* by *Cleopatra* was brought up, and acquainting him how things stood, at length obtained to have the boy delivered to him, to be reformed to his Fathers Kingdom. *Demetrius* seeing his Soldiers alienated from him, desired of *Jonathan* a supply, with great promises of respect and favour. He sent him three thousand men, which found him in good stead, for he going about to disarm the *Antiochians*, they flatly refused it, and rising, came many thousands to Court to make an end of him, but these *Jews* repelled them, as slaying a great number they set the City on fire, whereupon the *Inhabitants* were glad to submit.

70. *Diodorus*, or *Tryphon*, took *Antiochus* the younger son of *Balas*, brought him out of *Arachia* into *Syria*, and there crowned him, giving him the surname of *These*. Hereupon all the disbanded Soldiers came over to him, so that *Tryphon* made open War against *Demetrius*, and overthrowing him in battle forced him to flee to *Selucia*. Then sent *Antiochus* to *Jonathan* messengers with presents, and great promises, to draw him to his party, which he easily did, because *Demetrius* had falsified his word, and proved very ingrateful towards him, who now therefore gathering his mentogether, reduced the Country beyond *Jordan* as far as *Damascus*, and overthrow a party which theret met him, killing to the number of three thousand men, after which he sent an Ambassage to the *Romans*, to renew the alliance made with them by *Judas*. *Tryphon* having brought his design thus far on, as to break the power of *Demetrius*, and having to that end desired the friendship of *Jonathan*, yet now desired his ruin above all things, as standing in his way for the accomplishment of his intended treason. He resolved to seize upon the Kingdom himself; but fearing *Jonathan* might stand fast to the interest of his young King, and oppose him, came down to *Bethsan* to see if he could apprehend him. Thither came *Jonathan* down with forty thousand men to meet him, who entertained him with exceeding great respect, and advised him to dismiss all his Army, and with a few go along with him to *Ptolemais*, which he promised to put into his hands. He consenting to this, sent all his men back but one thousand, which taking along with him, upon their entrance into the Town they were all cut off, he himself being kept prisoner. Then *Tryphon* invaded *Judea* with a great Army, which to oppose, *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* was chosen General in his stead by the People; so that he seeing the *Jews* prepared for resistance, feigned as if *Jonathan* was onely detained for one hundred Talents of Silver which he was in arrear, which if they were sent, together with his two sons for Hostages, he promised he should be released. *Simon*, though he distrusted him, yet left it should be said that he neglected any thing for his brothers safety, sent his Nephews with the money, which having received, he nevertheless slew *Jonathan*, and then returned into *Syria*.

17 He

The Son of
Balas set up
against
Demetrius by
Diodorus or
Tryphon.

Tryphon intended
to set up
for himself.

Circumvented
and killed
Jonathan.

A. M. 3600.
Ol. 158. an. 4.
P. C. 609.
Seleucid. 109.
Ptol. Physicist.
2.
1. Maccab. 11.
Joseph. l. 12.
c. 29.

Apian usque
ad.

1. Maccab. 12.
c. 13.

Then killed
Antiochus his
new made
King
Seleuch
wins in
vinda.

The Jews
chase Simon
for their
Prince.

Demetrius taken
by the
Partians.

His brother
Antiochus
knew for the
Kingdom.

And dispossessed
Teb Tryphon.

71. He presently after made away young *Antiochus*, forgiving out he was troubled with the Stone, under pretence of cutting him for it, he caused the Physicians to kill him. Then after he had gotten the Kingdom, he laboured to confirm himself therein by the approbation of his most powerful Neighbour's, sending to *Rome* an Ambassador not empty-handed, but the Senate taking the present (a Golden Image of victory of great value) in stead of his name, aggravated that of his young King whom he had murdered. For all this he proceeded with great resolution, and coyed money with his own Effigies and name, having taken that of *Tryphon* upon him. *Simon* being disfigured, and accounting his acts to be but Robberies, sent a Crown of Gold to make his peace again with *Demetrius*, who considering the respect the *Romans* had shewed his Nation, promised to bury all things in Oblivion, and confirmed the immunities formerly granted; so that the Yoke of the Gentiles being removed, the people began to date their instruments according to the years of their High-Priests. The year after he had the Castle of *Hierusalem* surrendered to him, the Defendants being almost all consumed with famine, which cleansing and fortifying anew, together with the Hill of the Temple, he dwelt then in *Hierusalem*, and after he had been High-Priest about three years, by a publick instrument of the Priests, Nobles, and the People (after a recapitulation of his merits and services to his Nation, amongst which an Ambassage lately sent to *Rome*, and there well received, was a great inducement) he was made their Prince and High-Priest perpetually; till God should raise up the true Prophet, and all Ornaments and Prerogatives of Majesty were given to him. This being made in Brass, was fastened to the Wall that compassed the Sanctuary, in an open place, and a Copy thereof was laid up in the Treasury, that *Simon* and his sons might have it.

72. But the Cities all over revolting from *Demetrius*, who, we said, was driven to *Selucia*, that he might shake off suspicion of laziness, he resolved to make War upon the *Partians*, who had extended his Empire from the River *Indus* as far as *Euphrates*, and done no less things than the Great *Arsaces* himself. The *Macedonians* and *Greeks* not well bearing the Pride of their new Masters, the *Partians* sent to him often, with promise to revolt to him if he would but come up. He being tickled at this Message, made haste thither, not fearing but if he once were Master of these Provinces, with ease to drive *Tryphon* out of *Syria*; and being received with great alacrity, and strengthened with the Auxiliaries of the *Persians*, *Babryans*, and *Elymeans*, he overthrew the *Partians* in several battles, but at length being circumvented by the cunning of one of their Princes (sent under colour of treating of peace, to entrap him) having lost his Army, he fell into their hands, and then being carried for a laughing stock up and down the revolted Countreys, was cast into Prison. *Arsaces* having to soon recovered all, raged not against the Revolters, but carried it towards his people with humility and respect, and not long after sending *Demetrius* into *Hyrcania*, there maintained him with royal equipage, and not only so, but gave him his daughter in marriage, with promise also to restore him to his Kingdom. But whilst *Demetrius* lived thus in exile *Tryphon's* Soldiers being weary of his conditions revolted to *Cleopatra* his Wife, who then lived in *Selucia* with her Children, and now taking it in great disdain that he had married *Rhodoguna* the *Partians* daughter, sent to his brother *Antiochus* (the second Son of *Demetrius* Sater, whose surname he also obtained from the *Jews*) offering him marriage, and the Kingdom. He willingly accepting of the offer, took the name of King upon him, sent into *Judea* to *Simon*, offering him great privileges to joyn with him in Alliance, and returning into *Syria* presently married *Cleopatra*.

73. All the Army except a few revolted to *Antiochus* surnamed *Sidetes*, and *Hurter*, so that *Tryphon* seeing himself thus forsaken fled to *Dora*, a Maritime Town of *Phoenicia*, whither he was strait pursued and blocked up both by Sea and Land: yet got he out on shipboard, and betook himself to *Orthosia*, another Sea-Town of the same Traç, and afterwards to *Apamea* to his own Countrey-men, where some way or other (for 'tis uncertain how) he was slain. Whilst *Antiochus* lay before *Dora*, *Simon* by virtue of their Alliance sent him out of *Judea* a party of two thousand choice men, with silver and gold, and much furniture for the War; yet he would not receive them, but brake the League, and sending *Abenobius* to him, complained of his holding *Joppe*, *Gadara*, and the Castle at *Hierusalem*; his walling the borders, and having the Government of diverse places of his Kingdom, requiring him either to deliver up the Cities with the Tributes of such places as were without

L 111

the

1. Maccab. 13.
2. Maccab. 14.
L. 111. 55.

A. M. 3659.
Ol. 159. an. 3.
P. C. 612.
Seleucid. 111.
Ptol. Physicist.
2.
Simon 2.

1. Maccab. 14.

Joseph. lib. 9.
1. Maccab. 14.
c. 15.
Excerpt. Dio-
dori Siculi.

Joseph. lib. 13.
c. 12.

1. Maccab. 15.

A. M. 3716.
Ol. 160. an. 3.
P. C. 616.
Seleucid. 115.
Ptol. Physicist.
2.
Simon 6.

the borders of *Judea*, or else to pay five hundred Talents for the Cities, and the harm he had done, and for the Tributes of the places other five hundred, upon pain of being prosecuted with War. To these things *Simon* answered, that he held no Towns belonging to any other, but had recovered his own by right of War; but as for *Joppe* and *Gazara* which had done great harm to his people, he offered to pay him one hundred Talents, at which the King was so displeased, that following at that time *Tryphon* to *Orthofas*, he left *Cendebeus* to oversee the Sea-Coasts, with order to build up *Cedron*, whence he might make war upon the *Jews*. He coming to *Iamnia* made inroads upon *Judea*, and built up that Town according to order, which *John* the Son of *Simon* then lying at *Gazara* understanding, gave notice thereof to his Father, who now being decrepit, committed the War to him and his Brother *Judas*. He taking with him twenty thousand Foot, and a party of Horse, marched straight down against *Cendebeus*, and then placing his Horse in the midst of the Foot, that it might protect and be protected against the Cavalry of the Enemy, which was exceeding strong, he overthrew him, and putting the whole Army to the rout, some betook themselves into the Fort newly built, and others flying away, he pursued them as far as the Towers of *Azotus*, which having set on fire, and slain two thousand men, he retreated safe into *Judea*.

74. This success of *John* sufficiently moved *Antiochus* to punish *Simon*, but it was done to his hand by one who of all others might least have done it. There was one *Polonius* the Son of *Abubus*, Son-in-law to *Simon*, and by him set over the Province of *Jericho*. He entertaining his Father-in-law as he went his Circuit about the Country, to take care for the Government thereof, slew him treacherously after a feast, together with his two sons *Mattathias* and *Judas*, when he had governed the people eight years. His design was; being rich, to obtain the Principality of that Country where he lived, and therefore he presently certified *Antiochus* of his feat, desiring an Army of him, wherewith he might subdue the Cities of *Judea*. He also sent certain Cut-throats to murder *John*, *Simon*'s sons; wrote to the Colonels of the Army to draw them over to him, and sent others to seize upon *Hierusalem* and the Temple; but *John* having timely notice of his Treachery, prevented his death by that of the Messengers, and was made High-Priest in the room of his father; and here the Author of the first books of *Maccabees* concludes his work, having therein delivered the History of forty years. *Antiochus* taking the opportunity of *Simons* death, came into *Judea*, which waiting round about, he drove up *John* (surnamed *Hircanus*) into *Hierusalem*, to which he laid close siege, his Army being divided into seven parts. The besieged, being exceedingly helped by the strength of the Walls, stood out manfully, so that he raised an hundred Turrets, from which he endeavoured to scale the Walls, and compassed in the Town with a double Trench, that none might escape, but they still defending themselves, sometimes sallied out, and did him harm. *Hircanus* seeing a great and useless multitude in the City, which consumed the Victuals, put the more infirm out of the Walls, whence being hindered from going any further by the siege, they wandered about the Walls almost famished, till at the feast of *Tabernacles*, out of pity, they were again admitted.

75. At this feast of *Tabernacles*, *Hircanus* sent out to *Antiochus* to desire a Truce for seven days, because of the celebration thereof. He not only granted this, but sent in also Bulls with gilded horns, Golden, and Silver Cups, with all sorts of Spices, and beasts for Sacrifice, and made a feast to the Army, by which the other taking notice of his great humanity (whence he was surnamed *Pius*, as also, uncertain for what other reason, *Sidetes*) withall, considering that the *Sabbatical* year being now at an end, and the people being hindered from sowing, a famine was likely to ensue, he sent out to him, desiring that the *Jews* might be suffered to live according to their own Laws. Many about the King advised him utterly to destroy the City, to blot out the very name of the *Jews* from under Heaven, at least to dissolve their Laws, and change their course of life, to diversify from, and disagreeable to other Nations; but he being moved by a principle of magnanimity and bounty, rejected this counsel, and approving of the piety of the *Jews*, commanded them to deliver up their Arms, pull down their Walls, pay Tribute for *Joppe* and other Towns without *Judea*, and receive a Garrison, upon which conditions he offered them peace. They yielded to all but the last, because they would not converse with the Gentiles, yet in Lieu of it chose to give Hostages (amongst others *Hircanus* his own brother) and pay five hundred Talents, whereof three hundred at present; whereupon the siege was removed, and they were freed from any further incumbrance. *Hircanus*

canus opening the Sepulcher of *David*, who had been the richest of Kings; took out thence three thousand Talents, wherewith filling his Coffers, he first lifted strangers in his Militia, and entertained *Antiochus* and his Army in *Hierusalem* very plentifully.

76. *Antiochus Sidetes* in the eighth year of his reign, three years after his departure from *Hierusalem*, undertook an expedition against *Phraates* the *Parthian*, to fetch back his brother *Demetrius* still kept there in free custody, who had twice attempted an escape, but being retaken still was sent back to his Wife and Children, not to much out of any pity or respect of alliance, as because that King having an itching desire of getting *Syria* also into his power, preserved him to use against his brother, as time and opportunity should serve. *Antiochus* with a great (but extraordinarily effeminate) Army marched into *Media*, where many Eastern Princes met him, with all their hearts giving up themselves and Countreys to him, and cursing the pride of the *Parthians*, whereby he got such strength, as overthrowing the Enemy in three several battels, he reduced him within the bounds of his own Country. But what he thus suddenly got, he almost as quickly lost again; for upon the approach of Winter, quartering his Soldiers abroad in the Country, the people were so oppressed, what by the exaction of provisions, and their insolence, that they again revolted to the *Parthian*, and upon agreement, at one and the same time, set upon them as they were severally disposed of in their quarters. *Antiochus* hearing this, with that party which lay with him came in to relieve the next to him, and there met with *Phraates* himself, against whom he fought most courageously; till being forsaken of his men he was slain, or else killed himself. *Phraates* had a little before this, to divert him from *Parthia*, sent back his brother *Demetrius* with a Guard of *Parthians* to seize upon *Syria*; but now repenting him of that, sent some to pursue him, and bring him back; but he fearing such a thing, had by his speed prevented it. *Phraates* hiding a daughter of his, which her Uncle *Antiochus* had taken along with him in his expedition, fell so in love with her, that he married her out of hand.

77. *Demetrius* then recovered all the Kingdom of *Syria*, though not long likely to hold it, by reason of that malice he contracted both from Soldiers and People. *Hircanus* the High-Priest and chief Magistrate of the *Jews* taking this occasion, leads down an Army to the Cities of *Syria*, supposing indeed as it was, that he should find them unmanned, took *Medaba* in the sixth month, then *Samega* and *Sicima* the Metropolis of the *Samaritans*, and so to no King after *Antiochus Sidetes* were the *Jews* subject, but shook off the Yoke of the *Syrian* Kingdom. The *Parthian* King intended to make war upon him, but was hindered by the *Scythians*, whom having sent for to aid him against *Antiochus*, because they came something too late, he denied them their pay, for which they harried his borders, and he opposing them with the *Greeks*, whom he had taken before in the War, and cruelly used, was betrayed by them, and so slain with the rest of his Army. *Demetrius* being absent in *Aegypt*, the *Antiochians* first, then other Cities revolted, not enduring his pride as they pretended, which he had increased by his durance in *Parthia*, so that he was forced to return; but they sent to *Ptolomy Physcon*, desiring him to send them some one of the posterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them. He sent them a young man an *Egyptian*, the son of one *Protarchus* a Merchant. A fable was invented of his being adopted by *Antiochus Balas*, whereupon his name being *Zabinas*, (or *Zabineus*) he was surnamed *Alexander*, and the *Syrians* being willing to have any rather than *Demetrius*, readily received him. Being come into *Syria*, it happened that the reliques of *Antiochus Sidetes* were sent at the same time into *Syria*, which being received very solemnly by all the Cities, he also counterfeited a true mourner, and got himself thereby much favour from his new Subjects; not discovering his tears to be feigned. Not long after he fought with *Demetrius* near to *Damascus*, and overthrew him, who then fled to *Cleopatra* his Wife to *Ptolemais*; but being excluded by her and his sons, with a few servants he went to *Tyre*, hoping to save himself there by the Religion of the Temple, and was slain by the procurement of his Wife, or *Zabinas*, in the one hundred eighty ninth year of the *Seleucide*, A. M. three thousand eight hundred eighty one, the first of the one hundred sixty four *Olympiads*.

78. *Alexander Zabinas* then, a counterfeiter, succeeded *Demetrius*, by the favour of the People, though he left two Sons by *Cleopatra*, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus* surnamed *Grypus* from his hooked nose. The former of these taking a Diadem upon him, at the years end his mother slew him with a dart by her own hands; because

Antiochus Sidetes slain by the *Parthians*.

Polonius slain by *Antiochus*.

Demetrius having recovered the Kingdom, is cured of it by his religious Subjects, and *Zabinas* counterfeits and is slain at *Tyre*.

Cendebeus slain by *Antiochus* against the *Jews*, is decimated by *John* the son of *Simon*.

Simon and his two sons murdered by his son-in-law.

Antiochus besieged *Jerusalem*.

Antiochus Sidetes slain by the *Parthians*.

A. M. 3879. Ol. 163. ann. 1. P. 668. Seleucid. 18. Pto. Physc. 19. Hyrcan. 8.

Julian lib. 11.

Polonius slain by *Antiochus*.

Julian lib. 12.

Idem lib. 39. *Polonius* slain by *Antiochus*.

Antiochus Sidetes slain by his Wife.

he did it without permission, fearing perhaps he might revenge his Fathers death; or being carried out with that height of Spirit wherewith the ordered (and ruined) all things. *Alexander* entered into a League and alliance with *Hyrcanus* of *Judea*. Three of his greatest Captains revolted from him, and seized upon *Laodicea*, but he reduced and yet pardoned them, being of a mild and pleasing deportment, whereby he got the affections of all men. But him he alienated from him whom it most concern'd him still to oblige, viz. *Pholomy*, who of late had set him up. He despised him, now grown insolent, as being able to stand on his own legs, which the other taking in great disdain, that a creature whom he had raised out of the dust should fo requite him, laboured faster to pull him down than ever he had done for his advancement. He reconciled himself to his sister *Cleopatra*, and for that *Antiochus* whom he had by *Demetrius* was yet alive (on whom having bestowed the title of King she ruled all her self) he sent him great aid, and his daughter *Tryphena* for a Wife, which the People seeing, began to revolt apace from *Alexander*. At length they engaged in a battel, in which *Alexander* was overthrown, who then fled to *Antioch*, where wanting money to pay his Soldiers, he took out of the Temple of *Jupiter* an Image of Victory of massie Gold, jesting it out, that *Jupiter* had lent him Victory. But a little after attempting to remove secretly and take away *Jupiters* Image it self of an infinite weight, he was discovered, and forced to run away by the multitude, after which being opprest with a grievous Tempest, and forsaken by his followers, he was taken by thieves, and by them brought to *Antiochus Grypus* was killed (though some give other accounts of his death), after he had reigned four years.

79. The mother was foregrieved at her sons Victory, thinking her dignity was lessened by it, having an ambitious desire of reigning her self, with which she was so far driven as to offer him a cup of poison, as he once came in from exercise, which he having knowledge of beforehand, refused as it were in civility, desired her to do it her self, and then urging her to it, at length producing witnesses of her wicked intent, told her there was no way to clear her self but by drinking that which the had prepared for her son; so that being forced to do it, her wickedness fell upon her own head. Being thus rid of his unnatural mother, he reigned securely eight years, but then *Antiochus* his half brother, the son of *Antiochus Sidetes* (begot on his mother, and from *Cyzicus* the place where we was brought up under *Craterus* the Eunuch, called *Cyzicus*) began to be his emulator for the Kingdom, whom he then going about to poison, provoked him to a more speedy attempt of what he had but before designd. At this time it hapned that *Cleopatra* the sister and Wife of *Pholomy Laburnus*, being divorced from him by the means of that notable woman her mother, came into *Syria*, and married with this *Cyzicus*, and for that she would not seem utterly to come without a dowry, brought over to him the Army of *Cyprus*, whereby thinking himself sufficiently strengthened against his brother, he joynd battel with him, but was forced to retire unto *Antioch*. *Cleopatra* continuing here was besieged by *Grypus* and taken; and then *Tryphena* his Wife and her Sister required her to be delivered into her hands, that she might put her to death as her enemy and emulator, and though he refused it utterly, as being against the custom of Warriours to rage against the weaker Sex, especially when allied in blood to near as she was; and protected by the Religion of the Temple to which the fled; yet she being more heretofore enflamed, as judging his answer to proceed from lover than pity, sent some Soldiers in, who murdered her embracing the Image of the Goddess. This was not left long unrevenge, for *Cyzicus* renewing the War, and giving battel again to his brother, now by the turning of the chance of War overthrew him, and taking *Tryphena*, with her blood appeased the ghost of his Wife, and expelling *Grypus* out of *Syria* seized on the Kingdom.

80. *Antiochus Grypus* fled to *Aspendum*, whence he got the surname of *Aspendus*; but the next year returning, ordered the matter so with his brother, that the Kingdom being divided, he made him be contented with *Celestia*. Both of them after this time gave up themselves to nothing but idleness and luxury, only preying upon each other as their opportunities served them, which difference of theirs mightily conduced to the settlement of the affairs of the Jews, *Cyzicus* procuring from *Pholomy Laburnus* six thousand men, went to relieve *Samaria*, which *Hyrcanus* besieged, by wasting his Territories, but to no purpose. Afterwards it hapned that *Lathurus* being expelled *Aegypt* by his Mother, and the fearing that by the help of *Cyzicus* he might recover his Kingdom, sent great supplies to *Grypus*, with *Selene* for a Wife (whom he had taken from her son before his expulsion) to provoke him thereby

Excerpt. Diod. lib. 32.
Julia lib. 42.

Idem lib. 42.
Apian usq. 17.

Is emulated by Antiochus Grypus his half brother and cousin German.

And expelled out of Syria.

The two brothers reign together.

thereby against his brother, whence succeeded those civil Wars betwixt them, concerning which we have only the title left unto us in the *Epitoms* of the sixty eight Books of *Livie*, who related the story. *Grypus* died first, being slain by the treachery of one *Heracleus*; after he had lived forty five years, and reigned twenty six, whereof fifteen were in conjunction with his Brother. He left five sons, whereof *Seleneus* his eldest and successor made War upon his Uncle *Cyzicus* for the Kingdom, and overthrew him in battel, after which the Horse of *Cyzicus* ran away with him into his Camp, wherein, when he was about to be taken, he killed himself, after he had reigned eighteen years. *Seleneus* after this, obtained *Antioch*, and the Kingdom, but against him arose *Antiochus* surnamed *Eusebes*, or *Pius*, the son of *Cyzicus*, who having avoided his snares by the help of a certain Courtizan that extremely loved him, went to *Aradus*, where taking a Diadem, he gathered forces, and in one battel clearly overthrew him. *Seleneus* then fled into *Cilicia*, where being received by the *Mopsuestians* (as they are called) when he began to exact money of them, they set fire to the house wherein he lay, and he was burned quick with those about him.

81. Two twin brothers of *Seleneus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, carried down forces to *Mopsuestia*, which having taken, in revenge for their brothers death, they levelled it with the ground; but *Antiochus Pius* coming presently upon them overthrew them in fight. *Antiochus* taking the River *Orontes* in his flight was drowned. *Philip* escaping carried the title of King, and gathering again considerable forces, struggled hard with *Antiochus* for the whole Realm, till such time as *Pholomy Laburnus* calling from *Cnidus* his fourth brother *Demetrius*, made him King at *Damascus*, so that they joyning their forces together, they both opposed *Antiochus*, who though he manfully resisted, was put to the worst, and glad at last to flee into *Parthia*; whence yet returning after two years he re-obtained *Syria*. *Philip* being thus deprived of that Kingdom, fell into contest with his other two brothers, *Demetrius Eucerus* and *Antiochus* surnamed *Dionysus* for the Kingdom of *Damascus*, and being driven into *Berea*, was there besieged by *Demetrius*. *Straton* the Governour of *Berea* being *Philip's* friend calls in *Zeus* the Arabian Captain, and *Mithridates Sinax*, who coming with a great power overthrew *Demetrius*; raised his siege, and taking him prisoner sent him into *Parthia*, where he was honourably treated till his death, and *Philip* marching to *Antioch* again, as it's said, obtained the Kingdom of *Syria*, or (as is most probable) part of it. *Antiochus Dionysus* the younger brother getting *Damascus* into his hands, made War against the *Arabians*, and was slain in a battel with their King *Aretas*, who then was chosen King by the inhabitants of *Damascus*, and thereby obtained the Kingdom of *Celestia*. The Histories which only give us hints of these things are so confounded, as no certain thing concerning the ends of *Antiochus Pius* or *Philip* can be asserted; yet this we find, that the *Syrians* taking occasion at these dissensions and Wars of the *Seleucide* amongst themselves, began to think of foreign aides, and cast their minds upon foreign Kings. At length they all agreed to make choice of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who being called in, held *Syria* for the space of eighteen years, and by his dealing with them, made them know they had had no reason to rebel against their natural and rightful Princes.

82. *Antiochus Pius* being outed thus by *Tigranes* of all *Syria*, from *Emphrat* to the Sea, and also of part of *Cilicia*, lay hid in another corner of it, which neither the *Armenians* nor *Roman* as yet touched; and his Wife *Selene* with her two sons reigned (as it's termed) in *Phoenicia*, with some part of the lower *Syria*, till being besieged in *Selucia* a City of *Mesopotamia*, or *Prolomaria*, the was therein taken by *Tigranes* and killed, for that the endeavoured to recover *Syria*, as justly the might, out of his hands. For fourteen years *Tigranes* governed the Country by one *Magadates*, till such time as siding with his Father-in-Law *Mithridates* the Great of *Pontus*, against the *Romans*, and overthrown by them, he was forced to recall him with his Army. *Antiochus* the son of *Antiochus Pius*, surnamed *Asiatius*, taking this opportunity, insinuated himself into the Principality, the *Syrians* being not unwilling, out of respect to the dignity of his family; and *Lucullus* the *Roman* General (whose work it was to drive *Tigranes* out of his new acquired possessions) envying him not the inheritance of his Ancestors. Four years he kept it, till such time as *Pompey* the Great having finished the War against *Tigranes*, reduced *Syria* into the form of a *Roman* Province, though he challenged it as his inheritance; But it being easie to deal with him as he listed, who was utterly unarmed, he put it off, by affirming it to be unreasonable, that after the *Romans* had been at

Great strength thought their son.

Tigranes got Syria.

Antiochus Asiatius recovered it.

Josephus lib. 21.

Josephus lib. 21.

Idem lib. 21.

Josephus lib. 21.

Apian in Syria.

Josephus lib. 21.

Apian in Syria.

Apian in Syria.

Apian in Syria.

It uniformly
spoiled of it
by Pompey.

all the cost and pains to conquer *Tigrane*, the reward should fall unto another, and with saying that he would not leave it to him, left he being unable to protect it, it should be rendered obnoxious to the depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*. Thus *Antiochus* having never ill deserved of the *Romans*, was commanded to contain himself within *Comagena*, whence his posterity never stirred, and the Kingdom of *Syria* fell. A. M. three thousand nine hundred forty two, the second of the one hundred seventy ninth *Olympiad*, sixty one years before the *Æra* of *Christ*, in the two hundred and fifth of the *Selenicæ*, the two hundred and seventyeth after the battel at *Issus*, after which it came under the power of *Alexander the Great*, *M. Tullius Cicero*, and *C. Antonius Nepos* being *Consuls*.

A. M. 3542.
O. 1790. A. D.
P. C. 691.
Edificed. 2500.

CHAP. VI.

The Egyptian Kingdom.

From the death of Ptolomy the son of Lægus, to the death of Cleopatra, and the reducing of Ægypt into the form of a Roman Province :

Containing the space of two hundred fifty four years.

Ptolomy Philadelphus.

Ptolomy the son of *Lægus* had several sons by *Eurydice* his Wife, the daughter of *Antipater*, and by *Berenice*, which Woman was sent down by *Antipater*, onely to accompany her, with whom yet he fell so in Love, as marrying her he passionately affected her always, and a year or two before his death made one of her sons, called afterwards *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, his Copartner in the Kingdom, and more than that, served him sometimes as one of his attendants, saying it was more excellent than a Kingdom to be the son of a King. His eldest son by *Eurydice* seeing this, thought it was no staying for him in *Ægypt*, but fled to *Seleucus*, by whom being honourably entertained, with some hopes of being settled in *Ægypt* after his fathers death, he so badly requited him, as he treacherously slew him, as we before shewed. *Philadelphus*, after his fathers death made away two of his brothers, the one as conspiring against his life, and the other as suspected to raise a Rebellion in *Cyprus*. In power and riches he surpassed his Father. Being learned himself above the common rate of Princes, he sought to promote knowledge, by rewarding the most eminent and industrious (of which flourished many in his time) and founding that his famous Library at *Alexandria*, consisting of two hundred thousand Volumes. *Demetrius Phalerens* that noble Philosopher, and sometime Prince of *Athens*, being he that was employed in the Collection, persuaded him to send to *Elexar* the High-Priest of the (2) *Jews* to desire their Law, and that he might be the easier induced to send it, by the Council of *Aristæas* (who wrote the story) he purchased the liberty of all such *Jews* as were slaves in *Ægypt*, to the number of about one hundred thousand which cost him more then four hundred and sixty Talents. He also sent extraordinary rich gifts to the Temple; and the High-Priest chusing out seventy two men most eminent for birth, learning and experience, dispatched them into *Ægypt* with the Law to be translated by them into *Greek*. Being nobly entertained, and feasted by him for several days, they were set to their work in the Island *Pharos* right over against *Alexandria*, which in seventy two days with admirable agreement they are said to have finished, after which the King having exceedingly admired the wisdom of the Law-giver, and commanded the book carefully to be kept, dismissed them with great rewardsto themselves, and presents to him that sent them.

2. Here mentioning this Library of *Ptolomy*, and *Alexandria* where it was built, we cannot but now take further notice of this City, which by this time was grown to some perfection, though not near to that eminency at which it afterward arrived.

Ptolomy is also
called
Ægyptus lib. 15.

(2) Vide circa
in Judæam
Josephus contra
Apionem
lib. 2.
Ecclesiæ in Apo-
calypsis
lib. 12. cap.
16. 70
inter.

The Transla-
tion of the
Septuagint.

Alexandria in
three and con-
dition.

wards arrived. Concerning it's Original we have already spoken, but with such brevity as fitted the celerity of *Alexander's* Conquest and pallage. *Ammianus Marcellinus* it is who tells us, that being the chief of all Cities of that Country; it was ennobled by many things, particularly by the Magnificence of the greatest Founder, and the eminent skill of *Dinocrates* the Architect, who for want of Chalk when he went about to delineate the Tract of the Walls, made use of Meale; and this in the opinion of men predicted the plenty of all things necessary for humane sustenance. He adds, that here the Air was wholesome, quiet and milde; and that as experience for many ages together did demonstrate; scarcely any day passed wherein the inhabitants did not fee the Sun clear and Splendid. That the Sea-Coasts on which it stood, might not as formerly, by fallacious and treacherous Accesses, as he phraseth it, afflict Navigators with many miscarriages, *Cleopatra* invented in the Haven an high Tower, called *Pharos* from the place it self; whence lights by night should be exposed for direction to Saylor; whereas in former times such as held their Voyages from the *Parthenian* or *Lybian* Seas, having no tokens nor Markes from any Mountains, by reason of the Champian Country, wear too often choaked up, and miscarried in the Sands.

The Pharos
when built.

3. So Writes *Ammianus* who yet is not so to be credited, if he meant it, as if *Cleopatra* (the last Queen and Prince of this Race of *Ptolomies*) was the first Inventor or builder of the *Pharos*; for it was built long before her time, in the Reign of this our *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, by *Softratus* the *Cnidian*. But the Tower being demolished by *Julius Cæsar*, in the *Alexandrian* War, as he himself and *Strabo* relates; it was afterward reedified by *Cleopatra*. And so he repaired another work, which though *Ammianus* attributes to her invention, yet *Cæsar* ascribes to the former Kings; and this was that called the *Heptastadium*. The Island *Pharos* lay off at the distance of a mile from *Alexandria*, and thereby made a convenient Haven and refuge for Ships. But this did not satisfy, they thought it convenient to joyn the Island and the Continent whereon the City stood together; and for that purpose made a Mole of seven Stadia or Furlongs in length, which by the intervention of a Bridge accomplished their designe, and made thereby two Havens; one called the *Great*, and the other the Haven of *Eusebius*. This it seems *Cleopatra* repaired, when by age and walking of the Sea it was decayed, and upon this occasion if *Ammianus* was rightly informed. The Island *Pharos* where *Homer* Fabled, *Phœbus* with his Flocks of Sea Calves to lodge was obnoxious and tributary to the *Rhodian*s. Their Officers demanding excessive Tolls; this crafty Woman invited them to a solemn Feast, and entertained them so long till in seven dayes the caused a Mole to be made of so many Furlongs; and then passing upon it in her Chariot affirmed the *Rhodian*s were mistaken in asking of Tolls to be paid for Islands; for there were no such things to be found in those Quarters. Others write that this Queen when she saw she should have a War with *Augustus*, caused a Mole to be made betwixt *Pharos* and *Alexandria*, and so joyned the Island to the Continent by the skill and industry of *Deziphanes* a Mechanical Mathematician.

The Serapeum.

4. But *Ammianus* proceeding in the description of this City, mentions the Iof Temples therein to be seen, amongst which was eminent that called *Serapeum*, or of *Serapis*, which though it might be lessend with the flenderness of Expressions, yet was so illustrated by its *Æria*, adorned with most large Pillars and a multitude of other works; that after the Capitol, wherein venerable *Rome* for ever prided her self, the whole world saw nothing more lately. It were ineffable Libraries: and the faith of ancient Monuments unanimously speaks that seven hundred thousand Volumes having been carefully got together by the Industry of the *Ptolomies*, were burnt when the City was plundered under *Cæsar* the Dictator. As for the Libraries, *Epiphanius* writes of two which were publick at *Alexandria*, the first was this of *Philadelphus* in that part of the City called *Bruchium*, and the second made long after in the *Serapeum*, and called the filter of the former. This of *Philadelphus* contained an hundred thousand Books, as *Eusebius* writes in his *Chronicon*; and afterwards by the following Kings, it was enlarged, who in this matter of Collecting Books, contended with those of *Pergamus*; so that the number of Volumes rose to that of seven hundred thousand, as several Authors relate. *Livie* and *Orogus* wrote that four hundred thousand Books were burnt in the *Alexandrian* War; neither is it probable that all miscarried. But besides these, some speak of another Library, and that a publick one in the Castle

Lib. 22. p. 232.
Edit.
Vindob.

Vide Valerian
in l. precipuè
Strabonem
Geogr. lib. 17.
p. 791. D.
qui dicitur
hanc, Strabo
lib. 17. p. 815.
TPATOS
KNIAIOS
22E STOA
NOTE, EP-
TOIS EITE-
PEN T.
HEP TON
HAGIOZON
MENON.

of *Alexandria*; and others that *Cleopatra* repaired that which so miscarried by Fire.

5. Certain it is from *Strabo's* account he gives us of this City that by reason *viz.* 17. of its situation, it flowed with the abundance of all things, and though near to it *P. 722.* adjoined a Lake, yet, which was chiefest, it enjoyed an Aër very healthful. It was washed with two Seas, the *Egyptian* from the North, and that from the South called the Lake of *Marcia* or *Mareotis*. The Lake was filled by the River *Nile* both from the upper Countries by Ditches and from other parts, through which many more things were imported than by Sea, whereby it came to pass that the Haven of the Lake was more rich and frequented. And any one might easily perceive that this way more Merchandize was exported from *Alexandria*, than was imported from *Italy*, if he had been both at *Alexandria* and *Putoli*, and had taken notice of the ships of burthen which had egress and regress from and into both ports. Besides the wealth which flowed into it from both Havens, The clemency of the Air he thinks worthy to be mentioned, which thence happened because the place was on both sides watered, and the *Nile* conveniently had its Increases. For other Cities (in another place he excepts *Ravenna*) placed upon Lakes, in Summer heats have a thick heavy and Choking Air, and by reason of vapors excited by the Sun, abundance of mud and filth lies upon the edges, whence noxious steams arise which infect the Air and produce the pestilence. But at *Alexandria*, when Summer begins, the *Nile* being increased fills the Lake, and leaves no mud or filth from which any malignant vapor may exhale. Besides the *Etesian* winds blow from the North, and so great a Sea, that the Inhabitants with much ease pass the Summer.

6. In the days of our Geographer the Figure of the City represented that of a *Chlamys* or Soldiers Coat, the sides of which extending in length were compassed with water being about thirty furlongs in Diameter; The sides stretching forth in breadth were fringed with *Isthm* or Necks of Land of seven or eight furlongs being washed with the Sea and the Lake. It was also divided into streets and passages, that both Horses and Chariots might be driven through them, but two were considerable for their largeness, and cut through each other at equal Angles. It had Temples and publick places most beautiful, and Royal Palaces which took up a fourth or a third part of its Circumference. For every one of the Kings had a mind to be adding to things Consecrated to their Gods, so some thing of his own to the Palaces built by his Predecessors. All of them were near together and joyned to the Haven. Part of the Palaces was the *Museum* which had a walk, an *Exedra*, and a large House wherein was the Refectory of those who being Fellows of the *Museum* applied themselves to the study of good Letters. This College was maintained at the publick charge, and had a Priest for its Governor formerly nominated by the Kings, and in the time of *Strabo* by the Emperor.

The shape of the City.

The Museum or College.

The Sums or place of Sepulture.

7. Another part of the Palaces was called *Soma* (or Body) being a place walled in, wherein were the Sepulchres of the Kings and of *Alexander*. For *Strabo* writes that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* took the body of *Alexander* from *Perdiccas*, as he carried it from *Babylon*, and turned off unto those parts moved by Avarice and the design of getting *Egypt* into his own power. He was killed by the Soldiers being surprized by *Ptolemy* in an Island, where they fell upon and murdered him with their *Sarissæ*. The body of *Alexander*, *Ptolemy* brought to *Alexandria* and there buried it; and there, faith he it still lies though not in the same chest or coffin. For now it is *Glass* whereas he had laid it in Gold; But the Golden *Coffin* was taken away by *Ptolemy* surnamed *Coccus* and *Substitutus* coming thither from *Syria*; though he was presently overthrowen and received no benefit by his booty.

8. In the great Haven near the entrance at the right hand, was the Island and the Tower *Pharos*; at the left lay Rocks and *Lochias* the Promontory wherein there was also a Royal Palace. As one went further to the left were more houses of the Kings joyned to that in *Lochias* having many and various Apartments and Groves. To them joyned an Haven or Creek private and shut up which belonged also to the Kings. Also an Island lay before the artificial Haven, having moreover its Palace and its Creek, and called *Antirrhodus*, because it did, as it were emulate *Rhodes*. Above it was a Theatre, and a place called *Possidium*, because in it was a Temple of *Neptune*; there *Antony* made a further Mole into the great Haven and built a palace he called *Timonium*; and he did it at the last, when being forsaken by his Friends, after the defeat of *Actium* he had retired to *Alexandria*, and bidding

Timonium.

ding farewell to all his Acquaintance, purposed to lead there a solitary life, after the example of *Timon*.

9. Next to them was the *Cæsareum Emporium* or Exchange and the *Apothefes* or *Abseffes*; and then the *Navalia*, or stations for ships; as far as the *Heptastadium*. Beyond the *Heptastadium* lay the Haven of *Ennoftus*, and above it was digged another Port called *Cibotus* or the *Arge* wherein were other *Navalia*. Within it was a Foss or Ditch reaching as far as the Lake of *Mareotis*, and without lay a little part of the City. Then was to be seen *Necropolis*, or the City of dead bodies, and a Suburb wherein were many Gardens, Monuments, and places for Embalming the dead. Within the Ditch stood the *Serapium* and some other old Temples almost ruined, by reason of the building of the Temples at *Nicopolis*; for there wasthe *Amphitheater* and the *Stadium*, and the five years Games were there Celebrated: And such things as were of old instituted became of no repute. In a word, faith he, the City is full of consecrated and sacred things, hath a beautiful *Gymnasium* (to which belongs *Porticus* longer than a furlong) a *Forum* or place of Judicature, and Groves. There is also the *Panion* an high work raised with the hand, broad above, and small beneath, like a Top, to which they mount by Stairs and thence they have a fair prospect of the whole City.

Necropolis.

Nicopolis.

10. From *Necropolis* ran one street by the *Gymnasium* as far as the Gate of *Canopus*; then the *Cirque* or *Hippodrome*, and others as far as the Ditch of it. Passing through the *Hippodrome*, one came to *Nicopolis* inhabited as far as the Sea, so as it ought not be esteemed to be less than the City, being thirty Furlongs distant from *Alexandria*. This place *Augustus Cæsar* beautified, because here he overthrowed those that sided with *Antony*, and taking the City in his first attempt, Constrained him to kill himself, and got *Cleopatra* alive into his Power, who shortly after being in Custody secretly made away her self by the biting of an Asp, or as others deliver, by a poisoned ointment.

Famous men.

11. *Ammianus* tells you (that we may finish this short Account of this famous City) that *Alexandria* being increased, not by degrees as others, but growing up at its first beginnings through spacious compasses, and being long and sharply harraided with internal seditions, at last after many years, in the Reign of the Emperor *Aurelian*, Civil Contentis proceeding to deadly blows, lost its walls and with them the greatest of its Regions called *Bruchion* the long abiding place of Excellent men. Here lived *Aristarchus* the Excellent Grammarian; *Herodian* the most Minute inquirer into Arts; *Saccas Ammonius* the Master of *Plotinus*, and many other writers of noble Learning; amongst whom *Chalcidius Didymus* was eminent, memorable for his Attempt of manifold knowledge, who, for the five Books wherein unskilfully he reprehends *Tully*, imitating the *Sillographæ* and Malevolent Authors, is accused in the judgment of Learned ears, as a wheeler or squeaking curr, barking and making a rotten noise about a roaring Lion.

Sili Gracili
centur Maledi
et Saryria
carnian

12. And although he adds, many of the Ancients, besides these I have mentioned, there did flourish; yet at this present time various sorts of Learning are not silent in that City. For, the Masters of Studies there in a measure take their breath, and whatsoever lyes hid, there is discovered by the frame of *Geometry*, neither hath Music amongst them quite decayed, nor harmony been put to silence; the consideration of the motion of the World and Stars grows warme in some men though they be rare; and not a few are learned in Numbers; besides, they are skilled in that Science which telleth Fortunes. Over and above, the Studies of *Medicine*, are daily so increased, that though the practice itself do discover the skill sufficiently, yet it abundantly sufficeth for the Commendation of the Physicians Art, if he say he learnt it at *Alexandria*. In *Bruchion* it was that *Philadelphus* made his Library, and credible it is that Learned men flocked to it, to whom he assigned Salaries and maintenance from the publick. For, this our *Philadelphus* first instituted a College of Learned men called *Museum* or the Temple of the Muses, to whom he also instituted Games solemn and called *Musæ*; The *Museum* was part of the Palace, which as we have seen, took up the greatest part of the City, and was most Fortified, so that in *Aurelianus* siege it might very well make full resistance as it did. But this and all together concerning this City. Now to return to our *Ptolemy*.

Artu prodidit.

13. He got the surname of *Philadelphus*, not for any love shewed to his brothers (two of whom he put to death) but to his sister *Arfina*, whom after an incestuous (though *Egyptian*) fashion he married, having Children before by another *Arfina* daughter to *Egyptus*; by his sister he never had any, the dying before he was de-

Pass. is. Ar-
fina

M m m m

livered

should leave a Letter directed to the other, wherein he should accuse *Cleomenes* of an intention to make stirs in *Ægypt*, except he were sent away according to the promise of *Evergetes*. This being laid to his charge by *Sophine*, and soundly aggravated to the King, he was secured in free custody, having a large house, but kept with a Guard, assigned to him; whereupon growing desperate, one day when *Ptolomy* was gone out of Town, he made his Keepers drunk, and with his followers brake out into the streets, and called the people to liberty. But none stirring, being all astonish'd at the greatness of the Enterprize, they made for the Castle, which finding to be strongly defended, he and all with him, after a *Laconian* fashion, as *Polybius* termeth it, killed themselves. Such was the end of this famous man, who being indued with a singular dexterity and promptness of wit, had ingenious suitable to great and weighty matters, and was fitted by gifts of nature as well as experiences, for the Offices either of a great Commander, or a Prince.

18. Though *Cleomenes* his sudden and unexpected attempt made no such impression upon the City, as that any insurrections ensued thereupon; (and indeed the luxury of the Court had infected it and the whole Land with the same distemper) yet the minds of the people being somewhat scoured by the Wars with *Antiochus* from this rust, and elevated upon their success against him, after the battel at *Raphia*, and the recovery of *Celestria*, they began to slight their lawful King, and then arose to such an height, as they clearly revolted, intending to set up against him a Captain of their own making, which shortly after they did, and waged War with him; though in what manner, or with what end, we know not, further than thus, that, as it seemeth, he had the better of it, for he retained his dignity and power. About this time sixty thousand *Jews* are said to have been slain in *Ægypt*, who seeing they amounted to such a number, were by many have ground to think that they took part with the people, and that his cruelty towards them ensued as a revenge hereupon, though others there be that judge the contrary, and deliver it as a thing not to be doubted of. This is certain, that about this time he grievously persecuted those of that Nation which lived at *Alexandria*, abusing them first with libels, and seeking to withdraw them from their Religion. Those that refused to turn, were either put to death, or being deprived of all dignity and liberty, were branded with the image of an Ivy leaf as the badge of *Bacchus*; and because they were suspected to withdraw others from their obedience to the King, all the *Jews* throughout the Land were in forty days space gathered together, to be destroyed by five hundred Elephants, to which was given wine mingled with much frankincense to inrage them. But in the morning when *Ptolomy* should have come out to the fight, a sluggish fit is said to have detained him until dinner, and on the next day such a forgetfulness to have seized on him, as he thought them mad which mentioned the thing to him; and then on the third, when the beasts were ready to be let loose, two terrible Angels appeared; which struck King and People with extraordinary horror, and drove the Elephants upon those who came to bespectators of the cruelty. Hereupon ensued such a change of the Kings mind, as he dismissed the *Jews*, after he had fasted them seven days, and giving them leave to kill the Apostates, acknowledged God to be their protector. At length he dyed (leaving a child of five years old, and begotten of his sister, behind him) after he had Reigned about eighteen years, A.M. three thousand eight hundred and one, in the first of the one hundred forty fourth *Olympiad*.

19. His son a child of five years succeeded him, being declared King by him before his death, in the twentieth year of *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, and was named afterwards *Epiphanes*. The death of *Phylotator* was for a long time kept close, by *Agathocles* and his party, till his mother and sister had rifled the Court, and he had found out such a way as he thought most effectual for the establishment of himself in that power he already enjoyed. Then brought he out the King to the *Macedonians*, and with great expressions of sorrow for the death of his father, tells them the child was by him delivered into the arms of *Agathocles* his sister, inveighs bitterly against one *Tirolemaus* (who being a true Patriot was an eye-sore to him) as if he intended to seize upon the Kingdom, labouring to impose upon the belief of the Soldiers, and secure himself by their strength; but no man gave any credit to whatever he said, so intirely was he hated by all. The remembrance of the former outrages committed by him and his, being more freshly renewed by some other attempts of cruelty whilst things still hung in this condition, so incraged the multitude, that from all the quarters of the City flocking to the Court, they would not be satisfied, till having the young King first delivered to them, they broke open

The Jewes
seceded.

Ptolomy dyeth.

His son Ptol.
my Epiphanes
a child of five
years succeed-
eth him.

A. M. 3789.
Ol. 141. an. 11.
P. C. 538.
Ant. 186. 2.
Ptol. Philop.

Jos. lib. 10.

Polyb. lib. 15.

A. M. 3801.
Ol. 144. an. 1.
P. C. 550.
Ant. 187. 20.

the doors, and getting him, his sister, mother, and other of his creatures into their hands, they put them to death, mangling their bodies afterwards; it being natural to that People to be cruel if once in choler. After this, such as had an hand in the murder of *Eumides* the Queen were knocked in the head by her women. The infamy of the Nation being thus in some measure expiated by the slaughter of these miscreants, *Arifomenes* an *Acarnanian* was made Protector of the King, his Realms and Dominions, who though for his own interest he beforetime temporized with *Agathocles*, yet now managed the affairs of his Prince with much honesty and wisdom. And indeed such there was need he should be at this time, when the King, being obnoxious by reason of his years to injury and wrong, was struck at by two the greatest Princes then living, viz. *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, who pretending fair things to his Father, and nothing towards him but kindness, now sought to devour him, and make a prey of his Kingdoms: *Philip* by laying hold upon *Ægypt* and *Caria*; and *Antiochus* on *Celestria* and *Phœnicia*. The only remedy was to send to *Rome* to complain, and desire aid; and an Amba-

Antiochus and
Philip type of
the Ægypt.

Jos. lib. 9.

20. The Ambassage was no whit displeasing to the *Romans*, who fought an occasion against *Philip*, for his entering into alliance with *Hannibal*, and were seldom backward to meddle in the affairs of other Nations, especially now fearing none of them after the overthrow of the *Carthaginians*. Ambassadors were sent then to the Kings, to require them to abstain from *Ægypt*, and *M. Lepidus* thither to be Governor and Protector of the young King, whose Father, at his death, left him to the tuition of the People of *Rome*; over and above that it was now desired of his friends. But ere the Ambassadors could reach to him, *Antiochus* had got *Phœnicia* and other Cities belonging to *Ptolomy* into his power, and then despatching their errand, went on in his conquests. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* a year or two after sent into *Celestria*, with a great Army, reduced many Cities thereof, with *Judea*, to *Ptolomies* obedience, but again quickly lost all, being overthrowen by *Antiochus* at the head of the River *Jordan* near to *Pamte*, whence he fled to *Tyre*, where the King besieged him with ten thousand men; and though *Eropus* and *Mithrocles*, two famous Captains were sent out of *Ægypt* to relieve him, yet was he forced for want of provision to yield the Town, and march thence without his Arms. *Antiochus* then in pursuit of this Victory, besides what he did in *Celestria*, withdrew divers places in *Cilicia* and *Caria* from *Ptolomy*, concerning whom also a rumor being spread that he was dead, he made haste to seize upon *Cyprus*. What Cities he had got in *Asia*, the *Romans* divers times by Ambassadors demanded to be put into their hands, which being refused by him, this, with his ambition, and other things, ministred occasion of a War betwixt them (as is shewed before) and that turned to the commodity of *Ptolomy*. For *Antiochus* being unwilling to have any Enemies at his back, sought to enter into affinity with several Kings, and amongst the rest gave to him in marriage his daughter *Cleopatra*, and with her in Dowry all *Celestria* and *Judea*; having this also in his eye, by means of her to get some footing in *Ægypt*, though he was mistaken. For *Ptolomy* his Officers understanding his cunning well enough, behaved themselves more warily; and *Cleopatra* together with the man married his interest, and acted accordingly.

Antiochus his
Conquests.

Jos. lib. 10.
P. 31.

Jos. lib. 10.
P. 31.
P. 31.
P. 31.

Apian is Sy-
riac.

He marries
his daughter
to Ptolomy.

21. *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, *Ptolomy* his General in *Celestria*, returning to *Alexandria* after his overthrow, fell into discontent, and thence to plot against the King and State. Yet though he had many Souldiers at his command, had he no heart to stir, and though having a sufficient opportunity in the minority of the King, he still delayed to execute his designs, till he was prevented. For *Arifomenes* having discovered what he was about, just when he was plotting with his associates, sent for him to the Court, whither being constrained to come, he was accused by the King first now sitting in Council, then by *Polycrates* the Governor of *Cyprus*, and lastly by *Arifomenes*, who laboured to prove him guilty of what was alleged, for that he was found in consultation with his friends, and refused to come unto the King when sent for; and he confirmed the charge from the testimony of divers eminent *Grecians*, and the Ambassadors of the *Ætolians*, who were then sent about a Peace. His answers were no whit satisfactory; so that being condemned not only by all the Council, but such foreign ministers as were present, and being secured that night, he was together with his complices the next day taken away by poison, being a man so extraordinarily covetous above all others, that having broke down the walls (as *Polybius* terms it) of the Kingdom, he had exhausted it with rapines. With him fell *Dicaarchus* one of his companions, who being tortured to death, the rebv (as the

Scopas the
Ætolian plots
against
the King and
receiveth his
reward.

Polyb. lib. 12.

the Historian tells us) made satisfaction to all Greece, against which he was made Admiral of the Fleet by Philip of Macedonia, when he wickedly set upon the Islands Cyclades; and also to the gods, into whom as well as men he thought to strike a terror, for casting anchor in the Haven, he there erected two Altars, one to *Impiety*, and another to *Iniquity*, on which he sacrificed to them as gods. This conspiracy being thus suppressed, such *Attolians* as would, had leave to depart with all they had, and then the Country betook themselves to prepare for the solemnity, constantly observed when any one was saluted King, termed *Anacleteria*; for though he was as yet something too young, yet they thought that when it was known he was his own Master, and at his own disposal, his Kingdom would be more quiet, and his affairs be more promoted.

22. He carried himself exceedingly well for some time, and with great commendation, but afterwards was undone by flatterers, and so far corrupted, as he poisoned *Aristomenes*, whom he had before constantly observed as a Father, and who had deserved well of him and the Commonwealth. After this he degenerated more and more, whence he contracted such hatred of his Subjects, as he well nigh had lost his Kingdom. Towards his latter end, having some high designs in his head, he sent *Demetrius* an Ambassador to the *Achaens*, to renew friendship and alliance with them, who gladly accepting of his offer, sent back to him *Lycortas* Father to *Polybius* the Historian, *Theodoridas* and *Rhossoteles* to confirm it by oath on their part, and to receive the like assurance from him, which they obtained with a great present of money and arms. Some six years after he sent other Ambassadors to them, now having well nigh fallen out with the *Romans*, offering them ten ships of fifty oars, sufficiently manned and furnished for War, which as of concernment, amounting almost to ten Talents, they accepted of most gladly, and dispatched back to him *Lycortas* again with *Polybius* his son (though he was too young by the Laws for such an employment) and *Aratus* the son of famous *Aratus* the *Sicyonian*, to give him thanks for the former present, and fetch the ships into *Peloponnesus*; but he was dead ere they could get out of their own Country. For plotting now against *Seleucus Philopator*, who had succeeded *Antiochus* his Father in the Kingdom of *Syria*, and preparing an Army against him, when one of his Captains asked him where he would get money sufficient for such an enterprise, he answered, that his friends were riches to him, which being told abroad amongst the People, his Officers fearing he would fleece them to supply himself, took him away by poison, after he had lived twenty seven years, and Reigned twenty four thereof A. M. 3825, and the first of the 150 Olympiad.

Is poisoned.

Ptolomy Philometor

Prepared for Calistia.

But his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes* prevented him by getting all *Egypt* into his hands.

23. He left two sons and one daughter, all very young, of which the eldest son succeeded him, being surnamed *Philometor*, in the eighth year of *Seleucus Philopator* King of *Syria*. After his *Anacleteria*, his mother *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great* being lately dead, through the persuasion of *Eumenes* the Eumach, and *Lenæus* his principal Counsellors, he began to cast his thoughts upon *Celestria*, which being given to his mother as a portion, was unjustly kept from him as he conceived, by his uncle *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who now had succeeded his elder brother in the Kingdom of *Syria*. *Antiochus* hearing of their preparations for the War at *Alexandria*, came down into *Egypt* to prevent them, and overthrew the King several times as hath been said, and got the whole Country, except that City, into his power; after which *Ptolomy* deliberating with *Comanus* and *Cinæus* what was to be done, it was resolved, that a Council of the most expert Captains should be erected, by the advice whereof all things should be managed. The first resolve of this Council was, that such *Græcians* Ambassadors as were present, should be sent to *Antiochus* about an agreement, with whom *Ptolomy* joyned of his own two others. The first day after their arrival, they were entertained very nobly, and on the next had audience, wherein they laid all the blame upon *Eumenes* the Eumach, and urging the youth and kindred of the King to him, laboured to pacify him. He after he had assented to them in these things, and spoken more to the same purpose, laboured with much earnestness to demonstrate, that *Celestria* appertained to the Crown of *Syria*, alleging it to have belonged to *Antigonus* the first founder of that Kingdom, and he produced the conveyances of it to *Seleucus* after the death of the other, from the *Macedonian* Kings. Moreover calling to their remembrance, that *Antiochus* his Father had lately obtained it again by right of conquest, he flatly denied that ever he passed it over as a portion with his daughter, to the late King of *Egypt*, and so having discoursed on this subject to the satisfaction of all his hearers, he then departed to *Naucratis*, where friendly treating the Inhabitants, and giving a lar-

gels

gels to such *Greeks* as dwelt there, he thence departed for *Alexandria*, deferring to give any answer to those that had been sent to him, till such time as *Arifides* and *Theris* were returned, saying, he would have all the publick ministers of *Greece* to be conscious to, and witnesses of, all his intentions.

24. But no satisfactory answer (if any) was given, or any thing done for *Philometor* by *Antiochus*, so that being thus outed of his Kingdom after twelve years reign, and giving up himself for all that to nothing but sluggishness and luxury, the *Alexandrians* took upon them to make his younger brother King, surnaming him *Euergetes*, (though the badness of his manners made them afterwards change it into *Cacergetes*) being also called *Physcon* from his extraordinary fat paunch. *Philometor* was forced at length to betake himself to the *Alexandrians* too, who receiving him, made him partaker with his brother in the Kingdom, but shortly after again expelled him; which thing *Antiochus* made use of, and under pretence of restoring him, continued the War, and overthrowing young *Ptolomy* in a Sea-fight, besieged *Alexandria*; but seeing that to be to no purpose, arose and departed into *Syria*, leaving *Philometor* at *Memphis*, to whom he restored all *Egypt*, except *Pelusiæ*, which he kept as the key of the Country in his own hands, not doubting but when one of the brothers had ruined the other, to come, and with ease enough devour the Conqueror. But though his two Nephews were otherwise forth enough, yet in this they shewed prudence, to disappoint him, for the elder seriously considering how little he ought to trust himself to *Cleopatra* his sister, and the seconding him to her brother, both of them by advice and entreaty, procured a peace to be made by consent of both their friends, the Citizens of *Alexandria* giving way the more readily, because of the dearth which troubled them, by reason of the War, as well when they were at liberty as besieged. This drew off the Vizard from *Antiochus*, who, whereas he ought to have rejoiced, if he really intended the restitution of *Philometor*, fretted exceedingly hereat, and nothing would serve him, but needs he must come down again into *Egypt*, and had laid siege to *Alexandria* the second time, had not the *Roman* Ambassadors terrified him from his purpose (as we shewed in its more proper place) and forced him to quit both *Egypt* and *Cyprus*.

The two brothers agree, and are forced to return by their Uncle by the *Romans*.

25. The *Roman* Ambassadors took some pains by their Authority to make them two friends, not being thoroughly reconciled before, and so they continued for six years peaceably together. But then differences betwixt them arose so high, that the Senate at *Rome* wrote to their Ambassadors, sent into *Syria* after the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by all means to reconcile them, of which mediation we yet hear of no fruit at all, for presently the younger expelled his elder brother. *Philometor* being thus spoiled of his Kingdom, with a very few attendants, and in a pitiful habit, came to *Rome* for help, making his Inn the house of an *Alexandrian* Painter; which when the Senate understood, they sent for him, and made as formal an excuse as possible, that they had neither sent a *Questor* to meet him (after the fashion of the receiving persons of his quality) nor entertained him at the publick charge, which hapned not by any neglect on their part, but by reason of his sudden and secret arrival. Then was he conducted from the Court to the publick House of entertainment, and desired, that laying off his unseemly habit, he would move for audience, and a *Questor* was appointed to make him presents every day. At length, according to his desire, *Cameus* and *Quintus* were sent back with him to *Alexandria*, who restored him to the Kingdom, and made the two brothers assent to a division of it, whereby *Philometor* was to hold *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, and *Euergetes* possessed *Cyrene*, the Covenant being most solemnly confirmed. But *Euergetes* not being at all satisfied in his part, halted to *Rome* to reverse the agreement, alleging that he gave not his consent freely but out of necessity of yielding to the times; wherefore he desired of the Senate that *Cyprus* might be also adjudged to him, with the addition of which his part would yet be far inferior to his brothers. *Menechylus* being sent after him by *Philometor*, replied, that he ought not only *Cyrene*, but his life also to his brother, so great hatred had he contracted from their subjects, that with the wonder of all, and beyond his hopes was that Kingdom bestowed on him, and urged the agreement most religiously made and confirmed, with faith given on both sides. But *Ptolomy* denying filially all this, the Senate, for that it seemed to them that the parting of the Kingdom was not yet fully concluded, and especially thinking it to be for their interest that the division should be equal, assented to his request, and ordered *T. Torquatus*, and *Cn. Mernus* to go with him, and put *Cyprus* into his hands. For the *Romans* understanding now fully the strength

Periphr. in Græc. Esq.

Abenue lth. 12. cap. 17.

Polyb. Legat. 83. & 84.

Livius l. 45.

Av. M. 3837. Ol. 153. ann. 11.

P. C. 585.

Ant. Epiph. 9. Phil. Philom. 13.

Idem ibid.

Periphras. in Græc. Esq.

Polybius Legat. 107.

Valerius Max. Lib. 5. cap. 1.

Excerpt. 11.

Polybius Legat. 113.

of Egypt, and considering what it might aspire to if united, wisely made use of this difference, and gratified the two brothers one after the other in their ambitious (but imprudent) desires.

26. Departing out of Italy into Greece, he there hired a strong band of men, intending to lay with them for Cyprus; but the Roman Commissioners calling to mind the Decree of the Senate, which was, that they should reduce him without force, persuaded him again to dismiss them, and pass over to Cyrene, and they in the mean time going to Alexandria, would endeavour to persuade his brother to comply with the Senate, and bringing him along with them meet him in the Confines of both Kingdoms. He accordingly went to Crete, where hiring nine thousand Souldiers, he passed over to Libya, where he expected to hear from Alexandria; but the Romans there treating with his brother about a reconciliation, and the yielding of Cyprus up to him, something he assented to, and put off others, on purpose drawing out the time in length. Forty days with extraordinary entertainment he detained them at Alexandria, during which time news came to Euergetes that the Cyrenians had revolted from him, who understanding well the mind of his brother from his present carriage, and seeing nothing suitable to royalty in Euergetes, he heading all things after a Tyrannical manner, could not bring themselves to submit any longer to his Government. Hearing this, he failed to Catagathus, thence to make for Cyrene, in which place he found the Straights kept against him, but sending some about to come upon the Defendants on their backs, set upon them also himself, and cleared the passage, but coming to Cyrene, and engaging with the Natives, was worsted by them. Whether he recruited himself again, and recovered his Sovereignty here or no, we have nothing from History to speak expressly; but not long after he was in a capacity to attempt Cyprus (being encouraged by the Senators renouncing their friendship with his brother upon his account) where he was also overthrown by his brother, and then besieged, and taken in the City Laphia. Yet did Philometor spare him, what for his innate clemency and brotherly affection, and for fear of the Romans; and not only so, but made a Covenant with him when Conquered, wherein he restored him Cyrene, and for Cyprus certain Cities with a quantity of Corn yearly, and promised him his daughter in marriage, worse than this being not accounted incest in that Country.

27. Not long did they accord, for Euergetes, some two or three years after, being incouraged by his former success, made another journey to Rome, where in the Senate he made another loud complaint against his brother, accusing him of plotting against his life, for a witness of which design he shewed scars upon his body, and aggravating the thing with all his might, endeavoured to move the minds of all the beholders to compassion. Two Ambassadors were present from Philometor to answer to whatsoever he should accuse him of, but all mens ears were so filled with the accusation, that no place would be found for their defence; so that they were instantly commanded to be gone, and five Commissioners were appointed (furnished all with Gallies) to go, and bring him into possession of Cyprus; the Allies also, both in Greece and Asia, being written to, and leave given to as many as would to assist him in the recovery of it. What was done also the recovery of it, through defect of History, we are ignorant, though some grounds we have to think he did not obtain the Island, and no more do we hear of him till his brothers death. In the days of this Philometor, Onias the son of Onias the third, High-Priest of the Jews, seeing the Priesthood to be alienated from his family into that of the Hasmoneans, living in Egypt, and having well deserved of the King in his Wars, that he might eternize his memory, petitioned him for leave to build a Temple in the Province of Jeropolis, after the fashion of that at Jerusalem, signifying that thereby would be better provided for the quiet of his Kingdom, now when the Jews badly agreed amongst themselves through the variety of their places of worship in that Country, and misapplied the Prophecy of Isaiah, concerning the spiritual Priesthood, and reign of Christ, to this his Ambitions and unlawful design. His Petition was granted, and in that Country built he a Temple resembling the true, and lawful one; one hundred eighty furlongs distant from Memphis; only he put therein no Candlestick, but hung up a Lamp in a Golden string, which cast a light about it like to the Sun-beams.

28. In the time of this Philometor, the Jews and Samaritans inhabiting Alexandria fell out about their way of Worship, they contending earnestly that the Temple of Jerusalem, those that at Gerizim was founded most according to the precept of Moses, and so earnest was the dispute, that both parties appealed to him and his Council

Phil. 144.
115. 16. 17.

Phil. 144.
132.

Josephus Antiquities lib. 13.
cap. 6.

Chap. 49.
A. M. 3859.
Ol. 157. ann. 1.
P. 1. 623.
Dem. Soterii
11.
Prid. Philom.
29.

Josephus lib.

Onias the Jew
builds a
Temple in E
497.

Dissention be-
twixt the
Jews and Sa-
maritans.

Council for a decision of the controversy, who being to judge according to evidence produced out of the Law, was to put to death those pleaders that could not make good their cause. For the Jews appeared Andronicus the son of Messala, for the Samaritans Sabbas, and Theodosius, who being heard by Ptolemy in a full Assembly, all were so well satisfied in the proofs brought by Andronicus, as the King gave sentence on his side, and condemned Sabbas and Theodosius. Philometor about this time was deeply engaged in the affairs of Syria; for, Demetrius Soter having molested him much with War, together with Antiochus King of Asia, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, all these agreed to furnish a young man of base condition, who counterfeiting himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, spoiled Demetrius both of his Kingdom and Life. This Alexander (as he is called) being especially beheld to Ptolemy for this change of his condition, desired of him his daughter in marriage; which he readily agreed to, and brought her (named Cleopatra) to him to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were solemnized with great state. Afterwards Alexander giving up himself to cruelty and luxury, Demetrius, the son of Demetrius Soter, having hired Souldiers in Crete, attempted the recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. Ptolemy with great Forces both by Land and Sea, came then into Syria, under pretence of helping his son-in-law; but getting a great part of the Country into his hands, as far as the River Orontes, and the City Seleucia, he had other intentions, having conceived great prejudice in his mind against Alexander, the special occasion of which was, that whereas one Ammonius, a great Officer of his had conspired against his life at Ptolemais, he refused to give him up to him upon his demand. Wherefore, though he went to Antioch, and there let two Diademons his head, the one for Syria, and the other for Egypt, yet persuaded he the Antiochians to receive Demetrius for their King, and taking away his daughter from Alexander, gave her to him; Alexander was overthrown, after which he fled into Arabia (as we said) and there was made away. But in the fight it happened that Ptolemy his Horse being affrighted at the noise of an Elephant, threw him, which his Enemies perceiving came upon him, and gave him such a wound in his head, that for four days he lay senseless, and though coming to himself, on the next, he was mightily pleased with the sight of the head of Alexander Balas, which was sent him; yet proved it not such a Cordial, but the third day after, as his Physicians were busie in dressing his own he dyed, after he had reigned thirty four years, A. M. 3859, in the third of the 158 Olympiad.

27. After his death the order of succession was first changed in this Kingdom. For whereas hitherto the son had continually followed his Father, and now Cleopatra his wife with the help of the Princes, endeavoured to have it so, in his son and hers; yet his brother Euergetes the second, or Physcon, then reigning in Cyrene, withstood her purpose, and forced her, for to put an end to the controversy, to marry him. Coming to Alexandria, he first caused the favours of the Child to be slain, and then the boy himself in the arms of his mother on their wedding day, and amidst the solemnities; according to which beginning he proceeded, being nothing milder towards those that had sent for him. For, giving liberty to the outlandish Souldiers to kill, and rifle, he filled all places with slaughters; many being accused, as though they had plotted against him, were made away with cruel torments, others under some pretence or other banished, and their goods confiscated. Having a son born of this his sister, he named him Memphis, after the place of his birth, but whilst he was keeping his birth-day, that he might also feed his cruel humour, he put to death divers Cyrenians, who brought him into Egypt, for taxing him somewhat liberally for his too much familiarity with Irene his Concubine. As his cruelty, so also his lust knew no bounds; for ravishing first his wives daughter, and his own Niece, both by Father and Mother, he put away his wife and married her; whereas the Inhabitants of Alexandria being affrighted, for fear of death quit their habitations, so that being left alone as a King of houlcs, and not of men, by Proclamation he called, and gave leave to strangers to inhabit them. It happened that at such time as they flocked thither came also P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, sent from Rome to visit the Kingdoms and States of the East, and compose their differences. Scipio being landed, and having his face covered, the People flocked about him, and desired him to uncover himself, which he granting, they out of the great pleasure conceived at the sight of such a person, gave a shout. Physcon himself coming out to meet them, was exceedingly ridiculous to them, being a man otherwise sufficiently deformed, of a low stature, and such corpulence, as his belly resembled rather that of a beast than a

Ptolemy fight-
ing against A-
lexander King
of Syria, whom
he had fore-
sawly set up,
received a
wound and
died.

Ptolemy Phys-
con unjustly
obtaineth the
Kingdom his
cruelty.

Josephus lib. 39.

1. Maccab. 10.
cap. 11.

Josephus Antiquities
lib. 13. cap. 4.

A. M. 3859.
Ol. 158. ann. 3.
P. 1. 608.

Josephus Epit.
lib. 52.

Josephus lib. 38.
Patrius Macc.
lib. 9. cap. 1.
Euseb. Chron.

Euseb. Dio-
dori Siculi.

Paul. Maxillid.

Cicero in John-
nis Scipionis.
A. M. 3875.
Ol. 162. ann. 9.
P. 1. 624.
Prid. Phil. 17.
Josephus lib. 6.

man. He provided magnificent entertainment, but they despising his dainties (as corrupting the manners of men) are very sparingly, only minded that they came about, and travelled into the Country, where viewing the several places thereof, considering the populousness, strength, and convenience of their situation, they concluded *Egypt* a convenient seat for the greatest Empire, if it had but Lords that knew how to make use of it, and so departed to *Cyprus*, and thence into *Syria*.

28. After some time he became so odious to the new-inhabitants also for his cruelty, that they let fire to his Palace, and he was driven with his wife and son to get away to *Cyprus*, after which they restored the Kingdom to *Cleopatra* his sister, whom he had put away. Hereupon he raised an Army, and made War upon her and them, and fearing that they might fend for his eldest son from *Cyrene*, and make him King, to prevent that, he murdered him; which being known, they cast down his statues and images. He taking this to be done as well in favour of his sister *Cleopatra*, as in despite of himself, to be revenged sufficiently: on her, commanded their son *Memphites* a comely and towardsly child to be killed in his presence, and then his head, hands, and feet to be cut off, and being sent to *Alexandria* to be presented her, as the was feasting at the celebration of her own birth day. This struck not only her but all the City into exceeding horror and amazement, and the sad spectacle was shewed to the People, to let them know what they might expect from such a King. He notwithstanding all this, yet went on in his own way; for considering how he was hated by his People, that he might reign more securely, as he thought in their weakness, he caused a place of publick meeting full of youth to be set on fire, and destroyed all therein either with fire or sword. *Cleopatra* having put an end to mourning for her son, and seeing her self pressed with War by her brother, sent to *Demetrius Nicator* King of *Syria*, and her son in Law, for aid, offering him the Kingdom for his pains in securing it. He gladly accepting the offer, came down, and waged War with *Physcon* for some time, but his People revolting from him at home, was forced to return, so that the being then in a manner destitute, was glad to follow him into *Syria*. *Physcon* then re-entering, and being seized anew of the Kingdom, the *Antiochians* knowing his prejudice against *Demetrius*, sent him for one of the posterity of *Seleucus* to reign over them, whereupon he furnished a young man and son of a Merchant, to mend the matter, giving out, that *Alexander Balas* was his Father. The counterfeited by his help oured *Demetrius* of his Kingdom; but then not being able to hold so high a condition, for which he was never bred, grew proud, and despised him. Therefore to be revenged on him, being now reconciled to his sister, he pulled him down again, by sending aid, and his daughter for a wife to *Antiochus Grypus* the son of *Demetrius*. Not long after *Physcon* died, after he had reigned (from his brothers death) twenty nine years. A. M. 3888; and the last of the 165 *Olympiad*.

29. He left three sons and as many daughters behind him. One of his sons being bafe born, and called *Pholony Apion*, he left King of *Cyrene* by his will; as for *Egypt* he left that to his wife, and to either of her sons which the should chuse, judging that the State of *Egypt* would be better fetled than the Kingdom of *Syria*, when the mother making choice of one son, should make the other her Enemy. She thinking that her youngest named *Alexander* would be more pliable and observant of her, laboured with the People to accept of him for their King; but they not at all yielding to this, she was forced to call home the elder, *Lathurus* (or *Lathyrus*) from *Cyprus*, whither he had procured his Father to banish him; but before he gave him the Kingdom the took away his beloved wife *Cleopatra*, and commanded him to marry his younger sister *Selene*. *Cleopatra* being thus divorced by her Mother, rather than forsaken of her husband, married to *Antiochus Gryzeus* in *Syria* (as we before said) and carryed away with her the Army in *Cyprus* for a portion. The Queen Mother, that the might be the more awfull to *Lathurus* her son, in the second year of their reign made *Alexander* King of *Cyprus*, and sent him thither, and then at the end of other six, took away from him, his wife *Selene*, though she had brought him two sons; and again to compleat her malice, stirred up the People against him. For taking such of her Eunuchs as were most faithful to her, she brought them wounded into the publick, accusing him of having endeavoured to make her away, and of using those that were true to their trust in her defence: at which the *Alexandrians* being much moved, came to upon him, that he narrowly escaped with his life, and then sent they for *Alexander* from *Cyprus*, and made him King.

50. Lu-

Excerpt. Diad. etc.

Justin at prius. Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

A. M. 3896. Ol. 165. an. 4. P. c. 2. etc. Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin Lib. 50. Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Idem. de Porph. apud Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

30. *Lathurus* made but an exchange with his brother, as it fell out, making him self Master of *Cyprus*, whither yet his Mother followed him with her hatred, and War the effect thereof. Here he lay not idle, for *Alexander Jamnus* at this time King of the *Jews* besieging *Ptolemais*, the inhabitants thereof sent him for aid, and though they repented them of the bargain made with him, and sent to stop his journey, yet he came on, and at his approach the siege was raised. Then invaded he *Judea*, and overthrowing *Jamnus* in a great and bloody battle, harassed the Country. *Cleopatra* his Mother was startled at this his power and prosperity, and resolved he was to be brought down, else her affairs were but in a tottering condition; therefore sending a good part of her treasure with her Nephews and testament to the Island *Cous*, she came her self into *Phenicia*, besieged *Ptolemais*, and persecuted him into *Celestria*. He having some hopes to get *Egypt* into his hands in her absence, marched in all haste down thither; but being disappointed, and pursued by a party sent by her, he was forced to return and winter at *Gaza*. She in the mean time took *Ptolemais*, whither *Jamnus* came to her, with whom a little after the renewed the League at *Seythopolis*, and then he prospering much in *Celestria*, *Lathurus* was forced to return to *Cyprus*, and his Mother seeing that, departed also into *Egypt*. During these Wars betwixt the Mother and son, it happened, that he was once taken by her General, but dismissed again, wherewith the so enraged, as the put to death her Commander. Her son *Alexander* being afraid, that at length her cruelty might extend to him also, withdrew himself from her, preferring a secure, though obscure estate, before a dangerous reign. She notwithstanding went on in her way, not neglecting her affairs, and fearing her elder son might be helped by *Antiochus Gryzeus*, sent great supplies to *Grypus* his half brother and rival, with *Selene* for a wife, taken formerly from *Lathurus*, and by messengers prevailed with *Alexander* to return. Divers years then they lived and reigned together, but at length the really plotted his destruction, and being caught in the manner, was according to her desires (though perhaps not his duty) put to death, after she had domineered over him, and expelled his brother eighteen years.

31. *Alexander* being known to the People to have killed his Mother, such a Sedition was thence moved, as glad he was to flee for his life; and thence they recalled his elder brother *Lathurus* from *Cyprus*, and restored him his Kingdom so many years after his expulsion, being now (if we may believe *Justin*) so satisfied with his present condition, as of himself, he would never have made War upon his Mother, nor thereby fought to recover out of his brothers hands what he had formerly enjoyed. About this time his bafe brother *Apion* of *Cyrene* died, and left the People of *Rome* his heir, which thereupon left the Country to its own freedom; but after ten years was it fore shaken, and almost rent in pieces by Wars and Tyranny, which fell on it being destitute of a Royal Monarch. *Lucullus* going thither composed the differences, and settled the Commonwealth as he thought, which after other ten years came to be reduced out of necessity to a Roman Province. From *Cyrene* *Lucullus* returned through *Egypt*, and in his passage being set upon by Pyrats, lost all in most all his Vessels; yet elaped he safe to *Alexandria*, the Kings Fleet being sent forth out to meet him, where *Lathurus* entertained him with great magnificence, lodged him in his own Court (which favour had never before been bestowed on any stranger) and presented him with gifts to the value of eighty Talents. But he only received what was necessary, and neither visiting *Memphis*, nor seeing any of the rarities of *Egypt*, being called away by his occasions, returned through *Cyprus* unto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenant then he was in the War against *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*. After this the Inhabitants of *Thebes* revolted from *Lathurus*, but in the third year he reduced them again to obedience, which is not to be understood of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, seeing he had nothing there to do, but of the City so called in his own Country. Not long after he dyed, thirty seven years (wanting some months) after the death of his Father *Physcon*, A. M. 3925, and the first of the 175 *Olympiad*.

32. It's difficult to tell certainly who succeeded him. (a) Some say *Cleopatra* his daughter, and wife to his brother *Alexander*; others, that *Alexander*'s son being received into familiarity with *Sylla* the Roman Dictator, was by him placed in the Kingdom, then destitute of issue male. They may be reconciled, by that which is further affirmed by the former fort, viz. that he married *Cleopatra* then Queen. *Apian* saith, that being seized on the Kingdom, the *Alexandrians* not enduring his insolence, on the nineteenth day drew him out of the Court and killed him; but

Alexander the second.

N n n n a

Porph. rie

Justin. Epit. lib. 13. c. 2. etc.

Justin at prius. Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Justin. Epit. lib. 50. P. 1. Max. Ep. c. 2. etc. Excerpt. 5.

Porphyre reporteth him to have slain his nineteen dayes after he had married her. Certainly though his reign be accounted no longer, and that of *Auletes* to begin here, yet cannot be rejected that which is produced to the contrary. For, *Suetonius* reporteth, that *Julius Cesar* in his younger dayes having ingratiated himself with the People, attempted by their Tribunes that *Egypt* might be assigned him as a Province, having gotten an opportunity of extraordinary command, for that the Alexandrians had expelled their King, on whom the Senate had bestowed the title of friend and Allye. This can in no wise be meant of *Auletes*, for when he was expelled and came to *Rome*, *Cesar* was then above such a condition, having spent some years in the Wars of *Gall*. And that King of *Egypt* mentioned by *Cicero* to have dyed at *Tyre*, and reported to have left the People of *Rome* his heir in his Consulship, can be meant of none but of this *Alexander* the Second, who being expelled rebelliously by his Subjects, lived and died there in exile; so that we must necessarily assign him (counting from the death of *Lathurus* to the Consulship of *Cicero*) about fifteen years; during which time of his life, he is to be supposed to have reigned longer than onely so many dayes, contrary to the vulgar opinion.

33. *Alexander* being expelled by the Alexandrians, they immediately set up in his room, the son of *Lathurus*, named *Dionysius* and *Auletes*, because he was too much addicted to the rites of *Bacchus*, and dancing to the found of Cymbals and Pipes. He was base born, as appeareth by the Prologue to the thirty ninth book of *Troges*, and so was also his brother the King of *Cyprus*, if that be true which *Pausanias* speaketh of his Fathers having no legitimate issue, except one daughter. After some years, they that set him up pulled him down; for his brother of *Cyprus* being most unjustly spoiled of his Kingdom by the Romans, through the malice of *Cleodius* Tribune of the People; they pressed him fore, either to demand *Cyprus* of the Romans, or renounce their friendship. Being unwilling to do this, and by reason of his great exactions which he made for paying of his debts (contracted by his purchase of the Roman alliance) he incurred their hatred, and whereas he could neither quiet the tumults by fair means nor foul, was glad to withdraw himself out of the way, and went to *Rome*. At *Rhodes* he met with *Cato*, who was sent by *Cleodius* out of the way, under colour of doing him honour, to reduce *Cyprus* into the form of a Roman Province, who advised him to return, and be reconciled to his Subjects, rather than leaving his former happy condition to expose himself to danger, and the avarice of the Roman Officers, which *Egypt* it self could not be able to satisfy. Being by the counsel of this grave and wise person reduced as into his wits, he was minded to follow his advice; but was presently again turned by his friends, and halted to the City, where he had time and cause enough to repent of his despising the Oracle (as then he accounted it) of so great a man.

34. At *Rome*, he created the Senate much trouble, being commended to it by *Pompey*, whom some reported to have been the cause of his leaving *Egypt*, more than any injury offered him by his Subjects, that so he might afford matter for new Wars. He desired he might be reduced into his Kingdom by *Cornelius Lentulus* the Consul, to whom *Cilicia* was decreed for a Province; and upon the reporting of the matter, an order was made; *Lentulus* to stop *Pompey*'s mouth, procuring him to have the charge of Provisions (in that time of dearth) throughout the Empire. The Alexandrians in the mean while ignorant of his Voyage into *Italy*, and thinking he had some wayes miscarried, set over the Kingdom *Berenice* his legitimate daughter, together with *Tryphena* her eldest sister called also *Cleopatra* the elder and sent into *Syria* to *Antiochus Asiatius* to come and reign with the Women, and afterwards he dying, to *Philip Euergetes* the son of *Antiochus Grypus* by *Tryphena*, daughter to *Lathurus* late King of *Egypt*, but he was also hindered by *Gabinus*, the Roman President in *Syria*. But hearing at length how things went at *Rome*, they sent one hundred of their Country-men thither, to make their defence, and recriminate their lawful King, which he understanding, procured most of the Messengers to be made away in their journey, and the rest coming to the City, he either took away, or deterred, or else perswaded them to hold their peace. The Senate hearing of this was grievously moved, and the rather, because that divers publick Ministers of others their Confederates had been made away with the rest; as also for that it appeared, that there was much corruption amongst themselves. They sent therefore for *Dion* the Chief of the Embassie, but *Ptolomy* his money had such influence upon him, that he appeared not, and not long after his was also

dispatched out of the way. *Pompey* harboured the King all this time in his own house, being yet desirous to restore him himself as *Cicero* lignifieth to *Lentulus* then the Pro-Consul of *Cilicia*, who still waited also for the employment. At length *Sibylla*'s books being consulted, were reported to forwarn the people of *Rome* never to reduce him by force, and therefore to that purpose another Decree was made in the Senate. A great debate then ensued how the thing should be done, some proposing one way, and some another, till at length *Auletes* perceiving it was neither likely to be effected by *Pompey* nor *Lentulus*, despairing of his return, and getting him into *Asia*, expected at *Ephesus* in the Temple of *Diana*, a better advantage for the recovery of his right out of the hands of the imperious Rebels.

35. And he had not been long there, when a convenient opportunity presented it self. For *Gabinus* the President of *Syria* having grievously afflicted his Province by oppression, not thinking that sufficient, but hearing the Parthians to be exceedingly rich, let his rebellion strongly to invade them. When he had passed the River *Euphrates*, *Ptolomy* came to him with Letters from *Pompey*, and offered him ten thousand Talents (besides a great sum of money to the Soldiers, part whereof they should have in hand) to restore him. Most of the Officers were against the thing, and *Gabinus* himself something stuck at it, but being stirred up to it by *Antonius* (who then commanded the Horse under him) and especially bewitched by the money, notwithstanding it was not lawful for a President to stir out of his Province, nor undertake wars at his pleasure, and the people at *Rome* out of respect to the Vertues of *Sibylla* had forbidden *Auletes* to be restored (at least such a way) yet he onely made the difficulty of the thing a means to enhance the price of it, and omitting the Parthian War, undertook that against the *Egyptians*. *Berenice* had about this time called one *Selenus* out of *Syria*, who vaunted himself of the Blood Royal of that Nation, and made him partaker of the Kingdom, marrying her self unto him; but finding him to be of a fordid, and base condition, made him away after a little while. Then an husband of a Royal stock being enquired out for her, *Archelaus* the son of *Archelaus* (General to *Mithridates* the great King of *Pontus*) and who had been made by *Pompey* Priest of the *Toman*, counterfeiting himself the son of the King, procured by his friends to be received on the same terms with the other, and reigned with her six moneths.

36. But *Gabinus* leaving *Syria* to the tuition of a Child, his son, marched for *Egypt* through *Palstine*, and coming to the sandy desert, sent *Antonius* before with the Horse to secure the Straights at the entry of the Countrey; which he not onely bravely performed, but took also *Pellusum*, thereby gaining entrance for the whole Army, which presently put to flight the *Egyptians*. *Archelaus* himself was now taken; but *Gabinus* considering that perhaps *Ptolomy* would be unwilling to give him so much money as he expected, if with so small ado he should compleat the work; being also foundly bribed by *Archelaus*, he dismissed him under pretence of an escape. A little after the *Egyptians* (more earnest always in rebellions than Wars) were utterly discomfited, *Archelaus* was slain, and all *Egypt* recovered, and restored to *Auletes*, who presently put to death his daughter, and the richest of the Nobility, as they deserved, standing then in great need of money. *Gabinus* leaving a Guard of Soldiers behind him for *Ptolomy*'s security (who stayed at *Alexandria*, married, and begot Children, giving up themselves to the luxury of the place) went back into *Syria*, and thence to *Rome*, where his great gifts meeting with the corruption of the times, onely purchased him his life, being fined for his bribery and disobedient carriage. As for *Auletes* we hear no more of him, but that he died four years after his restitution. In the year of the World three thousand nine hundred fifty four, and the second of the one hundred and eighty second Olympiad.

37. He left two Sons, and as many daughters behind him, of which the eldest of either Sex he ordered should succeed him by his last Will and Testament; which he conjured the People of *Rome*, (under whose tuition he left his Children) by all the gods, and the Leagues he had made with them, should be observed; and one of the Tables of which were brought to *Rome* to be laid up in the Treasury; but this being hindered by publick business, it was left with *Pompey*, who was also appointed Guardian to the young King in his sonage. After three years the boy, or rather *Plotinus* (not *Plotinus*, as he is corruptly called in *Cesar*'s Commentaries) the Eunuch who managed his affairs, expelled *Cleopatra* his sister, and fellow

Where getting no relief he departed to Ephesus.

Hireth 60 soldiers to restore him.

Hireth 60 soldiers to restore him.

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Hireth 60 soldiers to restore him.

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fellow both in marriage and the Kingdom; so that she was forced to withdraw into Syria, there to make provision for her re-establishment by force. Not long it was ere she returned, having furnished her self; which her brother being aware of, went, and pitched his Tents near to the Mountain *Celcus*, at the *Pelagian* mouth of the Nile; where lying incamped, *Pompey* being then beaten by *Cæsar* at the upon *Egypt* than any other place, both for its nearness and strength, and hoping upon the account of his Guardianship to be lovingly received. The King then a very boy (about thirteen years old) gave no answer to his message; but those most potent about him consulting of it, were perverted by *Theodorus* his School-master to receive him, but then, that they might curry favour with *Cæsar*, to make him away; so that being received with small civility into a little boat, he was slain ere he got to the other side, as is more largely expressed in the *Roman* story. His head was reserved as a present for *Cæsar*, who coming to *Alexandria*, though at the first he was very welcome, and got much respect for his frequenting the publick readings of *Philosophers*, yet exacting the debt owing by *Auletes*, and not abstaining from the Treasure of the Temples for the payment of his Army, he thereby incurred the great displeasure of the Town-men, all things being made worse by *Pothinus*, who to his utmost ability incensed the superstitious multitude. *Cæsar* also accounting it to belong to himself as *Consul*, and shortly after, as *Dictator*, to compose the differences of the Confederates of the people of *Rome*, took upon him to judge the cause of the King and his Sister, which bred such disturbance, as thereupon ensued a troublesome War.

38. There were secret plots laid for his life, which he being aware of, was glad to spend whole nights in feasting to prevent them, and gave way to *Cleopatra* to come to him, who knowing he was no hater of Women, had sent to him to complain and desire a conference. At the sight of her he became very brave, and returned from being her Judge to be her Advocate, which thing so enraged the King, perceiving her now to be got into the Palace, that he rushed out to the People, crying he was betrayed, and pulling his Diadem from his head, cast it on the ground. A great stir arising hereupon, he was caught by *Cæsar*'s Souldiers, and brought back into the house, which the multitude thereat incensed now besieged, and *Cæsar* with promise to do whatsoever they would, scarce appeared the tumult; his men being unprovided for resistance, having not expected any such occasion from those they accounted their friends. Then taking *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* along with him, he read over their Fathers Will in publick audience, which subjecting them to the tuition of the People of *Rome* (whose Supreme and absolute Magistrate he then was) in execution of the said Will he gave to them two as Husband and Wife the Kingdom of *Egypt*, and to their younger brother and sister that of *Cyprus*, not leaving any thing to himself, but willing rather to add something of his own; such a fear at this time had seized on him. The people hereby was quickened for a time, until *Pothinus*, fearing he might be called to account for what had already passed, kindled a new flame to divert it. He first objected, as well he might, what an unworthy thing it was that the King should be called to answer, and then added, there was reason to suspect, that whatsoever *Cæsar* might pretend, yet at length he would put all into the hands of *Cleopatra*. He sent to *Achillas* General of all the Forces then lying at *Pelagium*, alluring him by great promises in the Kings name to draw down the army privily to *Alexandria*; and he, being not backward to close with him, marched down with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. *Cæsar* had not strength enough to go out and meet him, and therefore contained himself in the City, yet commanded his men to be in readiness, and kept the King with him; whose name he knew to be of great force amongst his people, and that thereby this undertaking might appear rather to be the enterprize of a few dissolute, and factious persons, than any thing backed by his consent, or Warrant.

39. *Achillas* (2) despising the number of *Cæsar*'s Soldiers, after he had entred the City, thought presently to have broken in upon him, but he prevented this by blocking up the ways, and fortifying his house. Then followed a sharp contention at the Haven, the *Alexandrians* endeavouring to become masters of the Fleet, and thereby to cut off all Provisions and supplies from coming to him; but he made a shift to burn all the Gallies, from which the fire seizing upon the houses adjoining, consumed to ashes most part of that famous (b) Library Collected by the care and diligence of the former Kings. After this exploit so happily per-

Apian de bello
civilis lib. 2.
Cæsar. lib. 5.
Plutarch. 15.
Plutarch. 15.
Dio lib. 47.

A. M. 3257.
D. 183. ann. 2.
P. C. 705.
Hyrcani 15.
C. Julius Cæsar 2.
P. Sertorius
Mauricius, Cæsar.

Plutarch. 15.
Cæsar.
Dio lib. 47.
at prius.

A. M. 328.
D. 183. ann. 2.
P. C. 705.
Hyrcani 15.
C. Julius Cæsar 2.
P. Sertorius
Mauricius, Cæsar.

(c) Plutarch.
14 Cæsar.
Græc. lib. 6.
(2) 15.

first, he placed a Garrison in (c) *Pharis* and after a few skirmishes, sent about into Syria, Cilicia, and other places for aid. *Antiochus* the Kings younger sister got out to *Achillas*, and jointly with him managed the War; yet with such contention for the Chief command, as proved only beneficial to the Soldiers; whom both by gifts sought to oblige; for the contest at length arrived at such (d) height; that lying in wait for the life of each other, he was slain by the help of one *Ganymedes*, who having helped her in the escape, was now preferred to be their General. *Pothinus* all this while was not backward, but out of the Court sent Messengers to *Achillas*, to encourage him in his work, which being discovered cost him his life, and caused the King to be more nearly looked to. *Ganymedes* at his entrance upon the *Generalship*, stopped up the channels which brought fresh-water into that part of the City, where *Cæsar* lay, and with engines conveyed salt from the Sea into the room of it, thinking thereby to discourage the Enemy, and force him out of his hold; but *Cæsar* (though his Soldiers were at first daunted at it) prevented the design by sinking of Wells, which abundantly supplied their necessities, to the wonder of the *Egyptians*, who had no such invention. By this time a legion shipped by *Domitius Calpurnius*, with provisions and arms from Syria, landed on the African shoar, a little above *Alexandria*; which *Cæsar* understanding, went with his Fleet unmanned to fetch them in, and the enemy having notice of it, drew out also against him. He receiving the men aboard, had no mind to engage, because it grew towards night; but a *Rhodian* Gally, not keeping up with the rest of the Fleet, was set upon, whereby he was constrained to go in to the rescue, and lo carried himself, that day-light only was wanting to his completing of the Victory, by utterly destroying the whole Navy of the *Alexandrians*.

Cæsar defeated
the Alexandrians
at sea.

Agila.

He catches
himself into
danger.

Letrich the
King goes.

Aid sent to
Cæsar.

40. They notwithstanding this defeat, in which and other ways, of late, they had lost no fewer than one hundred and ten Vessels (yet being encouraged thereto by *Ganymedes*) set themselves to the rigging of another Fleet, which being in a readiness, *Cæsar* brought his about the Island *Pharos*, and set it in order against them. Both sides being ready to engage, yet a narrow passage lying betwixt them, each expected till the other should enter first, as then having a better advantage, until the *Rhodian* desired of *Cæsar* leave to enter the Strait. This once granted and done, they were presently set upon and then relieved, till a total engagement ensued, in which the *Egyptians* were worsted (not a ship of *Cæsar*'s receiving any hurt) and in their flight took into *Pharos*, where they were received by their friends, and kept off the *Romans* for some time, but at length were forced to quit the Island with great loss. This being joyned to the main by two Bridges, one of them in like manner was forsaken by the Town-men; but the *Romans* attempting to gain the other, through the rashness of some in their company, were beaten off, and forced tumultuously to betake themselves to their Ships. *Cæsar* himself in the hurry was glad to leap into the Sea, and the Enemy following, to dive under water, and take breath now and then as he could; till (having swum almost a quarter of a mile) he was taken up into a ship. He lost four hundred of his Legionary Soldiers in this skirmish, as many Ship-men and rowers, yet neither he nor his Army were discouraged at all, but were rather inclined to redeem their loss by some other exploit, which the *Alexandrians* taking notice of, sent to him desiring he would dismiss their King, whom now they professed they were ready to obey, and if he should command them to be friends with him they would presently yield. He knew there was neither any trusting of him nor them; but considering that if he dismissed him, they would be nothing the stronger, and if he should become the head of their party, the War would be more honourable, he gravely admonished him to do nothing contrary to the interest of his People, or his confederacy with *Rome*, and then gave him leave to depart, though he pretended an unwillingness to leave him, and notably counterfeited sincere friendship with feigned tears.

41. Though the King being returned was very earnest for carrying on the War, yet they seeing themselves nothing amended by the accession of his name or presence (which the *Romans* despised) and that they profited nothing by any of their attempts, were greatly discouraged, yet understanding that great supplies of men and provisions were coming to *Cæsar*, they resolved once more to take the Sea, and cut them off; and they did much hurt to those that came by water, till he sent out his Fleet under the command of *Tiberius Nero*, and restrained them. But by Land came *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* from Syria, accompanied with *Antipater* the Governour of *Judea*, and Father to *Herod* the Great, bringing down with him a great

(c) Cæsar at
P. lib.

(d) Plutarch.
de Alexand.
dino.

Ilum. lib. 2.

Apian de bello
civilis lib. 2.

Jos. Antiqu. l. 14.
cap. 14. & 15.
& de bello l. 1.
cap. 7.

a great power of men, and pierced as far as *Pelufum*, which also was taken, with great pains and industry by assault. Thence marching down for *Alexandria* he took in the Country in his way, the *Jews* inhabiting those parts (though at first they made resistance, yet) being brought over by *Antipater* upon the producing of the Letters of *Hyrcanus* the High-Priest. When *Pholomy* heard this, and that he had nigh already reached *Delta*, a place not far distant from *Alexandria*; knowing he must needs pass the River, he sent out a party to oppose him there, which he received prudently after the *Roman* fashion, being intrenched in his Camp, and easily sustained its violence; till seeing them very disorderly, and with great boldness to assail his fortifications, he issued out, and killing a great number, had utterly defeated the rest, but that by their knowledge of the Country, and by the Vessels which had transported them, they secured themselves. Whereupon rallying again they once more charged him, and a fight ensued in that place called *The Camp of the Jews*, in which engagement the wing commanded by *Mithridates* himself, was sorely oppressed, and had been totally overthrown; but that *Antipater* (who led the other) came in good time to the rescue, put to flight the *Egyptians*, and took their Camp; which *Mithridates* confessed by letters to *Cæsar*, acknowledging *Antipater* to have been the Author, both of his safety, and the Victory. But now by this time was *Pholomy* himself coming against *Mithridates*, and *Cæsar* also to fetch him off.

Being opposed
overconsec.

Cæsar storm-
eth the e-
gyptian Camp.

Pholomy is
drowned.

Cæsar taketh
Alexandria.

42. Both went by Sea, but *Cæsar* first got to him, and took him in with his victorious Army. *Pholomy* and *Cæsar* encamped then seven miles asunder, the former in a high and most fortified place by nature, having a narrow River with exceeding high and precipitous banks betwixt him and the Enemy, which though the *Alexandrians* defended, yet *Cæsar's* men got over (the Horse by passing the Foard, and the foot by laying over a bridge made of long trees) so that *Cæsar* fat down, not far from the Kings Camp. The next day he stormed a Castle in a Village near adjoining, the defendants whereof flying again to the Camp, his men had well nigh entred them; but coming to hand-strokes, were beaten back, being feverally laid at, both from the fortifications and the Ships. But *Cæsar* espying a very high place, which by reason of its natural strength was little looked to by the *Alexandrians*, set certain Companies to get up there into the Camp; which being performed, and a great cry raised on purpose round about, the *Romans* brake in, in several places and made great slaughter. Most of the defendants fled upon the irruption, and in great heaps leaped down into the Trenches, wherein they first being overwhelmed, the rest with great ease got over, amongst which was the King; A. M. 3598. but coming to take boat, so many pressed in after him, that the Vessel sunk, and he was drowned, after he had reigned well nigh four years. Together with him fell in this War (though most after another fashion) twenty thousand men, twelve thousand were taken, with seventy long Ships, and five hundred of the *Romans* are said to have been slain. *Cæsar* in confidence and pursuit of this Victory, with the Horse marched presently to the City, where he found now not any resistance, the Citizens entertaining him in a suppliant posture, whom he comforted and forgave.

A. M. 3598.

Orosius lib. 6.
cap. 16.

Dia. lib. 49.

Apian de his-
to. civilis l. 2.

Plutarch in
Cæsar.

Sueton. in Ju-
lio.

43. Having thus made an end of the War, he laid not *Ægypt* to the *Roman* Empire, but gave it to *Cleopatra*, joyning to her in marriage (to colour the business) her younger brother as yet but eleven years old; but indeed subjecting all things to her will and power, with whom he so familiar, as, out of love to her, he stayed in *Ægypt* nine months, and had done it longer, or else had taken her with him to *Rome*, had he not been called thence by the urgent affairs of *Syria*; and not long after the brought him a Son, whom by his permission the named *Cæsarion*. At his departure he removed *Arfinoe* out of the Kingdom, lest any disturbance should arise upon her account, and left three Legions behind him for the security of these two Princes, who being disaffected by their own People for their respect to him, as yet were not confirmed in their feats.

44. As for the Government, *Cleopatra* reigned, and acted alone without the control of any, permitting her brother to enjoy the title with his life as yet. Not long after *Cæsar's* departure, the eldest son of *Pompey* his Enemy coming to *Alexandria*, the is (a) reported to have been as familiar and common with him; yet upon *Cæsar's* invitation the (b) went with her brother to *Rome*, where they were admitted as friends and allies: for her a lodging was provided in his own house, and having built a Temple to *Venus Genetrix* (which he had vowed before the battle

(a) Plutarch
in *Antonia*.
(b) Suetonius
in *Antonia*.

at

at *Pharsalia* he therein placed (c) her effigies besides the Goddess. In the fourth year, her brother growing towards a man, the (d) poytoned him, to be at her own liberty. After *Julius Cæsar* was killed in the Senate house, the stood ever firm to those that prosecuted the conspirators: to (e) *Dolabella*, at his request of aid, the sent four Legions, and had a Fleet ready to put out had the weather served. To *Cassius*, who with menacing language demanded supplies, the plainly refused to send any; for that he had an hand in *Cæsar's* death, his threats only inciting her to go and meet *Octavius Cæsar* and *Antony*, who were then making an expedition against him and his fellow *Brutus*, the heads of that faction. He getting knowledge of her intentions, sent a strong party with sixty ships to hover for her about *Peloponnesus*; but such a tempest seized on her Fleet, that her design was frustrated, and having received great loss, and now fallen sick, she was forced to return into *Ægypt*. L. M. 3598. *Antony* after the overthrow of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, being left in *Asia* to settle the affairs thereof, thither she repaired to him in a strange antick fashion, and, he who when he formerly served under *Gabinus* in *Ægypt*, had cast a wonton eye upon her, was now so smitten, (though forty years old) that he also became enlaved to *Antony's* her in his affections. She ruled him and all his affairs, and procured him out of hand, to cause her sister *Arfinoe* to be made away; who being formerly led in triumph by *Julius Cæsar* after the *Alexandrian* War, with the pity of all men, had for her brothers and sisters sake been then dismissed.

45. *Antony* had no power but to follow her into *Ægypt*, where they spent their time in nothing but extraordinary vanity and dalliance. After his reconciliation to *Cæsar*, and the making up of the breach betwixt them, by his marrying of *Octavia*, *Cleopatra* fearing that this new wife might draw his affections from her self, pretended to be almost mad in love with him, practising upon her body in such sort, that being reduced into a Consumption, the seemed not to be able to live in his absence; whereupon he gave over his intention of invading *Parthia* for that time, and returned to *Alexandria*. Not long after he begged of him that part of *Judea* which bare *Balm*, and many other places and Countries, which he bestowed upon her, to the great distaste of the People of *Rome*, who took it in his high disdain, as well that such vast possessions should be given her, as that now he had divers children by her, two of which, being twins, were named *Sun* and *Moon*. Shortly after he accompanied him as far as *Euphrates*, then making an Expedition into *Armenia*, and taking *Judea* in her way homeward, that part thereof, which *Antony* had given her, together with *Arabis*, she let out to farm unto *Herod*, whom also, either out of her filthy affection to him (which she pretended) or for some other had given her formerly wished for an advantage against him, to get his Kingdom the solicited to the breach of the chastity of them both; but he instead of giving her satisfaction, consulted with his friends how to kill her, and then being again terrified from that, to do her honour waited on her home as far as *Pelufum*. *Antony* having prospered in *Armenia*, returned, and entred *Alexandria* in triumph, leading with him *Antiochus* the King with his wife and children, with whom he earnestly laboured to make them fall down before her, as supplicants, but to no purpose. Then spent they their time in feasting, he divided almost half of the *Roman* Empire betwixt her and her children; she took upon her the name of *Isis*, and he of *Osiris*, and *Father Bacchus*, having his Temples crowned with Ivy, and wearing Buxkins; being drawn in that garb, after the fashion of *Bacchus*, in a chariot through the streets of the City.

Their loose
practices.

46. These foolish and loose practices brought great inconveniences upon them. For *Cæsar Octavianus* and he fell presently of recriminating each other, and *Antony* was not long after had the confidence to send to *Rome*, to desire from the Senate a confirmation of his donations to her and her children; which gave such offence, that his friends were forced to flee out of the City; whereupon he sent thither a son to thrust *Octavia* (his Wife, and *Cæsar's* sister) out of his house, and took gain some to thrust War upon both People and Senate. *Cæsar* hereat enraged, found out a way to incense the People against him, by opening his will deposited in the hands of the *Vestal Nuns*; wherein he had laboured to make *Cæsarion* to be the lawful son of the *Diator*, named for Heirs his Children begotten on *Cleopatra*, and commanded that notwithstanding he might die at *Rome*, yet his body should be sent to her to *Alexandria*. These things found to be true, gained credit to others which were but reported; as that in case he should get the better, he would bestow *Rome* to her; and translate the Seat of the Empire into *Ægypt*. When *Cæsar* then was ready for the War, it was decreed against her, and he was deprived

War at *Rome*
is decreed
against her.

OOOO

of

of all his Offices, which alone wasthought enough at this time, left once declared an Enemy to the State, others with him should have been included in the same capacity, of whom divers, being men of great influence, might have been driven through desperation, to act more vigorously for him. Herby it was thought he would be sufficiently intangled, resolving not to forsake her on any terms whatsoever, and vulgarly accounted to be bewitched by her. And to littleless could these things practized by him amount to. He called her *Queen, Lady, and Mistress*, gave her *Romans* for her Guard (who had her name engraven on their Targets.) He went abroad, celebrated Games, sat in Judgement, and sometimes rode with her, and when the pleased to be drawn in her Chariot, ran by her side amongst the Lackies. She was so confident she should be Mistress at length of the Mistress of the World, that if she would swear most religiously, it should be by that Law or Sentence, which she should pronounce in the *Capitol*.

47. For all this adoe, yet in the preparation for the War, *Antony* mistrusted her, and that so far, as to have his meat tasted for fear of poyson. Shetaking notice of it, poysoned a Cup of drink, and giving him it, when he was about to let it to his mouth, interposed her hand, convincing him thereby how easie a matter it was for her to do that of which she was suspected to have an intention, and then sending for a Malefactor out of Prison, and giving him the liquor he died immediately. This made him bold and confident of her, and further enlaved his affections, in so much that that the ruled him in the management of the War. For *Camillus*, whom she had bribed to get leave for her to continue with him, changing afterwards his mind, or (at least his language) and advising him to fend her back into *Egypt*, and to go into *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, and there to decide the controversy in a pitch battel, she prevailed with him not onely to stay, but made *Antony* engage at *Actium* in a Sea-fight, yet providing rather for flight than victory. Ere it could justly be discerned which party would carry it, she being impatient of delay, with her Golden Prow and Purple Sails, giving a sign to her *Egyptians*, betook her self to flight, which *Antony* seeing made haste after her as fast as possible, and being received on board, neither saw, nor was seen by her; but fate him down in a sad and thoughtful posture, holding his head betwixt his hands; and for three or four dayes so continued, till arriving at *Tanarus* (a Promontory of *Laconia*) the women there that were intimate with her brought them together. He passing over into *Africa*, the returned into *Egypt*, counterfeiting a triumph with her Ship curiously adorged, and melodious singing, that the might be received of her Subjects, the chiefest of which presently she put to death, whom she knew formerly to have born no good will towards her, and now to be elevated upon the report of the defeat received at *Actium*. Confiscating their Estates, and rifling religious Houfes, she heaped together a great Mass of Treasure, raising Forces therewith with all expedition, and that she might draw into Confederacy the King of *Media*, she sent him the head of *Artaxerxes* (or *Artabanus*) the *Armenian*, his Emulator. Then, attempting a matter of greatest difficulty, she conveyed Ships over the *Bosphorus*, or Neck of Land (which parting the *Egyptian* or *Mediterranean*) from the *Red-Sea* divideth *Asia* from *Africa*) into the *Arabian* Bay, intending to fly servitude, and seek out some Foreign seat, wherein to spend the remainder of her dayes. But *Antony* returning to her, who as yet had heard nothing of the loss of his Land-Army, they encouraged themselves, and she changed her purpose. Her Ships were burnt by the Inhabitants of *Arabia Petrea*, at the procurement of *Q. Didius* the President of *Syria*.

48. But *Antony* having notice that his Army had revolted to *Cesar*, withdrew himself in a sad and Melancholick posture from the sight of all men into the Island *Pharos*, and then again within a while, having disburthened himself of grief, returned to the Court, where they indulged their genius more than ever, those that were willing to die with them giving in their names, and passing away their time together in nothing but feasting and jollity. She gathered together divers sorts of poysons, which she tried upon Capital Offenders and Brutes, approving above all the biting of an Asp, which she observed without any convulsion to cast the party into an heavy stupefaction, with a moderate sweat upon the face, and so to kill with an easie kind of languishment. Before *Cesar* came down into *Egypt* against them she sent several times to him. She asked the Kingdom for her Children, and without *Antony* his knowledge sent him a Scepter, a Crown of Gold, and a Royal Throne, giving up her Kingdom to him, as it were with thofe,

He is bewitched as it were by her.

Yet suspected her.

She maketh him engage at Actium.

Where he is defeated.

She conveyeth ships into the Arabian Bay to seek out her fortune, but is diverted by him.

Many willing to dye give their names, and they spend their time in jollity.

She yet laboureth to curry favour with Cesar.

Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. 21. cap. 3.

Plutarch. ut supra.

Dis lib. 50.

A. M. 3774. O. 187. ann. 1. K. C. 723. Herod. 9. Ovidius Trist. 2. M. Valerius Messias Cons.

Plutarch. in Antony & Dis lib. 51.

to gain respect. He received them as a good Omen, and returned to her openly-threatening language; yet underhand promised her impunity, and the entire possession of her Kingdom, if she would make away *Antony*. And fearing lest the might be brought to undertake some desperate design, he sent one *Thyrcus* his Freed-man, and a cunning fellow to her, to make her believe he was in Love with her, hoping that then, besides the favour of the Treasure, which she had threatened to burn, the having a great ambition to be loved by all great persons, would not stick at killing *Antony*. She desiring indeed that it might be so, and remembering how his Uncle, in time past, and since that *Antony* had been bewitched with her, easily fooled her self into a fond belief thereof, and promised her ambition, not onely *paradise*, and *Egypt*, but the *Roman Empire* it self. *Antony* seeing her kind to the Messenger above measure, suspected something, and foundly lashing him, sent him back to his Masters; and then she to wife off his jealousie most solemnly celebrated his birth-day (though suitably to her present condition she neglected her own) and fought all manner of wayes how to humour him. Yet did she betray *Pelusium* into *Cesar's* hands, and when he drew down towards *Alexandria* secretly forbade the Town-men to go out against him, though openly exhorted them to resistance. And when *Antony* had provided a Fleet, she caused it wholly to revolt, and in like manner the Horse, which *Antony* plainly seeing, after the overthrow of his Foot, returned into the City, crying out that he was betrayed by her into their hands, against whom, for her sake he had taken Arms.

She betrayeth Pelusium, and causeth the Fleet and Horse to revolt to him.

Antony killt himself.

Cesar earnestly desirous to lead her in Triumph, and doth all he can to deceive her.

40. She being afraid of him, went to her Monument, as intending to kill her self under pretence of being in feare of *Cesar*, and sent a Messenger to him to tell him she was dead. He giving credit to it, desired *Eros* his servant to kill him; but he preventing it with his own death, he wounded himself in the belly; but the frook not being such an one as could presently dispatch him, he intreated his friends to do it, who refusing, and running out of the room, a tumult ensued, and the perceiving what was done, sent for him up into her Monument. He understanding she was alive, arose, thinking he might also possibly live; but the blood issuing out in great abundance, he departed of it, and was born by his attendants to the door of the building, whence he was drawn up with Cords in a lamentable plight, all in goar blood, helping himself as it were, and stretching out his hands to her, and her women, who baled him up thus to the top. When he was got up the laid him on a bed, tore her flesh, wiped off his blood with her face, calling him *Lord, Husband, and General*, after which he presently expired. *Cesar* now desired to get her into his power by strong hand, having an extraordinary ambition to grace his Triumph with her, and not willing to promise any thing, and be counted a deceiver by falsifying his word. She continued still in the Monument, hoping at least to purchase her Kingdom by the Treasure she had in her power, and refused to come down, talking with the messengers from above. But presently some got in to her, removed all things out of the way wherewith the might hurt her self, and then bringing her into the Palace, detracted nothing from her former state, thereby to delude her with vain hope. *Cesar* now without any trouble entered *Alexandria* with *Aris* the Philosopher on his right hand, who formerly had read the Sciences to him; he permitted her to bury *Antony* as she pleased, which after she had done, being spent with sorrow, and her breast all exulcerated with froaks, she thereby contracted a Fever, and glad of that pretence to abstain from all suitance, and to end her dayes, she consulted also with *Olympus* her Physician how to reduce her self into a Consumption. But *Cesar* smelling it out, so terrified her about her Children, that she was content to desist.

41. Shortly after, he coming to comfort her, she cast her self down at his feet, indeavouring with all the art she had to inveigle his affections, which though he perceived, yet fixing his Eyes on the ground, he onely said, *Be of good cheer Woman, thou shalt have no harm*; She being solicitous, not for life, but love, and a Kingdom. Then gave he in an Inventory of her Goods and Treasure, at which *Seleucus* one of her officers was so Malapert, as to accuse her of suppressing something, whereupon she flew in his face, and foundly buffeted him, *Cesar* smiling, and gently reprehending her for it. But she asked him whether it was not a hard case for her, whom he had deigned to visit, to be accused by one of her own slaves, if she had reserved any thing, not for her self, but wherewithal to present his Wife and Sister, that they might render him the more favourable to her. Hereat he exceedingly rejoiced, hoping she had a great desire to live, and promised her great matters, vainly, supposing he therein deceived her. But she having notice by *Dolabella*,

Plutarch & Dis lib. 51.

1ste Sueton in Othivia. Flavian lib. 4. cap. 11. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. Eutropius.

But the having notice of his intentions dieh by the biting of an Asp.

a young Gentleman amongst his followers, and one that bare her great good will, that after three dayes, she and her Children were to go for *Italy*, first obtained leave of him to celebrate the obsequies of *Antony*, which having performed with lamentations, and great shew of affliction, she commanded a Bath to be prepared, and sitting down to meat, sumptuously Dined. After Dinner she gave a Letter to her Keeper to carry to *Cæsar* (wherein she desired he might be buried by *Antony*) sealed, that he thinking the contents to be of consequence, might the more easily be removed out of the way. He being gone, with the help of her two women, she made fast the doors, most gorgeously apparelled her self, as upon some solemn day, with her Royal Ornaments, and then put an Asp which she had procured secretly to be brought in amongst Figs, Grapes, and Flowers) to her left Arm, with the biting of which, she fell presently as into a sleep, and so died. *Cæsar* having read the Letter presently perceived what was done, and indeavoured with all speed to recall her to life, though in vain, grieving fore that he was frustrated of a glorious Triumph, yet pitying and admiring the person, whom he cauled to be royally interred with *Antony*, according to her desire, and afterwards dealt very nobly with their Children. Adorned she was with all the endowments of nature above her Sex. Being learned her self, she was a great Lover and promoter of knowledge; which she testified in erecting another Library, in the room of that which had been burnt, supplied with Books from *Pergamus* at the procurement of *Antony*. She lived thirty nine years, reigned twenty two (counted from her Fathers death) fourteen whereof she spent with *Antony*. And with her perished her Kingdom, now reduced into the form of a *Roman* Province, and the *Macedonian* Empire was quite extinct, three hundred years after the death of *Darius*, and the Monarchy of *Alexander*, by whom it arose; two hundred and ninety three after *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* had obtained *Egypt*; in the third of the one hundred and eighty seventh *Olympiad*, the year of the World three thousand nine hundred seventy five, and twenty eight before the birth of Christ. *Octavius Cæsar* the fourth time, and *M. Licinius Crassus* being *Consuls*.

A. M. 3595.
Ol. 185. an. 3.
P. C. 724.
Herod 10.
Othobio Ge.
Jer 4.
M. Licinius Crassus Cons.

Contemporaries with the Empire of the Macedonians.

CHAP. VII.

The Judæan Kingdom or Principality of the Asmonæans.

From the departure of Antiochus Sidetes from Jerusalem to the Reign of Herod an alien, being by birth an Idumæan,

Containing the space of ninety eight years.

John firmest Hircanus his captivities.

1. After *Antiochus* had raised his siege and departed from *Jerusalem*, as was said before, he undertook an Expedition against the *Parthians*, wherein he was slain. *John* the Son of *Simon* who then was chief both *Priest* and *Magistrate* of the *Jews* accompanied him some way with a band of Auxiliaries, and got the surname of *Hircanus* from the overthrow of the *Hircanians*. A. M. 3870. as it's thought, and returned with great credit into his own Country. After *Antiochus* his death, he led down an Army into *Syria*, thinking, as indeed it fell out, that the Cities were left without defence, whereof he took *Sevada*, *Medaba*, *Samaga*, *Sicima*, and *Gerizim*, where the *Cutheans* had built a Temple resembling that at *A. M. 3877. Jerusalem*.

Chap. VII. Contemporary with the Empire of the Macedonians.

Jerusalem. In this Expedition he also subdued *Idumæa*, the inhabitants whereof he put to their choice, whether they would be circumcised or quit their habitations. They chose the former, and now began to be reckoned amongst the *Jews*, submitting to all their rites and ceremonies. After this he sent to *Rome*, desiring that the confederacy made with the Senate might be renewed; that *Joppa*, *Gazara*, and with other Cities and places taken from the *Jews* by *Antiochus*, contrary to their Decree, might be restored, that it might not be lawful for the King of *Syria* to pass through their Country with his Armies, that whatsoever *Antiochus* had attempted against them in War contrary to their will might be made frustrate, and that the Senate would please to send their Ambassadors to procure those things, and to cause satisfaction to be given for the havock made of the Country. The Fathers renewed the confederacy with them, according to their desire, promised to take order they should be no more wronged, and dismissed the Ambassadors with money to bear their charges, and letters commendatory to those through whose Countries they should pass. The many changes which then presently happened in the *Syrian* Kingdom so diverted the several Princes from meddling with the *Jews*, that they were glad of their friendship, and this proved a sufficient opportunity for *Hircanus* to establish his affairs. For they destroying one another, with War, he securely enjoyed the Revenues of the Country, and got together a great Mass of money, so that despising them, he went and besieged *Samarita*, the Inhabitants of which he was displeased with for their injury offered to the *Marrinites*, though the King of *Syria's* Subjects, yet his friends and allies.

2. He cast a Trench about it, and committed the siege to the care of his two sons *Antigonus* and *Aristobolus*, who forely oppressed the defendants, hindering all importation of Victuals, so that they were constrained to beg aid of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, then reigning in *Syria*. He came, but was overthrown by *Archeolus* his Soldiers, and being pursued by the brothers as far as *Scythopolis*, hardly escaped, and the siege was renewed. The besieged reduced to their former necessities, sent once more to *Cyzicenus*, who then obtaining about six thousand men of *Ptolemy Lathurus* (then expelled his Kingdom by his mother) made an inroad into *Hircanus* his Dominions, and made havock of all things, thereby hoping to constrain him to raise the siege. But having lost many of his men being intercepted by the Enemy, he himself went to *Tripolis*, and gave over the War to *Callimander* and *Ephraïm*, two of his Captains. *Callimander* being more venturous than wife was presently slain, and his fellow was corrupted to betray *Scythopolis* and other Towns to *Hircanus*, who then after a years lying before *Samarita* took it, razed it, and brought the water-courses through the Place, by the filth of which all appearance of a Town was taken away. After this, inviting the *Pharisees* on a time (whose Scholar he had been) to a feast, he laboured to approve his sincerity to them, and desired, if any of them knew any fault in him, to tell him plainly of it. All approved of his manners but one *Elexar* a seditious and bad man, who told him, that if he would be accounted good, he must desist himself of the Priesthood, and be content with the Principality, for that he had heard say, that his mother was a captive in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This being utterly false, *Hircanus* was grievously offended, and so were the *Pharisees*; but *Jonathan a Saducee* of the contrary fact, and one in great grace with him, took thence occasion to tell him, that this affront came from all the *Pharisees* together, and that he should perceive it by the punishment they would inflict upon him, if their opinion was demanded. They being mercifully inclined, thought it sufficient he should be imprisoned and beaten for no greater an offence: at which *Hircanus* was fore displeased, as then thinking they had raised that scandal of him. Wherefore being more incensed by *Jonathan*, he revolted to the *Saducees*, abrogated the constitutions of the *Pharisees*, and punished their followers, whence it came to pass, that neither he nor his sons were much beloved by the People. A sedition also arose herupon, but he quitted all, and having governed thirty one years died being honoured with three especial dignities, of the chief Government, High-Priesthood, and also Prophecy, as *Josephus* tells us, who relateth, that he foretold his two eldest sons should neither of them long enjoy his Principality. A. M. 3899. the last of the one hundred and sixty *Olympiad*, about one hundred and four years before the birth of Christ.

The original of the several Jewish Sects.

3. Mention being here made of *Pharisees*, it is requisite to speak something of this Sect and others amongst the *Jews*, according to the nature of this work. *Josephus* first maketh mention of them in the ninth Chapter of his thirteenth Book of *Antiquities*, afterwards more diligently and largely * handling their matters. There

A. M. 3878.
Ol. 253. an. 2.
P. C. 627.
Strucid. 186.
Ptol. Phisic. 220.
Joh. Hyrcani 5.

him said. & de bello Judæico lib. 1. c. 2, & 3.

* J. h. 18. c. 5. & de b. l. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

There is no question but these sects sprang up after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. It's probable that the difference amongst them arose after the building of the second Temple, about their worship and offerings. Some thought they were only to live by the precept of the Law, neither above nor below it. Others believed they were not only to act according to the bare letter of the Scriptures, but also according to such fables and consequences as might be made out from it, and accordingly they offered over and above what the Law required in the service of the Temple, even what they conceived was due according to their riches or other respects. Those that stood to the letter of the Law were called *Karaim*: Those that besides the precepts of the Law did works of supererogation, and voluntary service without any compulsion, were named *Hafidim*, that is *Sandit* or *Holy*, and (after they grew into a body) *Hafideans*. As long as this voluntary and supererogatory service was free and spontaneous, there was no such schism; but when this doctrine of the *Hafideans* came to be digested into precepts, and the precepts of supererogation into Writings and Canons, many doubts, disputes, and controversies, daily arose, whence two dogmatical Sects had their original. One which only allowed of the Law itself, and another that embraced also the glosses and interpretations of it. From the latter, being that of the *Hafideans*, sprung up some who called themselves *Peruschim* or *Separate*, as those who by reason of their holiness were not only distinct and separated from the vulgar, but also from other *Hafideans*, for that they taught that those constitutions formerly accounted free, were to be observed out of necessity. These *Peruschim* in *Syriack* *Pherushim*, came by Greek Writers to be called *Pharisei*: Now as out of the *Hafideans* arose the *Pharisees*, so from amongst the *Karaim* the *Saducees*, so named from *Sadoc*: *Antigonus* the Master of this *Sadoc*, and Scholar to *Simon* the *Just*, amongst other heads of doctrine had taught, that they ought not to be like Servants, who served their Masters on condition to receive their Wages, meaning that we ought to serve God out of love, and not for our own gain or advantage. But *Sadoc*, or *Saduc*, and *Baitus* interpreted this godly saying into a wicked fence, teaching, that there was no reward after this life; and therefore denied the future state, and framed their Heresie. The third sect was that of the *Essai* or *Esseni*, who as it's probable sprang from the *Pharisees*, though when it began it be uncertain. *Philo Judæus* thinketh they were so called from their holiness *Esseni*, as though *Osseni*, though more probably from *Hesi* the *Syriack*, whence the Greek *ἑσῆς* may be derived. The Hebrew signifieth such as live apart from noise, which agreeth much with those *Esseni*, who like the *Pythagoreans* kept silence, and lived in deserts or Villages by themselves, far from others. They had skill in Physick, and thence some would derive their name from the Hebrew *Asa*, which signifieth to heal. This Sect was later then that of the *Pharisees*, and some think it arose at this time when *Hircanus* turned *Saducee*, and persecuted the Sect of the *Pharisees*; for then many of the *Pharisees* to shun persecution depart into the Wilderness and desert places, and afterwards be called *Essai* or *Esseni*, who were held more strict than the *Pharisees* themselves.

Antiochus the son of *Hircanus* changed the Principality into a Kingdom.

His cruelty against his mother and brethren.

4. But, (to return to our matter) *John* surnamed *Hircanus* left five sons, whereof *Antiochus* the eldest (surnamed *Philhell* for his love to, and familiarity with the Greeks) succeeded him, and first changed his Principality into a Kingdom, setting a Diadem on his head, four hundred and eighty one years after the return of the Jews from the Captivity of *Babylon*. His second brother he loved exceedingly, so as he made him his partner in the Kingdom; but then up the rest in prison, and with him his Mother, to whom his Father had left the Principality, and proceeded so far in unnatural cruelty, as to starve her to death. Not long after, he caused to be made away also his beloved brother, though against his will he did it. For he (*Antigonus* by name) returning victorious from the Wars, at the Feast of the Tabernacles, marched up with his Soldiers to the Temple, as intending to offer Sacrifice for his brother then lying sick. This was presently interpreted to *Antiochus* as an effect of a bad intention towards him, and a sufficient sign of affecting the Kingdom, and it was represented to him, as if *Antigonus* would presently come down, and kill him, accounting it folly when he might Reign alone, to be content with a communicated honour. He having rejected tales therefore, did not easily give credit to them now, but to provide for his own security, and yet shun suspicion, he commanded some of his Guard to stand in an obscure place where he was to come, and if he came armed, then to kill him, but if not, then not to molest him, and he sent also to him to come without any guard at all. But the

Josephus *Suppl.*
lib. 11. c. 2.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.

Josephus *lib. 11. c. 2.*
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.

A. M. 3200.
O. 132. 400.
P. C. 649.
Phil. Lib. 13.

Queen and the rest of the conspirators, persuaded the messenger to deliver his errand the clean contrary way, so that *Antigonus* thinking nothing; but coming to see his brother, was there murdered. After this was done, *Antiochus* presently repented of the deed, though knowing nothing concerning the message, which so increased his defence, that he vomited blood for anguish of mind. The blood being carried out by one of his attendants, chanced to be spilt in that place where *Antigonus* was slain, which being judged by them that saw it, to be done of purpose, they cried out against the thing, and made such a noise, that the King hearing it, forced the matter out of them; after which his Agony increased so highly (crying out, that his blood was required for that of his Mothers and Brothers which he had spilt, and eluding as it were his body for retaining the Soul required of him by their Ghosts) that in great torment of conscience he presently breathed out his last, when he had scarcely reigned a whole year. He profited much his Country by his Government, and making War upon *Iturea*, laid a great part of it to his own Dominions, and frightened the Inhabitants by threatening banishment to them, into an imbracement of Circumcision, and the other Jewish Rites.

He died while in a years time.

Josephus *lib. 11. c. 2.*
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.

Josephus *lib. 11. c. 2.*
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.
Philo *de Legat.*
lib. 2. c. 10.

5. He being dead, his Wife *Salome* (called by the Greeks *Alexandra*) set his brothers at liberty, of which *Jannæus* (or *Alexander*) was made King, excelling the other, as in age so also in modesty. His Father is said to have hated him, and sent him out of his sight to be educated in *Galile* presently after his birth, because being solicitous for his two eldest Sons, and desiring of God to know his Successor, his likeness was presented to him in his sleep. Being seized of the Kingdom, he put to death one of his Brothers that conspired against him, but the other who was contented with a private life he much honoured. Having settled his affairs at home, he went and besieged *Ptolemais*, which with *Gaza* only of the Sea-Towns remained unconquered, besides the Tower of *Straton* (since called *Cesarea*) and *Dora*, which *Zoilus* the Tyrant had got into his hands. At this time the two Brothers *Antiochus Grypus* (called by *Josephus* *Philometor*) and *Antiochus Cyrenensis* in *Syria*, attending nothing but the destruction of each other, the Defendants had little hope of any succour from either of them, only *Zoilus*, who gaped after the City himself, gave them a little relief. There remaining no help to be hoped for, but either from *Ægypt*, or *Cyprus* (whither *Lathurus* had been expelled by his Mother *Cleopatra*) they sent to him, desiring he would rescue them out of the hands of *Alexander*, giving him hopes, that he should not only have them, but the Inhabitants of *Gaza* also on his side, and that *Zoilus*, the *Sidonians* and others would come and help him. He being puffed up with these promises made what haste he could, but *Demanetrius* one of their Citizens persuaded them for reasons formerly recited to refuse his help, notwithstanding which he came on, and pitching his Tents near the City, seeing he had no Message from them, began to be discouraged. But *Zoilus* and the *Gazæans* came shortly to him, and desired his help against *Alexander*, who wasted their Territories, whereupon the siege was raised before *Ptolemais*, and *Alexander* departed home, wherein he attempted to overturn by policy the design of *Ptolemy*. He sent privily to *Cleopatra*, exciting her against him, but openly counterfeiting himself his Friend and Ally, promised him three hundred Talents of Silver to take off *Zoilus* the Tyrant, and lay his Territories to his Dominions. At first he willingly embraced his friendship and took *Zoilus*, but then finding he had sent underhand to his Mother, renounced it again, and went and besieged *Ptolemais*, which had shut the Gates on him, where leaving part of his Army to continue the siege, he departed thence to invade *Judea*. *Alexander* also understanding his purpose, raised an Army of fifty thousand (some say eighty thousand) and went to meet him.

6. He took *Ashchis* a Town in *Galile*, setting upon it at unawares on the Sabbath, and then attempted to do the like by *Sephoris*, a place not far distant from the other; but was received with such resolution, that he lost many of his men, and arose from thence to go to meet *Alexander*, whom having found to have reached the River *Jordan*, he pitched his Tents on this side over against him. *Alexander* suffered him quietly to pass foolishly supposing that the victory would be more easy if the Enemy had the River on his back, and so could not run away. For some time the Victory was doubtful, or seemed to incline to *Alexander's* party, till his Soldiers being beaten back by a reserve of fresh men, and having none to succour them, were put to flight, and the Enemy gave the chase as long as he could hold a sword for weariness, so that thirty thousand (some have affirmed fifty

A. M. 3205.
O. 1370. 400.
P. C. 654.
Phil. Lib. 13.
A. M. 3205.
O. 1370. 400.
P. C. 654.
Phil. Lib. 13.

Who invaded *Judea*, and overthrew *Alexander* in battle.

fifty thousand) were slain in this battle. *Ptolemy* ranging up and down the Country, fell at length into some Villages, which seeing full of Women and Children, he commanded his Soldiers to kill them promiscuously, and cutting off their limbs to cast them into hot Caldrons, that a report going that his Army ate mans flesh, the enemy might thereby be discouraged. But *Cleopatra* hearing that her son prospered in his undertakings, thought her self concerned therein, especially he being so near her, and therefore she came against him with Forces both by Land and Sea, over which she placed *Checcias* and *Ananias*, both Jews. Her son thinking he had her at advantage, being now out of *Egypt*, halted thither, but she had left it provided, so he could not do anything according to his purpose, and was beaten back to *Gaza* by a party she sent after him. She having taken *Ptolemais*, *Alexander* thither came to her, where he was received as a person distressed by her adversary, and one who only had refuge in her self. Some advised her to seize his Country into her hands, and not to suffer so many good Jews to be at the command and pleasure of one man: but *Ananias* counting it wickedness for him to dispose a man received into friendship, and his own Kinsman besides, and withal thinking that thereby he should lose himself with the Jews in all places, he persuaded her to the contrary, and so she entered into a League with him at *Scythopolis*, a City of *Celestria*.

7. Hereby being freed from all danger, both from Mother and Son, he presently made another expedition into *Celestria*, took *Gadara* after he had layen ten months before it, and *Amachus* a strong Castle upon the River *Jordan*, where *Theodorus* the Son of *Zenon* had laid up his Treasure, who falling suddenly upon the Jews, cut off ten thousand of them, and plundered the Carriages. Yet he was not at all terrified herewith from setting upon *Raphia* and *Antedoon* (called afterwards *Agrippias* by *Herod*) which he took, and perceiving *Ptolemy* to begone to *Cyprus*, and his Mother into *Egypt*, being angry with them of *Gaza*, for calling him in to help them against him, he set upon the City, and wasted their grounds. In the mean time *Apollodorus* their General brake out into his Camp by night with twelve thousand men, and as long as night lasted had the better of it, but as soon as it was day the Jews uniting themselves, and encouraged after they saw *Ptolemy* was not come as they expected, charged the Town-men so fiercely that they slew a thousand men. For all this they would not yield, expeding the coming of *Aretas* the Arabian King; but the City was taken ere they could see his face, by the treachery of *Lyfmacus* the Brother of *Apollodorus*, whom he envying for being in so great grace with the People, murdered, and then getting a party close about him delivered up the place. *Alexander* upon his entry did no harm to the Inhabitants, but not long after gave commission to his Soldiers to kill and slay all they would, who ranging up and down with fury and Sword, as many of them lost their lives as they slew, the Defendants fighting courageously, and setting their houses on fire, lest they should become a prey to them; and some killed their Wives and Children with their own hands, rather than they should be led into Captivity. It hapned that at the same time that *Alexander* was let in, the Senate was met, which consisting of five hundred men, he put them all to the Sword, and then razing the City, returned to *Jerusalem* a year after he first fate down before *Gaza*.

8. He was not at all affected by his Subjects, which they clearly manifested when the Feast of Tabernacles came. For then as he was about to sacrifice they threw Oranges at him, and railed at him, upbraiding him with Captivity (that I suppose of his Grand-mother objected before to his Father) and crying out that he was not worthy of so high an Office: as the High Priest-hood. Being enraged hereat he flew about six thousand of them; made up the place about the Altar with boards to defend him for the time to come from the violence of the multitude, and furnished himself with Guards hired out of *Pisidia* and *Cilicia*. Then overthrew he the *Arabians*, and imposed Tribute upon the *Moabites* and *Gadaites*, and levelled *Amathus* with the ground, *Theodorus* not once daring to engage. But making another expedition against the *Arabians*, he was drawn into an Ambush by *Obedas* their King, and being thrust amongst the Craggy and precipitous Rocks by a multitude of Caimels, he hardly escaped by flight to *Jerusalem*, his whole Army being cut off. Then were his Rebellious Subjects encouraged by this his overthrow to begin fresh fires, which continued six years, during which time they fought often, but he had the better, and destroyed no less than fifty thousand of them. This yet was no matter of joy to him thus to lose the strength of his own Kingdom; therefore he endeavoured

But is driven back by his own mother.

Who entered into League with Alexander.

He again invading Celestria.

Hath Gaza betrayed to him.

He is defeated by the Arabians, and hath Wars with his rebellious and saw-y Subjects.

idem ibid.

A. M. 3909.
Ol. 171. an. 11
P. C. 68.
Sextilis 217.
Alexander. p.
C. Demitri
C. Antiochus
C. Callistatus.
Eius off.

idem ibid. &
De bello lib. 1.
cap. 3.

endeavoured to make up the breach, and by fair means to be reconciled to them. But being asked by him wherewith he should appease them, they answered; if he would kill himself, for scarce could they pardon him being dead. Then sent they to *Demetrius*, surnamed *Acerus*, inducing him with great promises to come and aid them, so that joining with him they made up an Army of three thousand Horse, and forty thousand Foot, their King having twenty six thousand and two hundred men in his Army. Both at the first laboured to draw their Enemies to revolt, *Demetrius* those *Greeks* that were in pay with *Alexander*, and he the Jews which had called him in, but this succeeding on no part, they both resolved to end the controversy with dint of sword. *Demetrius* had the better of it (all *Alexander's* Auxiliaries being slain, though they behaved themselves most gallantly) but he was no whit better, but much worse for his victory. For the Jews taking pity of their King after this his defeat, about six thousand went over to him, which so discouraged *Demetrius*, that he thereupon retreated into his own Country.

9. They thenceforth waged War with him by themselves, but still had the worst of it, and many of them were slain. At length he forced the strongest up into a Town called *Bethoma*, which reducing, he took them in it, and brought them up to *Jerusalem*, where he caused eight hundred of them to be nailed to Crosses, and their Wives and Children to be slain in their sight, yet living, he beholding the Spectacle from an high place, banquetting, and dallying with his women. He was highly provoked with that stubborn people, who not only brought him often into extrem danger of life and estate, but not contenting themselves with what they could do by their own power, without calling in of foreign aid, had reduced him to that necessity, that he was glad to restore those places he had subdued in the Country of *Moab* and *Galaad* to the *Arabians*; and for animadversion upon them they nicknamed him *Thracida*. About eight thousand men got away by night and passed all the time he lived, in Exile, and so ever after the Kingdom continued free from seditions. *Antiochus* *Dionysius* King of *Syria* intending to make an invasion into *Arabia* through his Kingdom, he getting knowledge of it, drew a Ditch from *Casparis* (afterwards called *Antiparis*) as far as the Sea of *Joppe*, to hinder him, strengthening it with a Bulwark, and Forts built here and there upon it where he expected him. But he burning these Forts easily got over, and then invading *Arabia*, was there slain in battle by *Aretas* the King, who was made King of *Celestria*, and making an inroad into *Judea*, overthrew *Alexander* at *Adida*, and forcing him to subscribe to his own conditions, then departed. Afterwards *Alexander* gathering together his Forces, went and took divers Towns with all the Valley of *Antiochus* (as it was called) and the Castle *Gamala*, and returned to *Jerusalem* at the end of three years, now joyfully and honourably received by his people for his valour; and indeed at this time the Nation, what by his own, and the diligence of his predecessors, arrived at that height for dominion and glory abroad, that they enjoyed many Cities in *Syria*, *Idumea*, *Phenicia*, and other Countries; whercof a Catalogue of most *Josaphus* hath left unto us, and amongst which *Polla* a Town of *Moab* was destroyed, because the Inhabitants refused to receive the *Jewish* Rites. *Alexander* towards his latter end fell to drunkenness, and thereby contracted a Quartan Ague, which held him three years; yet recovered he his ancient temper of mind, though not of body, and following on his Wars laid siege to *Ragala* beyond *Jordan*, in the Country of the *Gerasens*, where being spent with the force of his disease, he died before the Walls of that place, in the twenty seventh year of his reign, and of his age the forty ninth. A. M. 3927, and the third of the 173 *Olympiads*, some seventy six years before the birth of *Christ*.

10. His wife *Alexandra* seeing his end approaching, bewailed much the condition of her self and children, being destitute of succour, and about to enter upon the government of a People, likely enough to be untoward towards them, which bore him so much ill will. He advised her, that the might reign securely, first to keep close his death till that place should be gained, then going victoriously to *Jerusalem* to send for the chief of the *Pharisees*, whom both he and his Father had grievously offended, and thereby incurred the hatred of the People, and to gain their favour to shew them his body, and give them power of disposing of it as they would either as to bestow burial upon it, or cast it out without Sepulture, or otherwise to abuse it at their pleasure; and withal, to promise them to do nothing without their counsel and advice. The Castle being taken, she ordered her affairs according to his direction, whereby she purchased the love of the *Pharisees*, who going out and speaking to the People, related the great things done by *Alexander*, signified to them

idem ibid. &
Antioch. lib. 13.
cap. 22.

A. M. 3920.
Ol. 173. an. 4.
P. C. 699.
Sextilis. 228.
Alexander. 20.

Idem Antiguit.
lib. 13. cap. 24.
& De bello
lib. 1. cap. 4.

Antiquit. lib.
13. cap. 13.

A. M. 3929.
Ol. 175. an. 3.
P. C. 675.
Sextilis. 235.

idem cap. 24.
& De bello lib.
1. an. 2.

them the loss of a just King, and so stirred up the multitude to mourning and lamentation, that hereby he procured him (even as he foretold her) a more honourable burial than else he could have had, and as sumptuous a funeral as any of his Predecessors obtained. *Alexander* left two sons by this his wife, *Hyrcanus* and *Arifobulus*; but to her left the management of the Kingdom. The elder of their sons was not at all made for government, but dull and heavy. She being in great grace with the People, because she ever had pretended to dislike the proceedings of her husband, made *Hyrcanus* the High-Priest, not so much out of respect to his birth-right as his laziness, keeping the title of *Queen* and *Governess*, though indeed all things were ordered at the will and pleasure of the *Pharisees*, whom the People were commanded to obey, and against whom all such constitutions as were made by *Hyrcanus* were taken away. Yet he took care for something her self, for he kept in pay a great number of foreigners, and so increased her power, that she became formidable abroad, and such a terror to the neighbouring petty Governors, that she constrained them to give Hostages.

11. Yet no great matters were done abroad, but stir sufficient happened within the Kingdom; for the *Pharisees* knowing no moderation in the prosecution of their ambitious and envious desires, caused her to put to death those that had counselled her husband to deal cruelly with the eight hundred before mentioned, and they made away divers of them; till such time as those of most power and esteem being backed by *Arifobulus* (who complained of the too great power of his Mother) came to Court, and there laid her how unworthy it was, that they should suffer so much for their faithfulness to *Alexander*, and how joyful news it would be to *Aretas* the Arabian and others, to hear that the Kingdom was deprived of such men, who had done good service against him. They besought her, that if their adversaries were not satisfied with what blood they had spilt already, to give them leave to depart, and provide for their own safety, or if that could not be granted, to distribute them into several places of strength, that there they might live quietly and meanly, with which condition they would be contented, seeing Fortune so frowned upon the favourers of *Alexander*. They setting these things off with all advantage possible to gain compassion, and calling on the ghost of *Alexander*, *Arifobulus* also soundly reprehended his Mother, but withal added, that they were justly punished for permitting the chief power to be in a woman, as if no posterity had been left by his Father. She not knowing what to do, delivered into their hands all her Castles, except three, in which she had hoarded up her choicest goods, and shortly after sent her younger Son against *Ptolomy Mennæus*, who troubled sorely *Damascus*, but he returned without having done any thing. A report went at the same time, that *Tigranes* the Armenian had invaded Syria with fifty thousand men, and would speedily come into Judea, which so terrified both Queen and People, that they sent Ambassadors to him then lying before *Ptolemais*; for *Celene* or *Cleopatra* then reigned in Syria, and had advised her Subjects to exclude him. He kindly received the Ambassadors, because come so far to tender him respect, and gave them encouraging words. And after he had taken *Ptolemais*, news being brought him, that *Lucullus* in his pursuit of *Mithridates* the Great, King of Pontus, was entered Armenia, and waited the Country, he being Son in Law to that King, and therefore taking his part, departed home with all Expedition.

12. After this, *Alexandra* falling grievously sick, *Arifobulus* judged that now or never was there a fit opportunity for him to do something, and left the *Pharisees* should get all into their hands, departed by night with one man in his company, and got the Castles within a short time into his power, which he had committed to their adversaries, even to the number of twenty two within little more than fifteen days. This being understood, she and all the People were struck with consternation, knowing that he would take the Supreme Power, and fearing they should dearly pay for what they had done to his familiar friends. They thought good then to secure his Wife and Children in the Castle adjoining to the Temple at Jerusalem. He increased in followers and in power daily, taking the state of a King upon him, and got an Army from the Mountain *Libanus*, *Trachonitis*, and the petty Princes thereto adjoining. The chief of the Jews therefore with *Hyrcanus* came to the Queen, beseeching her that some course might be entered into to prevent his attempts, who now had gotten so many convenient places. She with shortness of mind told them they might do whatsoever they thought meet and convenient for the Commonwealth; that they had liberty and strength enough both as to Souldiers, and money

also the nerves of War; but as for her self, she could look to nothing, her body being now spent; and shortly after she breathed her last, having reigned nine years, and lived seventy three. A woman of wisdom, courage, and industry above her sex, and who in the whole course of her Government could not be drawn (for the generality) from moderation, justice, and honesty. But whereas she looked more at the present than future times, seemed to side with the Enemies of her house, and to have made the Kingdom naked of fit Rulers, after her death the effects of her male administration was felt by her family, which came into such misfortunes, as it miscarried and fell from that power, wherein she had laboured and taken as much pains to establish it.

13. For *Hyrcanus* having entered upon the High-Priesthood in the third year of the 177 Olympiad, *Sc. Horensius*, and *Sc. Mællus Creticus* being Consuls, his brother *Arifobulus* now presently made War upon him. A battle being fought near Jericho, the most of *Hyrcanus* his Souldiers revolted to the other, whereby he was forced to betake himself into that Castle where *Arifobulus* his wife and children were kept, and he now made his conditions to be suffered to live quietly a private life, remitting to his brother the Kingdom and Principality and changing estates with him, he removing into *Arifobulus* his private house, and *Arifobulus* to the Court, which covenant was solemnly sworn to, and confirmed in the Temple. But not long did this agreement hold, being broken by the means of *Antipater*, who being Governor at that time of *Idumæa*, feared the power of *Arifobulus*, and therefore endeavoured his destruction, both by stirring up *Hyrcanus* and the most powerful of the Jews against him. The fame of Herod Son of this *Antipater*, caught his original to be more enquired into. *Nicolaus Damascus* to flatter the said Herod, derived his pedigree from the chief of the Jews, which returned from Babylon; but *Josephus* denyeth it, and reports him to have been an *Idumæan* born. Others have delivered, that this *Antipater*, or *Antipas*, was the Son of one Herod the Priest of *Apollo's* Temple at *Acalon*, which City being invaded by the *Idumæan* thieves, he was taken with other spoils out of the Temple, and whereas his Father was not able to ransom him, was brought up after the manner of the *Idumæans*, and became very familiar with *Hyrcanus* the High-Priest. *Josephus* saith that he was constituted Governour of *Idumæa* by *Alexander* the King, and his Wife, and then minding his own interest, entered into society with the *Arabians*, *Gassæans*, and *Acalonites*, having purchased their friendship with great gifts. He professed to the Jews that it was unjust, that *Arifobulus* should be suffered to enjoy his usurped power, from which he had cast down his elder brother, and had deprived him of the prerogative of his age. The same things he often inculcated into *Hyrcanus*, adding withal, that his life was in danger, except he would in good time save himself by flight, for that the friends of his brother still consulted, how they might rid him out of the way, and establish the Kingdom upon the other.

14. He being a plain and well-meaning man, gave no great credit to these slanders, but the other ceased not for all that to invent fresh accusations of him to stir *Aretas*, as if he lay in wait for his life, and at length hardly obtained of him to flee to *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, because his Country was nigh to Judea. *Antipater* went first to the King, to get a promise from him not to betray him into the hands of his Enemies, which being obtained, he returned to Jerusalem, and thence not long after taking *Hyrcanus* out by night, by great journeys came to Petra, where *Aretas* kept his Court. Being very great with the *Arabians*, he laboured to persuade him to restore *Hyrcanus*, and with his importunity and gifts at length prevailed. *Hyrcanus* also promising, if by his means he should recover the Kingdom, to restore to him that Country with the twelve Towns, which his Father *Alexander* had taken from him. *Aretas* being drawn in by these promises, undertook this Expedition with fifty thousand men, and overthrew *Arifobulus*, who being first forsaken of his followers, who now fled amain to his brother, retired to Jerusalem, where the Arabian and *Hyrcanus* besieged him in the Temple. The Feast of the Passover hapning during the siege, the Priests who only remained with *Arifobulus*, that the Sacrifices might not be omitted, bargained with the besiegers for beasts to be fold them for that service, but when they had let down the money from the walls, were derided by them. But this wickedness the Historian observeth to have been punished with great storms and tempests, which procured extraordinary scarcity of Corn. In this mean while Pompey the Great being diverted by the War with *Tigranes* in Armenia, sent *Scarnus* his Quæstor, as *Appian* calls him, into Syria, who coming straight to Damascus (taken then by *Mællus* and *Lollius*) halted without intermission into Judea.

She dieth.

Arifobulus by a banet distressed his Brother Hyrcanus.

Antipater stirreth up Hyrcanus to recover his just right.

And procureth him to flee to Aretas King of Arabia.

Who besiegeth Jerusalem.

Which the followeth and reigneth her self.

This raiseth stir between the two sisters.

Arifobulus her younger Son assaulteth the State of King.

A. M. 3324. Ol. 177. an. 4. Silius. 244.

Lib. 14. c. 2. Vide Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 7.

Josephus at this cap. 5.

Idem cap. 4. A. M. 3344. Ol. 179. an. 1. P. C. 690. Silius. 245. Arifob. 4.

Judea. To him both parties sent, to desire his friendship and help, but though each promised as much as the other (*viz.* four hundred Talents) yet he clofed with *Aristobulus*, being counted more free and rich, and whose request was more eafie to be fulfilled, in driving away the *Nabatheans*, than that of the other, to take the place which he held, being fo strong both of it felf and by defence.

But is beaten
off by Scarus.

Both Brothers
fent to Pompey
to complain.

Whofideth
with Hyrcanus.

And followed
Aristobulus in-
to *Judea*.

Befiege his
parry in the
Temple, and
felicit it.

15. Taking the money of *Aristobulus* he eafily raifed the fieve, denouncing to *Arctas* that he fhould depart, except he would be declared an Enemy of the People of *Rome*; and then returned to *Damafcus*. *Aristobulus* having gotten this advantage againft his Enemies, followed them with a great Army, and joining battel overthrew them at a place called *Papyron*, about feven thoufand of them being flain, and amongst the reft *Cephalio* the brother of *Antipater*. But not long after *Pompey* came to *Damafcus*, and going about *Celefyria*, thither were fent to him Ambaffadors from feveral parts. *Aristobulus* fent him an excellent prefent, being a golden Urn of the value of five hundred Talents, which afterwards was dedicated by him amongst other things in the Capitol at *Rome*. Shortly after were fent fome to him from both the brothers; *Antipater* from *Hyrcanus*, and one *Nicodemus* from the other, to whom he answered, that coming to *Damafcus* he would hear the caufe. Thither was fent alfo an Ambaffage of the Jews themfelves, who declared they were unwilling to live under Kings, it being the cuftom of their Country to yield obedience to the *Priefts* of their God; and that though thefe two were of that race of *Priefts*, yet being defirous to change the Government into another form, they thereby intended to enlave them. *Hyrcanus* accused his brother of ambition and violence, in that he had gone about to deprive him of his birth-right, and the other excufed himfelf by the neceffity of the thing, left the Principality fhould have been transferred into another family by his heavy dufties, which rendered him incapable of employment. To *Hyrcanus* bare witnefs one thoufand Jews which *Antipater* had brought for that purpofe, but to *Aristobulus* a Company of effeminate Gallants, ridiculous to all for their fantaftick bravery. *Pompey* having heard them, and difapproved of *Aristobulus* his violence, difmiffed them both kindly at prefent, promifing he would come to them as foon as he had infpected the affairs of the *Nabatheans*, bidding them be quiet in the mean time, and using *Aristobulus* civilly, left he fhould flop up the paffages. But hereby he won nothing upon him, for not expecting his promifes, he went to *Detum*, and thence betook himfelf into *Judea*.

16. *Pompey* being offended with this carriage of *Aristobulus*, took the Army which he had provided againft the *Nabatheans*, and with other fupplies out of *Syria*, and the Legions which were at his command, followed him. Coming into *Judea*, and hearing he was in a Caftle near *Coreas*, he fent to him to come and fpeak with him, and he obeyed, being advifed by thofe about him to take heed of Warring with the *Romans*. When he had difputed the cafe with his brother, he returned to the Caftle, and fo he did divers times, defiring to pleafe *Pompey*, and pretending a willingness to obey him in all things, but providing till for the War, fearing the Principality might be bettowed upon *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* in conclusion required him to deliver up into his hands the Garrifons, and write to the Governors of them for that purpofe; which he obeyed alfo, but then prefently departed to *Jerufalem* there to prepare for War. He followed him, and in the way heard how *Mithridates* of *Pontus* was killed by his Son *Pharnaces*. His firft nights quarters he took up at *Jericho*, where the Trees grew, that being cut diffilted with the precious *Balfamum*; and the next day marching towards *Jerufalem*, *Aristobulus* repenting of what he had done, came and met him, offered him money, and referred himfelf to his pleafore, fo that omitting War he would order things in a peaceable manner. He pardoning him, fent *Gabinus* to *Jerufalem* to fetch the money; but he being fhut out by *Aristobulus* his Souldiers, returned empty handed, which *Pompey* taking in great difdain, committed *Aristobulus* to cuftody, and went himfelf to the City. There were two factions difagreeing with each other, whereof that of *Aristobulus* brake down the bridge, which went out of the City to the Temple; and therein fortified themfelves, whereupon the other let in the *Romans* into the City and Palace. Then did *Pompey* befiege the Temple, filled up with the great toil of his Souldiers the Ditch before it, and with Engines brought from *Tyre* battered the Walls, taking occafion at the fuperftition of the Jews, who thought it finful to do any thing on the Sabbath-dayes, but defend themfelves. The greateft Tower being battered down, the *Romans* broke in (*Cornelius Faufus* the Son of *Sylla* firft entering the breach) and then made flaughter of twelve thoufand, the *Priefts* even then

him cap. 5.

him cap. 6. &
de bello lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Lib. 14. cap. 7.

A. M. 594.

cap. 2.

then (as they had done all the fieve) not neglecting to offer facrifices, and amongst the reft *Abfalom* the Uncle, and father-in-law of *Aristobulus* was taken, being the youngest Son of *Hyrcanus*. *Pompey* with many followers entered the Temple, and looked on thofe things, which it was unlawful for any but the *Priefts* to behold; yet touched nothing he faw, fo great was his abftinency. The Temple was taken as *Josephus* tells us, in the third month, and the feft day, which was kept in memory of *Jehobachin's* burning the Roll, in the 179 Olympiad, C. Antonius and M. Tullius *Cicero* being Confuls, A. M. 5942. about fixty two years before the birth of *Chrift*.

Heretofore
the Priefthood to
Hyrcanus forbid-
ding him the
Diadem, and
carrying *Aristobulus*
and his
Sons to *Rome*.

His Son *Aristobulus* ele-
gantly, and is
defeated by
Gabinus, and
he himfelf alfo
getteth away
from *Rome*.

He is taken
and fent back
by *Gabinus*.

Alexander his
Son firft
buis defeated.

17. *Pompey* reftored the Priefthood to *Hyrcanus*, with the Government of the Country, (forbidding him the wearing of the Diadem) becaufe amongst feveral other fervices he had done him during the fieve, he had alfo kept the Countrymen from taking up Arms for *Aristobulus*. Then putting to death the Authors of the Sedition, he made the Jews Tributaries to the people of *Rome*, the Cities they held in *Celefyria* he took away, and fubjected them to a Governor of their own, and the whole Nation much elevated then with fuccels abroad, he contracted with it in its own bounds; *Aristobulus* and his brother being the caufe of all thefe troubles, and of the lofing of the Countries liberty to the *Romans*, who within a fhort time exacted above ten thoufand Talents of it. *Pompey* having left *Syria* to the Government of *Scarus*, with two Legions halted to *Rome*, leading *Aristobulus* bound thither, with two Sons, and as many Daughters. One of his Sons efaped in the journey, and returned into *Judea*, where he got together a confiderable power, and awed his Uncle *Hyrcanus* unable to refift him, and who, when now he was about to repair the Walls of *Jerufalem*, demolished by *Pompey*, was forbidden to do it by the *Romans*. But within a while *Gabinus* was fent from *Rome* to Govern *Syria*. He undertook the War againft him, by this time having ten thoufand Foot, and one thoufand and five hundred Horfe at his Command, but notwithstanding he overthrew him not far from *Jerufalem*, killing and taking fix thoufand of them, and then befieged him in the Caftle *Alexandrium* whither he had fled. Leaving here fufficient ftrengh for carrying on the fieve, he went and vifited the Country, caufing divers Cities to be re-edified, and then returning, and more powerfully enforcing the fieve, *Alexander* yielded himfelf, and the Caftles, which by his Mothers advice to *Gabinus* were demolished, left they fhould nourifh another War. *Gabinus* then went to *Jerufalem*, and eftablifhed *Hyrcanus* in the Priefthood, but cantonized the Country into five parts, which he ordered to be Governed in an *Aristocratical* way. One divifion was to be Governed by an Affembly at *Jerufalem*, another by at *Gadara*, a third at *Amathus*, a fourth at *Jericho*, and a fifth by one fitting at *Saphora* a Town of *Samaria*. The Jews very gladly embraced this Government. But *Aristobulus* not long after efaped from *Rome*, and coming into *Judea* miniftered occafion of further trouble.

18. Coming into his own Countrey, he prefently found fome who out of defire of innovation fided with him, amongst the which was *Pitholeas* the Governor of *Jerufalem*, who revolted to him with one thoufand men. He firft feized upon A. A. M. 5949. *Alexandrium*, and went about to re-edifie the Walls thereof, but knowing that *Gabinus* had fent againft him three of his Officers, he departed toward *Macherus*, difmiffing the unarmed multitude, and making a choice of eight thoufand men. The *Romans* following he gave them battel, in which he fought ftoutly, till his men being overpowered, five thoufand of them were flain upon the place, almoft two thoufand fled to an Hill not far of, and a thoufand with him, brake through the Enemy to *Macherus*. There he thought to renew the War having fortified the place, but being befieged, and holding it out two days, he could no longer withftand, but was taken, and together with his Son *Aristobulus*, (who it feems got away with him) fent back to *Rome*, where he was more narrowly looked to, but his Sons, becaufe *Gabinus* had fo agreed with their Mother, in confideration of the delivering up of the Caftles formerly mentioned, were fent back by the Senate. Then prepared *Gabinus* an expedition againft the *Parthians*, but paffing over *Euphrates*, was hired by *Ptolomy Auletes* to reduce him into his Kingdom, as we faw in the foregoing Chapter. In this voyage he made ufe of *Hyrcanus*, and efpecially *Antipater*, who furnifhed him with fupplies, both of men and provifions, and prevailed with the Jews, inhabiting about *Pefifium*, to give him paffage. But during his abfence *Alexander* the Son of *Aristobulus* made work enough for him after his return; for having gotten together a great multitude of Jews, he refolved to cut off all the *Romans* that inhabited thofe parts. *Gabinus* fent *Antipater* before to fee if he could perfwade the people

idem lib. 1.
lib. 20. cap. 8.

idem lib. 14.
cap. 10. & 11.
lib. 15. lib. 1.
cap. 6.

idem lib. 6.
lib. 14. cap. 11.
A. A. M. 5949.
Ol. 181. An. 14.
C. 698.
Hyrcani 2.

ple to be quiet, and he effected it with many; but thirty thousand remaining still with Alexander, he came out and gave battle to the Romans, near the Mountain Itebrinus, wherein he lost ten thousand men. *Gabinus* victoriously thence marched to Jerusalem, where settling things according to the pleasure of *Antipater*, he went against the *Nabateans* whom he overthrew in one battle, and dismissed *Mithridates* and *Orfanes*, two noble *Parthians*; who had fled unto him, pretending an escape. Then returning to Rome, he left his Province to *Cassius* his Successor.

Cassius his
cruelty and
punishment.

19. *Cassius* intending an expedition against the *Parthians*, came through that Country, and spoiled the Temple not only of those two thousand Talents which *Pompey* had spared, but of all the Gold found there besides, which amounted to the sum of eight thousand Talents more, though *Eleazar* the Treasurer had given him a beam of Gold weighing nine hundred pounds, and he had taken an Oath therewith to be satisfied, and abstain from the money. But going against the *Parthians*, he received the reward of his Sacrilege and Perjury, being slain. *Cassius* flying into Syria defended it from the incursions of the Enemy, and being come to Tyre visited also *Judea*, where at the first onset he took *Taricheas*, and therein thirty thousand Captives, which he led away and slew *Pitholaus* the favourer of *Arifobulus* at the desire of *Antipater*, who now grew very considerable, having entered into Confederacy and Alliance with several Princes, and especially with the *Arabians*, out of whose Country he had Married a Wife of noble extraction, by name *Cypris*, by whom he had four Sons, *Phasaelus*, *Herod*, *Joseph*, and *Pheroras*, and a Daughter named *Salome*, which Sons he also sent into Arabia, there to be kept whilst he was engaged in the War with *Arifobulus*. When *Pompey* was driven beyond the *Ionian* Sea, and *Cesar* had got Rome into his power, he set *Arifobulus* at liberty, and with two Legions sent him back into Syria, hoping that all that Country, and round about *Judea*, might be brought under by him; but he was prevented in his journey, being poisoned by those of *Pompey's* party, and lay in his own Country for some time unburied, being Embalmed, till by *Antony* he was sent to be buried in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors. This expedition proved fatal, not only to himself, but his Son *Alexander* also, who was beheaded by *Scipio* at *Antioch*, by order from *Pompey*, being first arraigned before the judgment seat for his offences committed against the Romans. His Brother *Antigonus* with his Sisters were sent for by *Pholomy*, the Son of *Mimneus* (who held *Chalcis* under the Mountain *Libanus*) and courteously entertained. For *Philippus* his Son being his Messenger, fell in Love with one of the Sisters, named *Alexandra*, and Married her, but the passion of *Pholomy* overcoming both reason and nature, he killed his Son, and took the Lady to himself. By this time *Pompey* was slain; and then *Antipater* betook himself to *Cesar*, as his interest led him, and by his great industry purchased his favour.

Antipater his
great services
for *Cesar*.

Who restand
eth both him
and *Hyrcanus*.

20. *Cesar* Warring with young *Pholomy* in Egypt, after the death of *Pompey*, *Antipater* joyned with *Mithridates* of Pergamus, who went down thither with supplies; for whereas being hindered from coming to *Pelufium*, he was forced to stay about *Afclon*, he persuaded the *Arabians* to help him, brought a supply of three thousand Jews himself, and procured divers Princes in Syria, as *Pholomy* of *Libanus*, *Jamblickus*, and others, to send their men. Then at *Pelufium* did he special service, being the first that broke down the wall and entered; and whereas the Jews inhabiting the Country of *Onias* hindered them from going any further, he prevailed with them not to oppose, and more than that to furnish the Army with Provisions. At *Delia* he recovered the battle almost lost by *Mithridates*, and afterwards behaved himself very gallantly for *Cesar*, having received many wounds as the tokens of his valour. Some have delivered that *Hyrcanus* himself went down into Egypt, and there deserved well of *Cesar*, but whether it was so or not he endeavoured to requite them both. For, *Antigonus* the Son of *Arifobulus* coming with a great complaint to him against them (whereas rather in policy he should have complained of the putting to death his Father and Brother through the procurement of *Pompey* and his faction) he declined his requests upon the reply of *Antipater*, confirmed *Hyrcanus* in the Priesthood, offered to *Antipater* what Government he would desire, and made him *Procurator* of *Judea*, gave him leave to rebuild the Walls of the City thrown down by *Pompey*, and caused these grants to be registered in the Capitol, and seconded them with divers decrees, both of himself and the Senate in favour of him and the Jews. *Antipater* then bringing *Cesar* on his journey as far as the borders of Syria, returned and built up the Walls, and going about the Country, by threatnings and other policy, contained the People in obedience, otherwise ready to rebel. And whereas he saw *Hyrcanus* heavy and dull,

cap. 12.

cap. 13. & d.
lib. 14. p. 15.
cap. 7.

A. M. 3957.
Ol. 183. an. 1.
P. C. 705.
Hyrcani 16.

lib. 14. cap. 14.

cap. 14.
A. M. 3958.
Ol. 183. an. 2.
P. C. 707.
Hyrcani 17.

De lib. 14.
p. 15. cap. 14. 17.

and unfit to manage the affairs of Government, he made his Son *Phasaelus* (who also commanded the Army) Captain of Jerusalem, and the Country adjacent, and committed *Galile* to the custody of his second Son *Herod*, being now extream young, as not exceeding fifteen years, as our Author telleth us, except, as is most probable, that number be mistaken for twenty five.

Herod the Son
of *Antipater*
his noble
forwardness.

21. *Herod* at the very first gave testimony of what spirit and height of courage he would be, finding out presently occasion for the exercise of it. For at that time there being one *Exechias* a notable Thief, who with a great company of followers used to infest the Country of Syria, he took and slew him with many others of that rout, which thing so endeared him to the Syrians, that his name was sung throughout the Towns and Villages, Peace being by his means restored, as it were, unto the Country, and the People unto their possessions; and thereby became he known to *Sextus Cesar* the President, and kinsman to the *Ditator*. *Phasaelus* his Brother was hereby much stirred up to emulation, and most courteously behaved himself to those of Jerusalem, so that their Father was honoured by the People like a King, and yet notwithstanding preserved his fidelity intire to *Hyrcanus*. But divers of the chief of the Jewish Nation, understanding how he flourished both up on his own account and that of his Sons, inwardly fretted thereat, and the rather, because he made use of *Hyrcanus* for his own ends, as they conceived, having contracted friendship with the great ones, and Rome, and persuaded him to send them money, yet procuring to himself the credit and profit of the gifts. But especially the forward and bold disposition of *Herod* affrighted them, whom they looked upon as a young and growing Tyrant, and therefore they grievously envied against *Antipater* to *Hyrcanus*, as one who carried away all the profit of the Kingdom, an empty name being only left to himself, and laboured to bring him into suspicion, hinting that ere long the vizard would be taken off, and he would dearly pay for the negligence of his own affairs. This they enforced by that bold act of *Herod's* killing *Exechias*, and the rest, in contempt of the Laws, which suffer no man, how wicked soever, to be put to death, till he first be cast by the sentence of his Judges. *Hyrcanus* though slow enough to believe any thing, yet having these things often founding in his ears, together with the lamentations of the Mothers of those that were slain, grew something moved, and summoned *Herod* up to Jerusalem, to give an account of his actions before the Judges.

He is sum-
moned to Je-
rusalem to an-
swer for kill-
ing *Exechias*
a thief.

He appeared,
but with a
guard.

22. *Herod* having settled the affairs of Galile, appeared, but with a guard, as his *idem* *ibid.* Father had written to him; yet with a moderate one, left taking care for his own safety, he should affright *Hyrcanus*. *Sextus Cesar* hearing of it, with threats wrote to *Hyrcanus* to: quit him, which he was inclinable enough unto, loving him as his own Son; and when he appeared to answer, no body durst accuse him, except one *Sameas* bolder than the rest, who inveighed against him for the manner of his appearance, not suitable at all to humility or guilt. The meeting being encouraged by his words, had certainly condemned him, had not *Hyrcanus* foreseen it, and sent him out of the way on purpose, having put off the determination to the next day. *Herod* retired therefore to *Damascus*, and afterwards visiting *Sextus Cesar*, and settling his affairs, plainly gave out, that he would no more appear though he were cited, at which they at Jerusalem fretted, and fought to persuade *Hyrcanus* that all this tended to his ruin, and indeed he was convinced of it, yet could he do nothing, for that innate dulness which evermore accompanied him, though shortly after hearing that *Herod* had purchased of that *Cesar* the Government of *Celestria*, he feared he would employ his power against him. And indeed so it happened; for disdaining now that he had been commanded to come and plead his cause, he marched towards Jerusalem with an Army, and if his Father and Brother had not met him, and shewed him the uncertainty of the event of War, and that he was rather beholding to *Hyrcanus* for discharging him, than had reason to be angry with him, for being as it were forced by others to summon him up, he had made mischief enough: But being prevailed with by them, he thought it was sufficient for him to have made a shew of his power, and to retrace. About this time *Caelius Bassus* in favour of *Pompey* made away *Sextus Cesar*, and got his Army to submit to him; but divers of *Cesar's* party resolved to revenge his kinsman's death, and a War ensued about *Apamea*, whither *Antipater*, mindful of the benefits received from *Cesar*, sent his Sons with aid unto his Captains. The War being drawn out in length, *Hyrcanus* (or rather *L. Statius Murena*) was sent to succour *Sextus*, and in the mean time *Julius Cesar* was slain in the Senate house, which as it bred disturbance and trouble to the whole Roman Empire, so neither did *Judea* escape without its portion thereof.

A. M. 3959.
Ol. 183. an. 3.
P. C. 708.
Hyrcani 18.

A. M. 3961.
Ol. 184. an. 1.
P. C. 710.
Hyrcani 20.
C. Jul. Cesaris 5.
M. Antonii 5.
cap.

Ant. de lib. 14.

Apian de lib. 14.
cap. 15.

23. A civil War following and the chief Captains on both sides running up and down to provide themselves for it, *Cassius* one of the conspirators came into *Syria*, where raising the siege at *Apamia*, he drew both *Marcus* and *Bassus* to his own party; and then conquering the Country, levied men, and exacted grievous contributions: But especially he afflicted *Judea*, laying a tax of above seven hundred Talents of Silver upon it. *Antipater* committed the raising of the money to his two Sons and others, whereof *Herod* first of all raised that which was imposed upon *Galilee*, and brought it, thinking it good policy to purchase the favour of the *Romans* at the cost of others. Divers Cities with their Inhabitants were sold to make up the sum, amongst which the principal were, *Gophna*, *Emau*, *Lydia*, and *Thanna*; and *Cassius* having done this, was further so enraged, that he had slain *Malchus* also one of the Collectors, had not *Hyrcanus* by the means of *Antipater*, stopped his mouth with one hundred Talents of his own money. But *Antipater* was badly rewarded by *Malchus*, for after the departure of *Cassius* he lay in wait for his life, thinking, that he being removed out of the way, the greater security would happen to the affairs of *Hyrcanus*. *Antipater* getting knowledge of his intention, passed over *Jordan*, to provide himself to revenge this treachery, but he being a most crafty dissembler, so denied the matter with Oaths to his two Sons, that they reconciled him to their Father, who by his intercession then saved him, when *Marcus* the President of *Syria* upon the report of his attempting new matters, had resolved his death. But he preserved him to his own destruction. For, his Son *Herod* for his good service being made Procurator of *Syria* by *Cassius*, with promise also of the Kingdom of *Judea*, if he got the better, *Malchus* then so feared him, that he resolved to make him away, which within a short time he effected, procuring him to be poisoned by *Hyrcanus* his Brother, and getting a Company of Souldiers to him, invaded the Government of the City. This was the end of *Antipater*, a right good man, a great States-man, and one who had preserved his fidelity to his Prince, and his care to his Country, before his own private or ambitious designs.

24. His Sons having knowledge of his death, *Herod* would have revenged it out of hand, and by open force, but *Phasaelus* thought good rather to circumvent the murderer by some way of his own, lest a Civil War should happen, and therefore seemed to be satisfied with *Malchus* his flat denial of the thing, and set himself about building of a monument for his Father. *Herod* visiting *Samaria*, and seeing it much out of order, laboured what he might to cherish it, and late in Judgement, deciding the controversies of the People, and then presently came up to *Jerusalem* to the Feast with a Company of Souldiers at his heels. *Malchus* being exceedingly afraid of his coming, persuaded *Hyrcanus* not to permit him to enter, and he accordingly forbade him to approach so holy a solemnity with a prophane rout of strangers; but he notwithstanding this, got in by night, and so afflicted *Malchus* that he betook him to his old trade of dissembling, weeping to him bitterly for the death of *Antipater* as his kind friend, yet in the mean time providing himself of a guard, so that for a time it was thought fit by *Herod*'s friends, not to evince his deceit, but for the fluencing of suspicion to treat him fairly; yet did he signify by Letters his Fathers death to *Cassius*, who would him again to revenge it, and gave order to the *Tribunes* then lying at *Tyre* to assist him in his just endeavours. *Cassius* not long after having taken *Laodicea*, they went and carried him crowns and money, and then *Herod* thought to be even with him; but he suspecting something at *Tyre*, out of desperation cast higher matters than ever in his head. For his Son being kept hostage in that City, he resolved to go in, and carry him out by stealth into *Judea*, and then, when *Cassius* should be engaged in the War against *Antony*, to sollicit that Country to revolt, and get to himself the Principality, and cast out *Hyrcanus*. But the cunning of *Herod* prevented him, who being aware of his project, invited him and *Hyrcanus* to supper, and then sent to the *Tribunes* to come out to meet him, who remembering the commands of *Cassius*, encountering him on the shoar, slew him there. *Hyrcanus* was so astonished with fear at the fact, that he was not himself, and scarcely recovering his sense, asked *Herod* who had slain *Malchus*; to whom one of the *Tribunes* answered, the command of *Cassius*, by which he replied, that *Cassius* had preserved both him and his Country; by cutting off him that had plotted the destruction of both. Whether he spake this seriously, or approved the thing out of fear, is uncertain; but thus *Herod* revenged his Fathers death upon *Malchus*.

25. *Cassius* being gone out of *Syria*, there hapned a great stir at *Jerusalem* by means

Jesphus
Antiquit. l. 14.
c. 18. c. 19.
c. de bello l. 1.
c. 9.

A. M. 3562.
Ol. 184. c. 2.
P. G. 711.
Hyrcan 26.

idem ibid.

Antip. at tyris
cap. 22.

means of *Felix*, who being left there Commander, the Souldiers attempted violence upon *Phasaelus*, intending by his death to revenge that of *Malchus* upon his Brother *Herod*. It hapned that at that time *Herod* living at *Damascus* with *Fabius* the Roman Captain, was sick, and unable to come and help his Brother, but he by himself was too hard for *Felix*, and forced him into a Tower, whence he let him go with his life, and then expostulated much with *Hyrcanus*, objecting ingratitude to him for taking *Felix* his part, and suffering the Brother of *Malchus* to seize upon divers Castles; for now he held many, and *Maffada* amongst the rest, the strongest of all. But *Herod* after his recovery regained them all from him, suffering him to depart quietly out of *Maffada* upon his desire. *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* about this time so bribed *Fabius*, that he suffered him to get himself an Army, and *Prothomy Minneus* because of the former affinity betwixt them, made him his Son in Law, *Marion* also, who by *Cassius* his means had subjected *Tyre*, and divers places of *Syria*, came in to his help, having seized upon three Castles in *Galilee*, but *Herod* also going against them, had them all surrendered by the *Tyrians* whom he dismissed very graciously, out of respect to their City, and then marched against *Antigonus*, whom being scarcely entered the Coasts of *Judea* he overthrew. Returning to *Jerusalem* he was received very honourably, not only by the People, but *Hyrcanus* also, who had of late received him into his family, contracting him to *Marianne* the Daughter of *Alexander*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, and his own niece by his Daughter; by which Wife he was made a Father of three Sons and two Daughters, having on a former Wife (and his own Country-woman) named *Doris*, begotten *Antipater* his eldest Son. But now within a while *Cassius* and *Brutus* were overthrown at *Philippi* by *Cæsar* and *Antony*, of whom the former returning into *Italy*, the other came over into *Asia*, which gave occasion to new firs in *Judea*.

26. *Antony* being come into *Bithynia*, Ambassadors were sent to him thither from all Countries, and amongst the rest came some from the chief of the *Jews*, to complain of *Phasaelus* and *Herod*, who usurped, as they said, all the power, an empty title being only left to *Hyrcanus*. *Herod* went to defend himself, and so prevailed with his Money, that his accusers were never heard. *Antony* having reached *Ephesus*, an Ambassie was dispatched to him in the name of *Hyrcanus*, and the whole Nation, desiring that all Captives which *Cassius* had carried away out of *Judea*, might be set at liberty by his Letters published throughout the Province, which he readily granted out, and as he was travelling into *Syria*, *Cleopatra* met him in *Cilicia*, to whose allurements wholly giving up himself, at the same time came one hundred of the most considerable of the *Jews* to complain again of the two Brothers, whom *Messala* defended, and *Hyrcanus* himself stood by to assist. Their cause being heard at *Daphne*, *Antony* demanded of *Hyrcanus* whether part was fitter to Govern, who answering in commendation of *Herod*, he, who formerly loved the young men for their Fathers sake with whom he had contracted familiarity when he served in *Ægypt* under *Gabinus*, constituted them both *Tetrarchs*, and committed to them the Government of the *Jews*. To this purpose he wrote Letters, and cast fifteen of their adversaries into prison, and had put them to death, had not *Herod*'s intercession prevailed for them; and yet were they not discouraged so as to desist. For instead of one hundred, a thousand returned in Ambassage, and stayed for him at *Tyre*, but his favour being further purchased by the two Brothers, he commanded the Magistrate of that place to animadvert upon them, and assist *Herod* in obtaining the principality. *Herod* going to them as they stood before the City on the shoar, advised them to withdraw themselves, and *Hyrcanus* also laid before them in how great danger they were if they should go on in their purpose: But they contemning their advice were presently slain upon out of the Town by their own Country-men and the Inhabitants, and part of them being slain, and some taken, the rest returned. And the people clamouring exceedingly against *Herod*, *Antony* was so far incensed, as he caused those whom he had before committed to custody to be slain.

27. A year or two after, *Pacorus* Son to the King of *Parthia*, and *Barsapharnes*, one of his great Officers, seized upon *Syria* at such time as *Prothomy Minneus* dying, *Lysanias* his Son succeeded him. *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* bargained with the *Parthians* for one thousand Talents, and five hundred women, to settle him in the Kingdom of *Judea*, and kill *Herod* with his friends, and though he could not perform the conditions, yet lead they down an Army to re-establish him. *Pacorus* came down to the Sea-Coasts, where he was excluded by the *Tyrians*; but they

idem de bello
at tyris cap. 11.
c. Antipat. cap. 24.

The Parthians
procured by
Antigonus the
Son of Asimon
invade
Judea.

they of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* giving him entrance, he sent a party of Horse under the conduct of one *Pacorus* the Kings Butler into *Judea* to make discoveries, and if it could be, to help *Antigonus*, with whom the *Jews* inhabiting *Carnet* joyning, he hoped by this force to seize upon a part of the Country called *Dryme*, and divers still coming in pierced to *Jerusalem*. The number still increasing, they attempted the Palace, but the two Brothers with their friends opposing themselves, beat them back into the Temple, and then sent some Souldiers into certain houses near adjoining to defend them, which the people taking notice of, set them on fire, and therein burnt them alive, being unable to shift for themselves; which injury *Herod* a little after revenged upon his adversaries, of whom he slew many upon a Sally. Daily skirmishes thence ensued, *Antigonus* his party staying for the feast of *Pentecost*, expecting then a great multitude of people to come up from all parts, and accordingly at the day many thousands being assembled, what with Arms, and what without, they overran all, except the Palace which still *Herod* and his Brother *Phasaelus* kept with a few Souldiers, with whom also issuing out into the Suburbs, having there fought most manfully, he put many thousands to flight. Shortly after, *Antigonus* procured *Pacorus* the Parthian with a few horse-men to enter *Jerusalem*, under pretence of composing the difference, but indeed to establish him in the power, who being kindly met by *Phasaelus*, and entertained, he persuaded him to go in Ambassage to *Barzapharnes*, thereby intending to entrap him. He suspecting nothing, went contrary to the mind of his Brother, who advised him rather to destroy the perfidious Barbarians, and with him went also *Hircanus* (an unheard-of employment for the Prince himself) under conduct of *Pacorus*.

28. As soon as they came into *Gadde*, they were met by the Governors of the Towns there, and *Barzapharnes* entertained them very civilly, and gave them gifts, but secretly sought how he might entrap them. *Phasaelus* was lodged with his Train near the Sea, where hearing that *Antigonus* had made such a bargain with the Parthians, as is above related, began to suspect them, and then he had also intelligence, that they would be laid in wait for by night, and be privately secured; and certainly they had been taken ere now, but that there was great expectation, that the Parthians which *Pacorus* had left at *Jerusalem*, should take *Herod*, and thereupon the thing was deferred, lest coming to his ears, he should have notice of their Treachery, and thereby escape it. Shortly after, his fears were confirmed when he saw a Guard coming to secure him, whereupon there were not wanting some that advised him to mount, and save himself by flight, especially one *Opilius*, who had the secret revealed to him by *Saramella* the most wealthy amongst the Syrians, who now also voluntarily offered him ships to save himself. But he refused to forsake *Hircanus* and his Brother, and going to *Barzapharnes*, blamed him for harbouring such designs, told him, if he wanted money, he might have more from him than *Antigonus*, and how base a thing it was to betray Ambassadors, innocent, and who had been drawn out upon the score of his own faith. The Parthians swore there was no such matter, and that he troubled himself with vain suspicions, and presently got him out to *Pacorus*; but he being gone, straightway hands were laid on *Hircanus*, and *Phasaelus*, in vain upbraiding the Barbarians with perjury. An Eunuch also was dispatched to *Jerusalem* to get *Herod* by some means or other out of the Walls, and apprehend him. *Phasaelus* had sent to make known his condition to him, but the Messengers were intercepted, which he having knowledge of, had a conference with the Chief of the Parthians then at *Jerusalem*, who by all means laboured to get him out of the Palace. But he suspecting them, and giving no credit at all to their words, presently heard for certain of his Brothers Captivity, and seeing them in doubt what to do against him, resolved to shift for himself, and taking the opportunity of the evening, departed with his relations that night, unknown to the Enemy.

29. He travelled towards *Idumea*, whither at length he came to *Masfada* the Castle; but as his departure was sad, so his journey was as dangerous, being pursued by the Parthians, whom following behind his Train he kept off, and was opposed also more violently by the *Jews*, over whom yet he got a victory, and afterwards in memorial of it built a sumptuous Palace in the same place. Once his Mothers Litter was overturned in the way, with which the being brought into danger of death, and he fearing the Enemy might overtake them, he drew out his sword to kill himself, and had done it, but that the next to him interposing themselves hindered it, shewing him how it was not the part of a valiant man to forsake others, by setting himself at liberty, as they termed it. After he came to the Borders of *Ju-*

He goeth
through *Idu-*
mea to *Petra*
in *Arabis* for
aid.

A.M. 3565.
Ol. 185. 40. 1.
P. C. 744.
Hircani 24.
Antiochian 38.
Co. Domitii
Calpurnia 2.
C. Asina Val-
lian 24.

Cap. 25.

Herod besieged
at *Jerusalem*
goeth forth.

dea, his Brother *Joseph* met him, and persuaded him to dismiss the most of his followers, because the Castle could not harbour them, which he did to the number of nine thousand and above, giving them money to bear their charges, and taking the ablest Souldiers, whom he had culled out from amongst the rest, with his relations, to the number of eight hundred, he marched on to *Masfada*, and there placed them, where no sort of Provisions was wanting; but he himself held on for *Petra* in *Arabis*, hoping of that King, who was such a friend of his Fathers, to obtain help for the recovery of his Brothers liberty. But the Parthians after his departure from *Jerusalem* plundered the City and Palace, and wasted the Country, in which they destroyed *Marisa* a wealthy Town, and so reducing *Antigonus* into *Judea*, delivered up *Hircanus* and *Phasaelus* into his hands, who was grievously troubled that the women had escaped, which he intended together with the money to have given to the Parthians.

30. Then fearing that *Hircanus* by the favour of the people might again be restored to the Kingdom, he either cut or bit off his ears, making him thereby incapable of the Priesthood, which by the Law was not given, but to one of an entire body. But *Phasaelus* knowing he was destined to death, for that he could not otherwise kill himself for his bonds, dashed out his brains against a stone. It was reported, that being grievously wounded in his head, *Antigonus* caused poison to be put into it instead of salve; and that he hearing before his death that his brother *Herod* had escaped, underwent it cheerfully, as leaving behind him a revenger of it. And he certainly knowing nothing thereof, laboured exceedingly to prevent it, going to *Malchus* the Arabian, whom he knew to be obliged to his family, hoping of him to get money, either upon free gift or trust, and resolving to give three hundred Talents for his brothers Ransom, whose Son also a Child of seven years old he carried with him to leave as a pledge. But the Arabian being persuaded by his great ones to retain the money owing, with the goods which *Antipater* had deposited with him, sent some to meet him, and command him to depart from his borders, and after he was gone repented of what he had done, and sent after him, but too late. For he was now almost got into *Egypt*, hearing of his Brothers death in the way, where *Cleopatra* kindly entertained him, intending to use him in her Wars; but nothing could hinder him from hasting to *Rome*, though in the Winter season, and though great furs were reported to be in *Italy*, whither also he came, and though with great danger, for the difficulty of Navigation.

31. He came thither when not long before there had been an agreement made betwixt *Antony* and *Cæsar* the *Triumvirs* (the former having married *Octavia* sister to the later) and another betwixt them two and young *Pompey*, who then held *Sicily*, which was a time convenient enough for his affairs. He made his application to *Antony*, of whose favour he had formerly tasted, recounting to him the whole story of the Parthians overrunning *Judea*, of his brothers death, and the misery of his family now besieged in a Castle, and how through these Tempests both at Sea and Land, he had ventured to come to him as his only harbour and refuge; and withal he was not sparing in offering money to him, in case he could procure him to be declared King of *Judea*. Pity wrought something with *Antony* (being backed with the memory of that friendship which had passed betwixt *Antipater* and himself) the money more, and to these being superadded an hatred of *Antigonus*, whom he accounted a turbulent man, and one that bore a mind full of hatred towards the Romans, who most inclined to favour him. *Cæsar* also, partly for that *Antipater* had done good service for his adoptive Father in *Egypt*, and because he was willing to gratify *Antony*, was ready to do him all good Offices, being also inclined to favour him out of a particular fancy he had to the man for his courage. The Senate therefore being called, first *Messala*, and then *Aratinius* commended him to them, relating his Fathers, and then his own merits towards the Commonwealth; and withal they accused *Antigonus*, and inveighed against him as an Enemy, for that he had not only born himself as such heretofore, but now of late in the calling in of the Parthians. Herewith the Senate being offended, *Antony* then declared to them that it would much conduce to the carrying on of the Parthian War, which was now depending, if *Herod* should be King; so that without any more to do, he was so declared by unanimous consent, and then being accompanied into the Capitol by *Cæsar* and *Antony* on each hand, the Consuls going before, there sacrificed, and according to the custom, laying up the decree of the Senate, was feasted by *Antony*. Thus obtained he the Kingdom with the wonder of himself as well as others, through the especial friendship of *Antony*, hav-

Antigonus having received
Hircanus and
Phasaelus, de-
prived the
honour of his
ears, and *Pha-*
selus dashed
out his own
brains.

Being re-
jected by the
Arabian, he
goeth to *Rome*.

Where to the
wonder both
of himself and
others, he is
declared King
of *Judea*.

ing ever feared that the *Romans* would never consent he should have: that honour which was not wont to be bestowed, but upon a Royal race, and therefore he intended to have sued for it, not for himself but for *Alexander*, Brother to *Mariamne* his Wife; and this increased the wonder, that within seven days he should be dispatched and dismissed out of *Italy*. But thus obtained he the Sovereignty of *Judea*, A. M. 3965, in the first of the 185 *Olympiads*, *Domitian Calveinus* the second time, and *C. Afinius Peltio* being *Consuls*, some thirty seven years before the birth of *Christ*.

52. During his absence, *Antigonus* laid close siege to the Castle of *Masfada*, *Josephus* de where he left his relations, abounding with all sorts of provisions; only water was wanting; so that *Joseph* had thoughts of flying with two hundred men into *Aradus*, the King whereof he had now heard to have repented of the rejecting of his brother. But this was prevented by a shower which fell by night, as if sent on purpose from Heaven for their relief, whereupon they were so heartened, as to fall upon the besiegers, whereof they cut off many. In the mean while *Venus* the Roman General being sent into *Syria* to expel the *Parthians* thence, after their retreat, came into *Judea*, pretending to help *Joseph*, but indeed with intention to fleece *Antigonus* of a round sum of money; and this he did, pitching his tents nigh to *Jerusalem*, which being done, he drew off the greater part of his forces, and left *Silo* with a party behind him, lest the fraud should be understood, whom *Antigonus* was also to pacifie till such time as the *Parthians* could come to help him. But in the mean time *Herod* landed at *Ptolemais*, and having got together no mean company, halted towards *Gabie* against him. To *Silo* and *Ventidius* *Antigonus* had sent express order by *Gellius*, to place him in the Kingdom. *Ventidius* was then busie in composing differences amongst the Cities, which the incursion of the *Parthians* had made: *Silo* was in *Judea*, but corrupted by *Antigonus*. Yet *Herod's* forces increasing, he marched towards *Masfada* to relieve his friends, which he accomplished, having first taken *Yoppe* in his way, notwithstanding the lying in wait against him by *Antigonus*, after which having taken in also the Castle *Rafa*, he went up to *Jerusalem*, accompanied by *Silo's* Souldiers, and many Citizens afflicted at his power. Laying siege to the City, both he and *Antigonus* laboured to draw over the contrary parties to themselves, and though *Herod* could not at all move the Townsmen, yet it appeared that *Silo* was corrupted; for he caused some of his Souldiers to begin a mutiny, requiring to be led into a place more plentyfull of provisions, which *Antigonus* had all cut off; but *Herod* took such care for the bringing in of new, that his plot was frustrated, and taking out a party of ten Companies (half *Jews* and half *Romans*) went and took *Jericho*, forsaken of its Inhabitants, which he left to be rifled by the *Romans*. Then returning, he sent down the rest of their Army into their Winter quarters, which he appointed in *Iudaea*, *Gabie*, and *Samaria*. *Antigonus* also obtained of *Silo* to have part of his men received into *Lydda*, thereby endeavouring to curry favour with *Antony*; so that the *Romans* lay idle all this season in places abounding with all necessities.

33. *Herod* was not idle, but sending his Brother *Joseph* into *Iudæa* with one thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, went down into *Galile* to reduce some places there held by *Antignous*; and within a short while brought all the Country into obedience, except those men that lurked in caves, and then dividing his Soldiers one hundred and fifty drachmes a man, placed them also in the Winter quarters. *Silo* a little after came to him, being call'd off by *Antignous*, who had order'd the Inhabitants to take all necessities with them, and flie into the mountains, that so the *Romans* might be starv'd. *Ventidius* being now engag'd in *Syria* against the *Parthians*, sent to *Silo* to come to him when he had with *Herod* finished the War: But *Herod* having no confidence in him, dismissed him beforehand, and went himself against the Thieves, who dwelling in caves with their families in craggy and inaccessible rocks, he was fain to invent certain cages, which being let down to the sides of the rocks full of Armed men, either flew them or tumbled them down headlong out of their holes, or else burnt them within, and by this means he subdued them all. Then placing *Phlomy* over that Country, he marched into *Samaria*, but was presently forced to return, for *Phlomy* being let upon by those who formerly had disturbed *Galile*, was slain, and then they betook themselves into the fens and inaccessible places, and thence making excursions, robbed all the Coasts thereabouts; but *Herod* returning punished them, pulled down their places of strength, and fined the Cities one hundred Talents. In the mean while *Ventidius* having slain *Pacorus*, and put the *Parthians* to flight, by *Antonius* his command sent *Machabæus* to help *Herod*, with two Legions, and

and one thousand Horse; but he being corrupted aloft by *Antigonus*, would needs go to him as a spie against *Herods* will; Yet when he wold could not be received, he went and seured himself in *Emmaus*, killing all the *Jews* that came in his way, without any difference of friend or Enemy, out of madnes for what had hapned unto him, *Herod* being hereby enraged, resolved to go and complain to *Antony*, but he entreated him to stay, or if he went, however to leave *Joseph* with him to carry on the War against *Antigonus*, which later he granted, yet charging his Brother not to venture all, nor contend with *Macheras*. Then hasted he to *Samosata* upon the River *Euphrate*, before which *Antony* then lay, leading Auxiliaries with him both Horse and Foot. At *Antioch* he met with many, that having a design to go thither, durst not for the *Barbarians*, who lying in the wayes, made great slaughters of travellers, but he taking the conduct of them upon him, stoutly defended them against the violence of the Robbers, and with great credit for his valour safely arrived at the Camp of *Antony*.

Goeth to *An-*
tern.

34. *Antony* to do him honour, sent out an Army to meet him, with great praises and embraces received him at the Camp, and gave him great respect, as a King of his own setting up. Shortly after his arrival *Antiochus* yielded up the place, and then *Antony* committing the Province to *Sofus*, and commending to him the affairs of *Herod*, went away back into *Aegypt*. In the mean while *Joseph* neglecting his Brothers Council, was slain in *Judea*, and great innovations followed in that place and in *Galile*; which *Herod* understanding, being sent before by *Sofus* with two Legions, lying at *Daphne* the Suburb of *Antioch*, marched into *Galile*, where he worsted the Enemy, and took the Cattle they fled into, whence hasting to *Jericho*, he there feasted the chief Inhabitants in a room, which upon his departure to his chamber presently fell down, and thereupon he was accounted to be especially owned by God, who had so wonderfully preserved him. Not long after he got five Towns into his hands, wherein he put to the sword two thousand of the Garrison Soldiers, and then went against *Pappus*, whom *Antigonus* had sent into *Samaria* in a vain ostentation, as able to wage War in both places. *Pappus* gave him battle very boldly, but he overthrew him, and in revenge of his Brothers death did great execution, whereby *Antigonus*'s interest was clearly broken, and he thought of quitting the City, had the weather suffered the King to improve the Victory, and make an end of the War. At night *Herod* being weary, went to wash in a chamber, where one boy only was with him, and therein chanced to be divers armed men of the Enemy, who though they might have easily dispatched him then naked, yet were they so affrighted, as they gladly got out and saved themselves by flight. The extremity of the weather being over, he went up to *Jerusalem* and laid siege to it in the third year after he had been declared King at *Rome*, intending to use the same manner of opposition as *Pompey* had made formerly against the Temple. But during the siege he turned off to *Samaria*, and there married *Marianne* Daughter to *Alexander* and niece of *Archibolus*, formerly contracted to him. The marriage being over he returned, and *Sofus* came also through *Phoenicia* up to *Jerusalem*, so that both carried on the siege with an Army consisting of eleven Legions, and fix thousand Horse. The defendants with great earnestness and courage made resistance, countermining, and sometimes fighting with the Enemy in the ground, though much frustrated for provisions, it being the Sabbath year.

He besiegeth
Jerusalem.

Which after
five months
is taken, and
therein *Ant-
gonus*, who b-
ing behead-
by *Antony*,
here, the Pri-
ncipality of the
Almonians re-
ceive its pe-
riod.

35. Force at length prevailed, joyned with skill, in both which the *Romans* excelled, so that after five months twenty of the stoutest Souldiers, and then *Sofus* his Centurion got over, and the outward part of the Temple with the lower side of the City were taken, and at length the other also, where all were full of slaughter, the *Romans* being enraged by the tediousness of the War, and the Jews out of malice and particular grudges seeking to destroy all of the contrary Faction. *Antigonus* came and fell on his knees before *Sofus*, who received him with reviling speeches, calling him *Antigona*. *Herod* had much ado to keep the Souldiers from entering the secret places of the Temple, and to restrain them from laughers, demanding of *Sofus* if the *Romans* intended to make him King of a desert, and adding, that he should think the price of all that blood which was spilt to be very little, though the Dominion of all the World should come into the bargain, and at length was fain to redeem the City from further trouble by his own money, wherewith he dismissed the *Romans* sufficiently enriched. This disaster befel *Jerusalem* in the Consulship of *M. Agrippa*, and *Cassius Gallius*, and the last of the one hundred eighty fifth *Olympiad*, the third month, in the fast, and on the same day

A. M. 3957.

- Idem de bello ut
præms cap. 13.

Idem Antiq. xi
primus cap. 28

ge A. M. 3958.
n- Ol. 105. an. 4
e- V. C. 717.
S, Hierodis 3.
Ante Corissum
34.

day it had been taken by *Pompey* twenty seven years before. *Sofus* consecrating a crown of Gold to God, went away with *Antigonus* unto *Antony*. But *Herod* fearing that *Antony* carrying him to *Rome*, he should there obtain favour with the Senate, as being of the Royal race, and procure the Kingdom at their hands, if not for himself, yet for his children, who never had ill deferred of the People of *Rome*, he procured *Antony* to dispatch him out of the way, who pretending at least the unquietness of the Jews for his sake, caused him to be beheaded at *Antioch*. And so the Principality of the *Afmonæans* ceased, after it had endured free from the yoke of *Syria* ninety eight years, and *Herod* a man of foreign and obscure birth was confirmed in the Sovereignty over *Judea* by the *Romans*, in the *Empire* of whom we shall hear further of him.

C H A P. VIII.

The affairs of *Sicilie* Contemporary with the Empire of the *Macedonians*.

From the death of *Timoleon* to the Sicilian or first Punick War, containing the space of seventy three years.

1. The constitutions of *Timoleon* being Popular, and tending to the loose liberty of the Vulgar, which was destitute of lawfully successive Princes, *Sicilie* continued not in peace many years, being of all other places, through want of lawful Monarchs, most subject to the ambition and tyranny of those, who, though private Citizens, through flattery and deceit enslaved their neighbours. Amongst the rest *Agathocles* is most eminent; none that ever in any time went before him, coming up to him, or, reaching him by far in cunning and cruelty. He was the Son of one *Carcinus* a Potter, and brought up by his Father in that trade of life, who being banished from *Rhegium* in *Italy* his native soil, came into *Sicilie*, and placed himself at *Therme* at that time subject to the *Carthaginians*. Before he was born, and when his Mother was yet great with him, the *Delphick* Oracle foretold, that he should be the author of great calamities to the *Carthaginians*, and also to all *Sicilie*, and for that cause he was exposed by his Father, but preserved by his Mother, and reserved to such a time unknown to him, as he repenting of what he had done, gladly understood from her of his safety. Being then again received by his Father, he was brought up in the trade of a Potter, and was but young when *Timoleon* overthrew the *Carthaginians* at the River *Cremissus*, and made all free of *Syracuse* that would come thither. He was then with his Father admitted into that City, and not long after his Father dyed, but was then a chief Citizen, being extraordinarily affected towards him for his comeliness, gave him whereof sufficiently to live, and afterwards being created the Captain of the *Argentines*, bestowed on him the place of a Colonel in the Army, for that he was wont formerly in matters to wear those arms which none else could bear for their bigness. But now being advanced to this degree, he rendered himself more popular by his bold adventures, and his making speeches often to the people, and *Damas* dying, he married his Widow, whereby he got abundance of wealth. Afterwards it hapning that *Crotone* being besieged by the *Brutii*, they of *Syracuse* sent relief thither, which amongst other Captains was conducted by his Brother *Autander*, and he himself by decree of the people had also the Office of a Colonel. But the Chief command was committed to *Heracleides* and *Sofistratus*, the later of which out of envy defrauded him of the rewards of his valour, which he now abundantly thirsted, whereat he was so enraged, as to accuse him and his Companions to the people, of affecting the Tyranny, but they giving no credit to his words, *Sofistratus* after his return seized on the Principality. *Agathocles* then for some time continued in *Italy*, and endeavouring to get *Crotone* into his power, failed of his Enterprize, and withdrew himself to *Larentum*.

2. He was received into pay amongst the Mercenaries, but being suspected to attempt new matters, was not long after again cashiered, after which getting together a Company of *Italian* Fugitives, he relieved *Rhegium*, then set upon by *Sofistratus* and *Heracleides*, and then *Sofistratus* being banished *Syracuse*, together with his Authority, returned thither, where sometimes a private person, other-
wiles

The Original
of *Agathocles*.

He is made a
Colonel.

Liveth in *Italy*.

Diomedes Sic.
lib. 19.
at *Olymp.* 115.
an. 4.

A. M. 3588.
Ol. 115. an. 4.
P. C. 437.
Post. Leg. 7.

Endangered
at *Gela*.

Suspected to
affect the Ty-
ranny and be-
lieved.

Recalled, and
made Gene-
ral.

Under a speci-
al pretence
he crushes a
Multitude so be-
made of the
rich *Syracusa-
ns*.

Takes the
Office of Cap-
tain General
without a
Colleague.

whiles an Officer, he valiantly behaved himself against the Tyrants faction, in which the *Carthaginians*, and a great number of the chiefest Citizens were engaged. Having once broke into the City *Gela*, and there being overmatched by *Sofistratus* and the Townsmen, so that he and his party were all of them in danger to be cut off, he sent his Trumpeters round about to the Walls, commanding them to sound an Alarm, whereby it came to pass (as he intended) that the Enemy thinking the besiegers had broken in from all quarters, retired from him to repulse them, and so he safely retreated this Sconce. This business of *Sofistratus* being over, and *Acetorides* the *Corinthian* Created General of the *Syracusans*, *Agathocles* was suspected because of his politick head, to affect the Tyranny; yet *Acetorides* would not take him of publicly, for raising new stirrs, but commanding him to depart the City, sent some to lye in wait, and kill him in the way; which he suspecting, sent out a young man very like himself, with his Cloaths, Horse, and Armour, and in a disguised habit travelled through by ways, so that he devolved the danger upon the head of another, and escaped. Afterwards the Exiles of *Sofistratus* his faction being received, and a peace made with the *Carthaginians*, he lived as an out-law within the Country, but gathering together considerable forces, proved so formidable to his own Citizens, and their new Allies, that they fought to him themselves to return, and having brought him into the Temple of *Ceres*, there took an Oath of him not to be against the popular Government. Making a shew then of Patronizing *Democracie*, he so inveigled the people by his fair speeches and cunning pretences, that he was constituted General, and keeper of the Peace, till such time as the differences then on foot, through the restitution of the Exiles, should be composed; and then having obtained his wished for opportunity, the Army being at his beck, and under pretence of opposing some, who at *Eritia* had lately revolted, sufficient occasion being taken to increase his strength, he marched out as against the Rebels, and united unto him three thousand men, some whereof had formerly served him against the *Carthaginians*, and were most addicted to himself, and adverse both to the people in general, and the six hundred who now had the power in their hands, after the *Aristocracie* was taken away. With these, and certain *Syracusans*, who being poor themselves envied the wealth of others, he strengthened himself, and accusing the six hundred to the Souldiers as having plotted against him, procured them easily to be taken for Enemies, and causing an Alarm to be sounded, commanded the Army to march to the City, and there to kill the Magistrates, and take the spoil of them and all their party.

3. The Army marching presently to the City, every part thereof was filled with slaughters, there being no difference made betwixt friend and Enemy, but according to the riches or poverty of the persons, and many running out into the streets to know what the matter was, were slain as they asked the question: all the Gates were shut that none might escape, so that four thousand by this means in one day perished. Many leaped down the Walls, of which some perished in the fall, but others to the number of six thousand escaped, of which most fled to *Argentum*, where they were courteously received, but sufficiently tormented in this respect, that their Wives and Daughters at home were abused by the Souldiers in revenge for their escape. *Agathocles* being glutted with a two dayes slaughter, gathered together the multitude of his Captives, of which he only divided *Dinecrates* for his former friendship, but the rest he presently put to death or banished, and then calling the people together, grievously inveighed against the six hundred, and at the Aristocratical Government, and then mentioning what he had done to purchase the liberty of his Country, very formally laid down his Office, knowing certainly he should be solicited to take it up again. For, his Souldiers now made rich by other mens goods, would not endure that he, or his authority, should forsake them, but cried out he must take care of them, so that with much ado, as it seemed, he took upon him the Office of Chief Captain, but without a Colleague, being unwilling, as he said, to be called to an account for others breaking the Laws, when as he acted according to them; to which the people consenting, he was Created *Capitain General* with full Authority by their suffrages.

4. He carried it with all sweetness and moderation towards all them at the first took great care for the Revenues, making of Arms, and increasing of the Fleet, and got several of the Inland Towns into his power. Having seized upon a Castle of the *Messinians*, he promised to restore it for thirty Talents, but after the receipt of the money, not only refused to surrender it, but also endeavoured to take *Messene* it self, part of the Wall being fallen down, and though he failed herein of his Enterprize, yet besieged he *Myle*, and had the place surrendered to him, but the *Carthaginians* sending their Ambassadors

idem ad an. 21.
Olymp. 116.

Ambassadors, expostulated with him his breaking the League, and constrained him to give the Cattle up again into the hands of the *Messinians*. The year after, the Exiles that lived at *Agigentum* exhorting their entertainers not to suffer him thus to go on in his Conquests, and make a prey of their Towns, for that it was better now to set upon him before he had confirmed his Tyranny, than when he should be grown too strong for them, and to be forced to War with him against their Wills. This appearing to be but reason, the people decreed the War, and having entered into a strict Alliance with them of *Gela* and *Messina*, sent some of the Exiles to *Lacedæmon*, thence to procure a General, suspecting the fidelity and moderation of their own Citizens, and calling to mind the worth of *Timoleon*. At that time was there in that City one *Acrotatus* Son to *Cleomenes* the King, labouring under the envy of most of the youth, because the *Lacedæmonians* having been overthrown by *Antipater*, who then Governed *Macedonia* (after the death of *Alexander* the Great) when such as returned from the defeat were acquitted by the people, he alone had opposed the decree. Being enraged hereat, they beat him, and laid in wait for his life, whereupon now desirous of some foreign command, he easily accepted of this employment, and without consent of the *Ephori*, with a few ships sailed to *Agigentum*, yet did he nothing worthy, either of his family or Country, but proving more bloody and cruel than the Tyrants themselves, incurred the displeasure of the people. Giving himself up to all luxury, and therewith spending the publick revenue, he murdered *Sesibranus* the Chief of the Exiles having invited him to supper, for nothing but out of emulation, whereupon he was deprived of his command, and had been stoned, but that he withdrew himself into his own Country. After his departure a compulsoe was made by the interposition of *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, upon these terms, that of the *Greek* City *Heraclæa*, *Solinus*, and *Himera* should continue under the power of the *Carthaginians* but the rest, over which the *Syracusanians* had the Dominion, should be left to their own Laws.

Amilcar the *Carthaginian* maketh a peace.

5. The Island being hereby cleared of the Enemies Forces, he securely laid divers Towns to his Dominions, and with the accession of many places to his former strength sufficiently confirmed himself, having over and above his *Syracusanians*, and Confederates, ten thousand Foot, and three thousand five hundred Horse of Mercenaries in constant pay, and making provision of all sorts of Ammunition, for that he foresaw, that the *Carthaginians* disapproving of the peace made by *Amilcar*, would within a short while renew the War: The year after seeing himself sufficiently furnished, he resolved then not to expect them, but begin himself; yet desiring first to clear his way, by removing whatever might hinder him from the neighbouring Cities, he first attempted *Messina* whither the Exiles of *Syracuse* had fled; and he first prevailed with them to expel these, and then to admit him into the Town, where he killed six hundred of the chiefest of them, and most adverse to his power. Thence he went to *Agigentum*, thinking to make also a prey of it; but sixty ships of the *Carthaginians* with Forces having lately come thither, he forbore to attempt any thing, and drew his Forces into the Territories of the *Carthaginians*, where he took to divers Castles. In the mean while *Democrates* the principal man amongst the Exiles sent to *Carthage*, desiring aid before *Agathocles* should reduce all *Sicily* into his power, and having gathered his Companions together, and raised a pretty Force, sent *Nymphodorus* to the Town of the *Centoripini* held then by *Agathocles*, but being promised to have it betrayed into his hands, under condition they should be left to their own liberty, he got by the night into the Town, but the Garrison having timely knowledge of it, cut him off, and all his followers which had entered, and *Agathocles* punished the Conspirators. But *Democrates* being called by the Inhabitants of *Galarina*, with three thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse marched thither, where *Agathocles* his faction being cast out, he pitched his Tents without the Town; but he sent two of his Captains against him with five thousand men, who at length put him, and his whole Army to flight, and recovering the place, aimedadverted upon the Revolters, *Agathocles* being elevated with this success, hearing the *Carthaginians* were seized on an Hill, marched thither, intending to fight them with all the power he could make, but they declining an engagement, in a Triumphant manner he returned unto *Syracuse*.

The *Carthaginians* receive a great loss by shipwrack.

6. The year following, the *Carthaginians* shipped a great Army for *Sicily* under Conduct of *Amilcar*, a man of high Nobility; but such a Tempest seized on the Fleet, that two hundred and sixty Vessels loaded with men and Provisions miscarried, which made them cover their Wall with black; as it was the case upon some great and publick disaster. But *Amilcar* being an industrious man, gathering together the Relicks of the shipwrack, listed more men after his arrival, and

At. ann. 3.

At ann. 1. Olymp. 117.

A. M. 3592.
Ol. 117. an. 1.
P. C. 442.
Silius 1.
Fish. Leg. 12.

and made up a compleat Army of forty thousand Foot, and well nigh five thousand Horse. *Agathocles* perceiving himself too weak to encounter the Enemy at present, took care how to secure his Towns and Castles from revolting, and especially *Gela*, near to which the Enemy then lay. To fend in a great party at once, he thought might awaken the Townsmen too much, and put them upon some attempt disadvantageous to himself, so that he got some Soldiers in at several times, till they amounted to a number too strong for the other, and, then going thither, accused the Inhabitants of Treachery, and took occasion to make a Massacre of four thousand of them, the goods of whom he seized, with all the Silver and Gold of those that remained. Then pitched he his Tents against the *Carthaginians*, encamped on an Hill where the Castle of *Phalaris* the Tyrant of old time was reported to be, whence it got the name of *Ennomus*, i. e. wicked or unlawful. A River ran betwixt the two Camps, concerning which a rumour having been of old time spread, that a great multitude of men should perish near it, this hindered both the Armies from engaging, till such time as excursions being made on both sides, the *Africans* broke out of their Trenches to rescue the prey, which *Agathocles* foreseeing, had placed many men in ambush upon the River, who falling upon the *Carthaginians*, as they pursued their friends, drove them back, and with great slaughter gave the chase unto their Camps. *Agathocles* judging this a fit season for animagement, arose with his whole Army, and fell upon them in their Trenches, into which he brake, and there maintained for some time a hot dispute, till the Enemy repulsed him by help especially of Slingers, natives of the Island *Baleares*, who being exercised after the fashion of that Countrey in slinging of stones, forced back the *Syracusanians*, by throwing at them those of a pound weight. Yet he broke in in other places, and had almost done his work, when fresh supplies to the Enemy arrived out of *Africa*, which falling on him in his rear, turned the fate of the day clear against him, and put his men to flight, of which great execution was done by five thousand *Africans* that gave the chase, many also destroyed themselves by drinking over hastily, out of extremity of the heat which then raged through the influence of the Dog Star. So that he lost no fewer than seven thousand men, six hundred onely of the *Carthaginians* being slain.

Overthrown *Agathocles*.

7. *Agathocles* getting together his straglers betook himself to *Gela*, having given out, that he determined for *Syracuse* with all speed, so that three hundred *Africans* entering *Gela*, and fearing nothing, were all cut off by him. Then thus he himself up there, that the *Carthaginians* laying siege to the place, the *Syracusanians* might have time enough to victual their City, and indeed *Amilcar* thought first of all to besiege it, but afterwards understanding what force was in it, changed his purpose, and took in several Towns and Castles, and behaved himself so obligingly, as many within a short time revolted to him. *Agathocles* then withdrew to *Syracuse*, which he furnished with all sorts of Provisions for the enduring of a Siege, intending to leave a party for defence thereof, and remove the War into *Africa*, by passing all his Army over thither. For, considering that the *Carthaginians* had almost got all *Sicily*, and his confederates generally revolted to them (who were most potent now both at Sea and Land) he judged it (though the most venturous, yet) the safest way to invade the Enemy in his own Territories, which being a sudden and most unusual thing, he should daunt him therewith, and drive his Subjects into an open revolt, and force him to call back the Army out of *Sicily*. Communicating therefore this purpose to no man living, he left *Syracuse* to the Government of his brother *Antander* and severing all the relations of the City one from another, that no mutiny or sedition might arise in his absence (taking part of them along with him as hostages) he raised money by seizing the estates of *Orphans* into his hands (which he promised to restore when they should come to age) by borrowing money of Merchants, and robbing of Temples; but especially by calling the multitude together, and acquainting them, how he was most ready to endure any hardship, but it pited him for the People: therefore he advised all that feared themselves and estates to depart, which when the richest and most out of favour had done, he procured them to be cut off, and confiscated all their goods. Then manumitting all slaves that were fit for the Wars, he shipped his men in sixty Vessels, and getting out into the Main whilst the *Carthaginians* knew not his design, escaped them by the darkness of the night, and though they chased him all the way, yet arrived he in *Africa* with his Army in safety.

They having almost got all *Sicily* into their hands, he desired to divert them by invading *Africa*.

R r r r

8. Once

being landed
he burnt his
Ship.

The Cartha-
ginians at last
daunted.

Are over-
thrown by
him.

8. Once arrived he burnt his Ships, as well to take away from his Soldiers all hope of escape (thereby to heighten their valour) as also having no great Army, left for the defence of the Navy, left it should be divided. Then fell he upon two Cities immediately, which he took (the Soldiers being encouraged at the sight of so pleasant and rich a Country) but suffered none of his Army to lye there, but destroyed the places, left his men should rely upon them as a refuge. The Carthaginians were wonderfully daunted at the first report of his landing, concluding he durst not venture over, except he had first, by destroying their Army, made all sure in Sicily, but understanding the whole affairs by some messengers sent from the Fleet, they gathered courage, blamed their Sea-officers, who having the Sea in their power, had suffered the Enemy to land, and made choice of two Captains, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, thinking that their enmity towards each other which had been intailed upon them, would prove the commodity of the Commonwealth; though indeed therein they were mistaken. These two Generals thought not fit to stay for their associates, but must as many of their own Citizens as would make a shift, and so raising forty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, with two thousand Chariots, they encounter the Enemy. *Agathocles* his men, many of them, wanting Arms, he made them counterfeit ones, to be so esteemed a far off, and perceiving them to be discouraged at the number of the Carthaginian Horse, he procured many Owls to be let go in the Camp, which birds being taken to bringalwaies good luck with them, the Soldiers were therewith so cheered, that they resolutely set upon the Enemy, and brake presently the body of Horse. The Chariots they drove for the most part back amongst the Foot, which they charged all with such resolution, that the Wing where *Hanno* commanded was discomfited, and he himself slain. *Bomilcar* his Colleague understanding this, having formerly withed for some good opportunity to invade the Tyranny (which the most eminent men of Carthage were many times forced to do, for the avoiding of those censures and punishments constantly inflicted upon them for the least miscarriage of fortune, by the heady *Agathocles* thinking now an occasion to be presented to him, as it were from Heaven, resolved to take hold of it. And for that he thought it most convenient for him, that the Enemy should not be overthrown, but an awe continued upon his Citizens, he retreated by little and little, suffering the Sicilians to prevail, and at length drew off his men to an Hill, whence they all fled as fast as they could to Carthage, having lost of their number one thousand men, and killed of the Greeks but two hundred.

9. The Carthaginians now shut up in their City, and besieged by *Agathocles* (though they had carried with them above twenty thousand pair of Manicles in their Chariots to bind the Greeks, over whom they promised themselves an easie Victory) were very much discouraged, and laying the blame of the misfortune upon the neglect of their superstition, sent great gifts to *Hercules* the god of the Tyrians, from whom they were issued, and for that they had redeemed their own Children of late (by others gotten elsewhere) from being sacrificed to *Saturn*, they presently offered up to him two hundred boyes of the chiefest amongst them for Nobility, being put into the hand of the Statue, and thence falling down into the hollow of it full of fire. They sent also to *Amilcar* into Sicily for aid, who receiving the news, caused it to be given out that all the Sicilian Army was cut off, and earnestly thereupon urged the besieged to a surrender of *Syracuse*, shewing them (to enforce the matter) the Iron-work of the Ships wherein the Army had passed over, which indeed the Carthaginians had taken up into their Vessels after the burning of the Fleet. But the chief men amongst the besieged stayed the rest from yielding, though *Antander* the brother of *Agathocles* was so faint-hearted, as to be for delivering up the City, and cast eight thousand of the contrary faction, and the friends of the exiles, out of the Town: But within a few days arrived a Gally from *Agathocles*, to give them knowledge of his success, which being pursued by the Carthaginians, and the People flocking to the Haven to gaze, the walls were so forsaken that *Amilcar* taking his opportunity, got some of his men over, but an Alarm being given, they were either slain, or forced headlong down the fortifications. *Amilcar* heretofore discouraged, raised his siege, and sent a supply of five thousand men over to Carthage.

10. *Agathocles* in this mean while took divers places in *Africk*, and fortifying his Camp before *Tunis* (wherein he also left a strong Garrison) marched further and besieged *Adrynus*, and drew into society with him *Elymas* the King of the *Africans*. The Carthaginians having notice of this, turned all their forces upon *Tunis*, which

Agathocles
pursueth ex-
ceedingly in
Africk.

which they besieged, having first become Masters of his Camp; but he thereupon leaving a great part of his Army still before the Town, went with the rest to an high Hill, whence he might easily be seen both by the Carthaginians that lay before *Tunis*, and also by the Inhabitants of *Adrynus*, and there making abundance of fires, deceived them by this stratagem at both places. For the besiegers thought he was coming with a great Army to relieve *Tunis*, and therefore raised their siege out of hand, and departed to Carthage, the besieged of *Adrynus* out of a strong apprehension that new supplies were coming to the Enemy, yielded the Town. Then took he *Thapsus* by storm, and divers other places, and having now got into his hands about two hundred Towns, went higher up into *Lilyba*. The Carthaginians took another occasion at his absence to besiege *Tunis*, but he thereupon returned as before, but overcame them by a stratagem of a clean contrary Nature with the former; for he commanded that no fires now should be made, and marching very fast fell upon them at unawares, and cutting off two thousand, took very many Prisoners, and forced the other to betake them to their heels, whereby he exceedingly advanced his affairs, giving the Carthaginians such a blow (who now by reason of their supplies arrived out of Sicily, were thought superior to him) that improving the Victory he went against *Elymas*, who had revolted from him, and killed him with a great number of his Subjects.

11. The year following, *Amilcar* in Sicily once more besieged *Syracuse*, and presently made great haste for storming of it after his arrival, because the Soothsayers had foretold him, that that day he should die in the City. A great number joyning themselves to him out of hope of plunder, they so stopped up the way with Carriages, that they hindered one another, and such a tumult arose, that the *Syracussans* having notice of it, sallied out upon them, and putting them to flight made great slaughter of them, and taking *Amilcar* alive, delivered him to the friends of those that had been slain, who most cruelly tortured him to death, having been formerly it is probable, condemned by his ingrateful Citizens themselves, though as then, he having the Army in his power, they durst not let it be known, but casting all their votes (written as the manner was) into a Vessel, they ordered it to be covered, and the thing not to be looked into, until his return, and the giving up of his command. But his Army which consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, being thus strangely defeated, was divided then into two factions. The Exiles and Greeks chose them *Democritus* for their Captain, and the Carthaginians, him that had held the next place to *Amilcar*. The affairs of Sicily being thus in confusion, the Inhabitants of *Agirgentum* thinking a fit opportunity for gaining the Principality of the whole Island to be put into their hands, made *Zenodorus* their Captain, who went and took in divers Towns, many revolting to him (all which with the former he restored to their liberty) and restrained the excursions of the *Syracussans*, who were in great distress for want of provisions which had been cut off by the Carthaginians, the constant Masters at Sea. By this time *Amilcar's* head was sent over to *Agathocles*, who receiving it with joy, raised the contrary affection in the Enemy, to whose Camp he brought it, together with the message, that their forces were utterly cut off, whereupon they despaired forthwith of better fortune, adoring the head of their nominal King.

12. *Agathocles* was much puffed up at his prosperity, though he was not far from the waining of his fortune, a preludium to which was made by *Lycifus* one of his Officers, who in a drunken fit exceedingly jeered him. He took it patiently, and made a jest of it, because the man was very servicable to him in his Wars, but *Archagathus* his Son taking it heignously, returned it to him in his own language with threats, which further so enraged him, that he threw in his Teeth (which was generally reported) his incestuous having to do with his step-mother. The young man heretofore was so transported, as he ran him through and slew him outright, which was followed by a mutiny of the whole Army, demanding justice against him; and this flew to that height, that the Soldiers chose themselves Captains, seized on *Tunis*, and besieged *Agathocles* and his Son, and many of the Officers upon promise of larger pay, revolted to the Carthaginians, who had not been wanting to add fuel to this flame. *Agathocles* seeing the danger he was in, put aside his Purple, and made a pitiful Oration to the Soldiers, wherein he told them he was willing to lay down his life if so they pleased, rather than end his days by some inominous death, and drew out his Sword as intending to kill himself; but the Army hindered it, and compelling him to resume his Robes, were thoroughly reconciled.

Yet he quickly then now, and defeateth the Carthaginians.

conciled to him, except some two hundred which went over to the Enemy. He taking this opportunity marched presently against the *Carthaginians*, who full little thought of a battle, but expected presently a general revolt; so that taking them thus at unawares, he easily overthrew them with great slaughter.

Agathocles overthroweth victory against the Carthaginians.

13. About this time the *Nimidiens* revolted from those of *Carthage*, who sent out an Army the next Spring to reduce them to obedience. *Agathocles* understanding that, left his son at *Tunis*, and marching after them with all expedition, at length overtakes them, then overthroweth them, though with great difficulty, and lots to himself. The *Nimidiens*, whilst he was employed in the battle, having been intent upon the event of the fight, fell in, and plundered his Carriages, and getting away the greatest part of the goods, by reason of the darkness of the night, he was glad to divide the plunder of the field equally amongst his Soldiers, in way of recompence for the damage sustained by them. Such *Greeks* as he took Prisoners, and had assisted the *Carthaginians*, he put into a Castle, where they fearing to be put to death set upon the Garrison by night, but being too weak, betook themselves thence to a certain fortified place, which *Agathocles* hearing marched thither with his Army, and drawing them out under promise of impunity, contrary to his faith given, killed them all to the number of one thousand, of which half were *Syracusanians*. At this time there was one *Opbellas*, who having been an Officer under *Alexander* the Great, had seized upon *Cyrene*, and gaped still after larger Dominions. To him now sent *Agathocles*, inviting him to come and join with him against the *Carthaginians*, offering him all *Africa* for a reward, to which hepret ended he was constrained to pass over, assuring him he would content himself with *Sicilie*, or else, if he thought good, invade *Italy* more commodious for him than *Africa*, by far.

Sendsch for Opbellas out of Greece.

The man puffed up with great expectations, sent to *Athens* (whence he had married a Wife of the stock of famous *Miltiades*) to unite them to join with him in the expedition, which not only divers of that City readily embraced, but others of *Greece* now much flattered by Wars within it self, which were raised by *Alexander* his Successors. *Opbellas* then began his journey (with above ten thousand Foot, six hundred Horse, one hundred Chariots, besides ten thousand others, extraordinary, as they called them) of two months long, through a desert infested with wild Beasts and venomous Serpents, wherewith his Army was fore distressed, as also by want of necessities, till at length they arrived at *Agathocles* his Camp. There they were received with all manner of Provisions, but as the greatest part of them were gone out to gather Forrage, he set upon the rest with their Captain, who though he resisted, yet being overborn, was slain most treacherously, and *Agathocles* then forcing them to lay down their Arms, got into his power the whole Army, having aforehand stirred up his Soldiers against *Opbellas*, by feigning that he lay in wait for his life.

Whom he treacherously murdereth.

Familiar seeks to invade Carthage, and misfais riches.

14. Whilst *Agathocles* was in hand with this treacherous design, *Bomilcar* having long intended, but still out of fear deferred, the invasion of the Tyranny, communicated his intention to five hundred Citizens, and one thousand Mercenaries, and broke out into open Rebellion against his Country. Having seized on the new City, he thence invaded the old, which caused great consternation at first, whilst every one feared they had been betrayed into the Enemies hands; but understanding the matter, they presently made head against him, who going on in his way made slaughters of all he met; but what with opposing him in the Streets, and throwing down stones from the Houses, they drove him back again into the new City through the narrow ways, and there befegged him. At length upon promise of pardon for what had passed, an agreement was made, and his followers by reason of the danger the City stood in, were all dismissed without any punishment; but he, notwithstanding the faith given to him, was most ignominiously, and with great Tortures put to death.

Agathocles taketh the title of King.

15. The year after, *Agathocles* hearing that the Captains of *Alexander* had taken the Titles of Kings upon them: for that he thought himself neither inferior to them in power, Territories, nor for valiant Acts, called himself *King* in like manner: yet took he not the Diadem, being accustomed constantly to wear a Crown of Myrtles heretofore, either for the Ceremony of some Priesthood, or as *Athensians* have conceived, by reason of baldness, which rendered him exceedingly uncomely about the head. Then to attempt something worthy of so great a Title, he fell upon *Udris*, near which taking three hundred of the Inhabitants, which upon his coming had been shut out, when he could not persuade them to yield, he framed an

Diodorus Siculus lib. 11. Olymp. 118.

A. M. 3597. Ol. 118. ann. 2. P. C. 445. Solms 9. P. 146. P. 147. P. 148. P. 149. P. 150.

an Engine, to which he tied many of them, and drawing it along to that place where he intended to break into the Town, exposed them either to be shot to death by their friends, or else if they within out of affection should forbear, then could he easily enter. The defendants preferring their Countreys safety before that of a few private men, when they could do no less, repulsed the Enemy with all possible endeavour; but for all this *Agathocles* broke in at another place, and filled the City with slaughter, no regard being had to any condition; and after he had overcome them also in a Sea-fight, placed a Garrison there, and subdued all the Maritime Towns under his power. Though he prospered thus in *Africa*, yet was he solicitous for *Sicilie*, where the *Argentines* had made some progress in freeing the Cities; but now of late had received so great a blow from his Captains, that broke in pieces their design. Just after the fight was over he arrived, and making a progress about the Island, recovered most of the Towns, onely he was repulsed with great loss from *Centoripia*, and upon the same terms gained *Apollonia*. Henceforth his affairs began universally to decline. In *Sicily*, *Democritus* got so great an Army of Exiles together, that he durst not fight him; though continually dared, and dogged at the heels. In *Africa*, his Son *Archagathus* prospered very much at the first through the good fortune of *Eumachos*, who subdued many places. But the Senate at *Carthage* dividing their Army into three parties, whereof one was to march for the Maritime parts, another for the Island, and the last for the upper Countreys, they thereby attained their ends, viz. to lessen their number in the City (which made all Provisions scarce, by sending out thirty thousand men) to contain their Allies in fidelity, by giving them hopes of relief, and (which was the chiefest) to force the Enemy also to divide his Army, and so draw him down from *Carthage* it self.

Returning into Sicily, his affairs go down the wind, both there and in Africa.

16. For *Archagathus* dividing his Army to oppose the *Carthaginians* in the several quarters, lost almost the two parts thereof, which he sent out under Conduct of two several Capaines, to the number of about nineteen thousand men; so that the *Carthaginians* reduced almost all places back to obedience, all the confederates revolted except a few, and *Archagathus* being distressed for want of all things, and the remainder of his Army in great terror, he sent to his Father into *Sicily* to acquaint him in what posture matters stood, and to desire speedy relief. He seeing his affairs to go down the wind in that Island was solicitous how to leave it, and three hundred Vessels of the *Carthaginians* blocked up the mouth of the Haven, so that he could not stir out. But eighteen Vessels coming in from *Hetruria*, he persuaded the Masters thereof being friends to put out, and then when the *Carthaginians* (as he expected) gave them the chase, he fell in upon their Rear, and beyond all hope got a Victory, boarding five of their Fleet, which he took together with the Defendants. Hereat encouraged, he sent *Leptines* against *Argentum*, knowing *Xenodorus* their General then to be out of favour with a great part of the Town, and he seeing himself unable to grapple with him stirred not out, but provoked by the Citizens, so that being worsted, for fear of condemnation he fled to *Gela*. *Agathocles* now feasted the people for joy, making himself common with all, and giving them Wine to excess, so that their wits being out, when that once was in, they might speak their minds, and he thereby know their inclinations; for he feared that after his departure they might call in *Democritus* and the Exiles, and restore again the popular Government. Having by this means got out who they were that distasted his power, he feasted them again by themselves, with other five hundred who bore the most noble minds, and compassing them in with his Mercenaries, slew them every man.

Being to return into Africa, he maketh a Massacre in Syracuse.

17. Then sailed he over into *Africa*, where he found his Army in a low and desolate condition for want of necessities. Therefore resolved he to fight, though far inferior to the *Carthaginians*, who sought rather to draw out the time in length, knowing the condition of the Enemy; but he leading down his men to their Trenches, forced them to come out and give battle, in which he fighting valiantly, yet was worsted with the loss of three thousand men. After this a sudden calamity seized upon both the Armies by reason of mistakes. For the *Carthaginians* offering the most beautiful of their Captives, as a sacrifice to their gods, it happened that the fire thence was driven to their Tents, which being covered with Reed and Straw easily caught it, and as easily were consumed, whence it came to pass, that all things were in great confusion. But the worst of it was, that the *Africans* which had fought with *Agathocles* coming now over to them, the Scouts seeing them,

A. M. 3598. Ol. 118. ann. 2. P. C. 447. Solms 6. P. 149. P. 150.

A strange accident which maketh great disorder in both the Camps.

gave an Alarm, as if all the *Greeks* taking their advantage of the fire were coming against them, so that flying in great confusion, they killed and trode down one another, mistaking one another for Enemies, and having thus dispatched five thousand of their Company, all ran away to *Cartbage*, where they were received with great trembling by their friends, left that with them the Enemy should enter. The *Africans* which were coming over, being affrighted at the burning of the Camp, retreated, which being also seen by the *Greeks*, they gave notice to *Agathocles* that the *Carthaginians* were coming against him, so that he drew out his men in great fear and terror, who meeting the *Africans*, and they taking one another for Enemies, they killed, and slew all they could during the night season, till such time as four thousand being slain, the rest retreated to the Camp. *Agathocles* after this, seeing himself too weak now to grapple with the *Carthaginians*, and thereby his affairs to be desperate in *Africa*, resolved to return into *Sicily*, and considering that the Enemy having the command at Sea, would not suffer the Army to pass away quietly, he resolved with his younger Son *Heraclides*, and a few more, to pass over secretly, and leave *Archagathus* behind him, whom he was jealous of, because of the report raised of him that he had to do with his Step-mother.

18. But *Archagathus* having notice of his intention (which he took in marvellous evil part) communicated it to several of the Officers, who raising a mutiny presently in the Army, *Agathocles* was seized on, and made sure in Fetters. A little after it hapned that an Alarm was made in the Camp, as if the Enemy approached, which made all Arm themselves and run out, and amongst the rest the Keepers of *Agathocles*, whom then the multitude seeing in such a condition, cried out presently that he should be loosed; which being done, he forthwith took Boat with a few attendants, leaving both his Sons behind him. The Army understanding this killed them both, and then agreed with the *Carthaginians* for three hundred Talents to restore the Towns yet in their hands, and that such as would should receive pay in their service. And such as did so had the Terms performed; but those that out of hope of succour from *Agathocles* held out the places, being all forced to yield, their Captains were Crucified, and the common Soldiers being bound in Fetters, were forced with their hard labour to repair that Country which formerly they had helped to depopulate.

19. Thus the *Carthaginians* obtained peace after four years; Divine vengeance hurrying *Agathocles* to punishment, after that perfidious murder of *Ophallus*, his two sons being slain on the same day, and by the hands of his Soldiers. After his arrival in *Sicily* he went presently to *Regesta*, a Town confederate with him, whence wanting money he exacted much Treasure, but they grumbling, and complaining thereof, all the poorer sort he brought forth, and slew at the River *Scamander*, and then tortured the rest with all sorts of Torments to make them confess what they had. Some he broke upon the Wheel, others he flout of from Engines as Stones. Some had their Ancles cut off, and endured other such cruel torments. He invented a kind of punishment also, something resembling *Phalaris* his Bull being a bed of Iron, wherein one being put, was burnt or fric'd to death by fire put underneath. Rich Women had their Ancles broken with Iron Tonges, others their Breasts cut off. Some out of terror burnt themselves in their houses, and others hanged themselves, so that the whole flower of the People being absolutely destroyed, he sold the Children to the *Bruttii* in *Italy*, and utterly to destroy the name of the City, called it *Dicaopolis*, and Peopled it with Fugitives. Hearing then that his Sons were slain in *Africa*, to be revenged on the Soldiers, he sent commands to *Antander* his Brother, to kill all their friends and kinsfolks at *Syracuse*, which he readily performing, no sex nor age was spared, but so horrid a Massacre committed, that as well old and decrepit men as young infants were included in the slaughter. Such as were thus murdered lying on the Sea shore, none durst bury them, though never so nearly related, so that the Sea washing them away was coloured with the blood, carrying along with it a note of this cruelty to other parts at a good distance. *Agathocles* continued his progress up and down the Island, strengthening Towns, and raising money; but *Papophilus* his Captain despising him now for the lowness of his fortune, fled over to *Diomedes*, and withdrew the Army also from him. This cast him into such despair, that contrary to his former boldness, he sent to *Diomedes*, offering to quit the Tyranny, and restore the Government to the People, so he might have but two Castles to maintain himself on, and earnestly pressed him to admit of the conditions. But being after the chief power himself

self, and unwilling to be reduced again to the estate of a private Citizen (being now (though but accounted Captain of the Exiles) as a King indeed, in regard of the great extent of his power and command) put him off with one pretence or other till, till *Agathocles* finding out his device, procured some to accuse him to the Army, and sending to *Cartbage* made peace with them on these terms; to restore all the places to them they formerly had in *Sicilie*, and for this in way of requital, to receive five hundred Talents of Gold, and a great quantity of Corn.

20. Furnishing then himself with a small Army, he went against *Diomedes* and his Exiles, who seeing the little number he brought with him (being but about five thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse) in comparison of themselves, amounting to twenty five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, gave him battle. The dispute at first was very sharp; but shortly some two thousand of the Exiles revolting to the Tyrant, so encouraged his men, and discouraged those they had forsaken (who thought them to be more than indeed they were) that they were easily put to flight, though so far exceeding in number. All the Horse got away, and some of the Foot; but the greatest part settling upon a Hill, made peace with *Agathocles*, who had sent to them, inviting them now at length to lay down their enmity, and return home; but after he had got them into his power, contrary to his faith given (which he never observed) he slew some seven thousand of them. The remainder of the Army being gathered up he received, and *Diomedes* himself to whole command he committed part of his Souldiers, and contrary to his own disposition, trusted them to the last. He betraying his companions, slew *Papophilus* at *Gela*, and going about in subduing the Towns and Castles (in which work he spent two years) delivered them all up to *Agathocles*.

21. Not long after, *Cassander* the King of *Macedonia* besieging *Corcyra*, *Agathocles* went and raised the siege, burning all his ships in the Havens. Returning to his Army, and understanding that certain *Ligurians* and *Tyrhenians* had joyned with those that slew his Son *Archagathus*, he got them into his power to the number of two thousand, and put them all to the sword. The *Bruttii* (a People which issuing from the *Lucanians*, were grown mighty high, and at the very first fought against those from whom they had their original, and forced them to a Peace, on equal terms) being offended with him, he sailed over into *Italy* against them, and determined to besiege a Town belonging to them, but they setting upon him at unawares, forced him with the loss of four thousand men to return to *Syracuse*. Yet was he not discouraged from making another Expedition against *Crotone*, which purposing to besiege, he pretended he was about to send his Daughter to the King of *Epirus* with a Royal Fleet, and beguiling them herewith, laid close siege both by Sea and Land to the Town, when they full little thought it. Having undermined a great house, they being terrified thereat, opened their Gates and let him in, after which he plundered the Town, and committed great slaughters. Then entered he into society with the *Japyges* and *Pactii* notable Pyrates; whose furnishing with Vessels, he was to have part of the booty; and leaving a Garrison in *Crotone*, he returned to *Syracuse*.

22. Once more having prepared an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, he passed over into *Italy*, where being arrived, and committing the Navy to the care of *Stilpo*, he commanded him to make excursions into the Territories of the *Bruttii*, but he coasting along and wasting the maritime parts, lost almost all his ships by a Tempest. He himself took by storm the City of the *Hipponiates*, at the report whereof the *Bruttii* were so affrighted, that they sent to him to treat, and delivered up six hundred Hostages. Yet after his departure they brake their oath, and expelling his Garrison, returned again to their own freedom. *Agathocles* being returned home, sent his Son of his own name to *Demetrius Poliorcetes* now King of *Macedonia*, to enter into society with him, who taking the message in good part, rewarded the Ambassador with royal gifts, and sent one back with him, who under colour of ratifying the League, might espie out the condition of *Sicilie*. Having now been a long time, as he thought, at Peace with the *Carthaginians*, he made all provision possible again for shipping, intending to make another Expedition into *Africa*, and hinder the exportation of Corn from *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*.

23. But while he busied himself with such thoughts, he was prevented by one *A. M. 3766*. *Mennon*, who being born at *Regesta*, had been taken captive there, and for his beauty was preferred to his service. For a time he dissembled the displeasure he conceived from the calamity of his Country, and his own ignominious and filthy condition

Whom he overtook and yet received him into favour.

Rage against the *Italians*.

Entered into society with *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

While he thinks of making another Expedition into *Africa*.

Item at 21. 4.

A. M. 3766. Ol. 118. an. 4. P. C. 449. Strabo. 8. Pto. Ligi 15.

Didorus is Excerpt. l. 21. A. M. 3764.

Justin lib. 23.

Didorus lib. 23.

A. M. 3766. Ol. 122. an. 4. P. C. 465. Strabo. 24. Ptolema. 149. 39.

dition, till he might have an opportunity to be revenged upon the Tyrant. But now it happening, that *Agathocles* commending *Agathocles* his Son to the *Syraculans* as his Successor; and lending him to succeed *Archagathus* (his nephew by *Archagathus* his Son, and a man of great courage) in the command of the Army then quartering about *Ætna*; *Archagathus* seeing how things were likely to go, plotted the ruin of them both, and lending to *Menon*, desired him to make the old man away with poyson, while he in the mean while inviting the young one to a feast, made him drunk, and then killed him. *Menon* mindful of the message, when the King after meat called for a tooth-pick to cleanse his teeth, dipped one in poyson and gave him it, which he using, began by little and little to wax ill, and then his teeth putrifying in a horrid manner, this was succeeded by tormenting pains. Seeing himself near his end, he called the people together, and inveighing bitterly against *Archagathus*, stirred them up to revenge him on him, and restored the *Democracy* to the people. Afterwards his voice failing him, he was put upon the funeral fire yet breathing, by *Oxythenius*, who had been sent to him from *Demetrius*, and burnt. *Justin* from *Trogus* (who in the whole story of this Tyrant dissenteth from *Diodorus*) reporteth, that before his end, he sent back his Wife *Theogene* an *Ægyptian* by birth, with her two young Children, and great wealth, into her own Country, to be out of that danger which he forelaw must needs ensue. The story of his life is almost beyond parallel; but he dyed after he had lived seventy two years, and thereof Reigned twenty eight, as amongst other Historians cited by our Author, *Antander* his own Brother left recorded; A. M. 3718, and the second of the 123 *Olympiad*.

24. The *Syraculans* having again got the power into their own hands, put to sale *Agathocles* his goods, pulled down and tare in pieces all his pictures. *Menon* in the mean while who had poysoned him being in the Camp with *Archagathus*, and elevated with the thought of what he had done, made away also *Archagathus* by treachery, and with good words drawing the Army to himself, resolved to make War upon the *Syraculans*, and seize upon the Principality. The *Syraculans* therefore having made *Hicetas* their *Pretor*, sent him out against him, but the *Carthaginians* joining with *Menon*, they were constrained to deliver them four hundred hostages to let fall the War with them, and receive the Exiles. Afterwards the mercenary Souldiers being denied the right of Suffrage in the election of Magistrates, a great sedition arose thereupon, and both they and the People took arms, but the better sort interposed themselves, and prevailed with both parties to agree, the Souldiers consenting to depart the Island with their goods. These Mercenaries marching away, came to *Messene*, a Sea-town standing over against *Italy*, where being kindly entertained by the Inhabitants, they so well requited them, that in the night they massacred them all, and Marrying their Wives, seized upon the Town, which they called in their own *Campanian* Language *Mamertina*; *Mars* in that speech being named *Mamers*. Over against this Town stood *Rhegium* upon the promontory of *Italy*, which being in danger now in the War betwixt the *Romans* and the *Tarentines*, the Inhabitants desired of the *Romans* to have a party sent them for their defence, which being also *Campanians*, in imitation of what their Countrymen had done at *Messene*, and by their help, they also killed or expelled the Inhabitants, and seized upon their Town and Territories. *Decius* their chief Commander they banished for the unequal division of the prey, who going thence to *Messene*, fell ill afterwards of his eyes, and sent to *Rhegium* for an expert Physician in this kind, who coming to him, in revenge of what he had done to his Country, applied *Cantharides* to his eyes instead of salve, and utterly blinded him. And when the *Romans* were once disintangled from the War, having grievously relented the Treachery of their Souldiers, they besieged them in the Town, which taking, they brought three hundred of them to *Rome*, and in the market-place first whipped and then beheaded them, after the custom of their Ancestors, to vindicate their credit with their confederates.

25. In *Sicilie* were now many petty Tyrants: *Hicetas* at *Syracuse*, *Phintias* at *Agrygium*, and several others at other places. These two fell out and Warred with each other, inso much that by reason of their mutual excursions and depredations their grounds lay untilld. *Hicetas* having still the upper hand of the other, was so elevated, that he ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians* at the River *Toria*, but as it proved to the great loss of his men. Ever since the death of *Agathocles*, had the *Syraculans* laboured with all their might to reduce that whole Island into their power, and now at this time rather doubling their diligence than at all slack-

A. M. 3718.
Ol. 123. an. 2.
P. C. 457.
Siculus 26.
Pind. Lays 37.
Vindolanda
trans in Excerpt
12. lib. 21.

Thio lib. 2.
Polipian lib. 1.

Diodorus lib. 2.
Expt. l. 22.

Plutarch in
Pyrrhus.

ing their endeavours, sent over into *Italy* to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* (who now was buisied in War against the *Romans*, being called thither by the *Tarentines*) desiring aid of him for the expelling of the *Africans*, and to take upon him the protection of *Sicilie*. *Hicetas* having held the Dominion of *Syracuse* nine years, was then ejected by *Thynio*, who together with *Sostiratus* were so vexed with the *Carthaginian* War, that they again called *Pyrrhus* into *Sicilie*. The *Mamertines* entered into League with the *Carthaginians*, and relolved if possible to hinder his landing, the *Romans* were also by reason of their enmity with him easily drawn into the confederacy, so that the Straights of *Sicilie* were narrowly watched. He delaying his coming till the next year, the *Carthaginians* sent back thirty of their Ships upon other occasions, and besieged *Syracuse*. But then he (having been in *Italy* now two years and four months, without success) passed over without controul, and came directly to *Syracuse*, where the *Carthaginians* lying incamped with no less than fifty thousand men, having also one hundred Ships at anchor in the Haven, yet upon his approach raised their siege, not daring to try the hazard of a battel.

26. *Pyrrhus* coming to the City, reconciled the Inhabitants to their Governments, for which getting great favour, and receiving messages from diverse Cities, which gave up themselves into his hands, he not only thought now of gaining *Sicilie* (which he intended to give to his Son, begotten on *Lanassa* the daughter of *Agathocles*, as *Italy* to another) but of laying *Africke* it fell also to his Dominions. Making a journey through the Island, he received the Cities to protection, and within a short space subdued all the places held by the *Carthaginians*, except, *Lilybæum*, a Town built upon the Sea by their Ancestors, after that *Dionysius* had taken *Motya*. After he had been some time before it, though a great supply had arrived, yet sent they also to him, offering him money to raise his siege; and he was inclined to accept of the offer; but his friends in Council perswaded him by all means to refuse it, and utterly expel the *Africans* out of *Sicilie*. Then did he with all his might attempt the taking of the place by force, but it being strongly defended, he every time came off with loss, and finally after he had continued the siege for two months, rose up and departed. After this he had thoughts of becoming Master at Sea, and transporting his Army into *Africke*; but behaving himself too Majesterially in the preparation for this attempt he lost himself exceedingly, and then suspecting the fidelity of *Themo* and *Sostiratus*, the one he compelled by fear to revolt from him, and the latter he slew as guilty of the same intention. This so provoked the Cities, that some revolted back to the *Carthaginians*, and others to the *Mamertines*, so that perceiving a great defection, and a conspiracy also hatched against him, being now solicited also by the *Sammites* and *Tarentines* for more aid, he departed again into *Italy*, being opposed so in his passage by the *Carthaginians* on the Sea, and that he lost most of his Ships, and so much after he had landed by the *Mamertines* (who had before waded over one thousand men) that with much ado he got safe to *Tarentum*.

27. After the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the Soldiers which quartered in the Towns near to *Syracuse*, beyond all example, created two Magistrates out of their own body, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero*, to the great indignation of the People, which took it in disdain that their privilege should be thus usurped by the Army. Yet afterwards did they confirm the honour unto *Hiero* for his great moderation and high abilities, who being the Son of *Hierocles*, had strange prefaces whilst yet a Child concerning his future Dignity. He perceiving how in the absence of the *Pretor*, the *Syraculans* were apt to be seditious, and attempt new matters, entred into affinity with *Leptines* (by marrying his daughter) whom he knew to be the most considerable man, and of great Authority amongst the vulgar, that he might supply his place as it were in his absence, and contain the people in obedience. After this marriage was over, taking notice of the loose Carriage of the old Mercenary Soldiers, and how they were ever inclining to mutinies, he drew them out against the *Mamertines*, who being *Barbarians* (as the *Greeks* always termed all besides themselves) had seized upon *Messene*, and dividing them from the rest, which he kept with himself, exposed them against the Enemies, and suffered them every man to be cut off, so that being rid of them, he thenceforth Governed without any fear or trouble. Three or four years after he set upon the *Mamertines* in good earnest, who, though they bare themselves high so long as their friends and associates continued Masters of *Rhegium* (created much trouble to the *Carthaginians*, and compelled divers Towns to pay Tribute) yet now since the defeat of them, and

fff especially *Sept.*

Pyrrhus King
of Epirus
called over into
Sicily by the
Syraculans.

Prospereth.

But by his
cruelty he lost
himself and
departed.

The *Syraculans*
as Soldiers
created two
Magistrates,
Artemidorus
and *Hiero*.

Hiero being
Gole Naps
falls upon the
Mamertines.

A. M. 3720.
Ol. 125. an. 4.
P. C. 477.
Antich. Sotirre
6.
Pind. Phila-
delph. 2.

Justin lib. 23.

Diodorus at
Syrac.

Plutarch at
lib. 12.

Polipian lib. 1.

Justin at 1718.

A. M. 3730.
Ol. 128. an. 10.
P. C. 479.
Antich. Sotirre
10.
Pind. Phila-
delph. 2.

M. Curius Den-
tatus 9.
L. Cornelius Les-
tulus 10.
Polipian 6.
Diodorus at
Syrac.

especially after that *Hiero* had got into his power two places near unto them, they were exceedingly straitened.

28. Yet sent they out against him eight thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse under the Conduct of one *Cior*, who calling the Soothsayers to divine what the issue should be, they answered, that he was to spend the next night in the Enemies Camp, at which being much elevated, he set his men in order, and passed over the River. *Hiero* sent two thousand choice *Messinians*, and five hundred others, to get about the Hill *Thorax*, and come upon their backs, he in the mean time charging their front. Here was maintained a sharp dispute, till the seven hundred fresh men coming upon the backs of the *Mamertines*, did great execution upon them, so that being now compassed about, they betook themselves to flight. *Cior* the General fighting most valiantly, received for many and great wounds that he swooned with too great expence of blood, and being taken alive, was brought into the Camp of the *Syracusians*, where all means possible were used for his recovery. But it happening that divers Horses being brought out of the Field, he espied that on which his Son rode amongst them; whereat taking an apprehension of the young mans death, in great trouble of mind he untied his wounds, and thereby caused his own end, as unwilling to outlive his son.

29. The *Mamertines* upon the news of this defeat were minded to give up themselves, and their City, into the hands of *Hiero*. But it hapning that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General, being at that time in the Island *Lipara*, heard of the overthrow, and came over presently to congratulate *Hiero*, as he pretended, but indeed to circumvent him with his General craft in which he was well skilled; and *Hiero* was so wrought upon as to give credit to him, and lye still. Then went he to the *Mamertines*, and finding them ready to surrender, turned them clearly from it, and drew them to his own interest, by bringing them relief into the City. *Hiero* returning to *Syracuse*, was for a reward of his great service saluted King by the consent of all men, which title he held to his last, the space of fifty four years. *Hannibal* cunningly placed his Garrison in the Castle, and thereby awed the whole Town, so that the *Mamertines* then suspected him as much as *Hiero*, and they hindring thus each other from gaining the place, at length made an accord to carry on the War against it in common. This combination causing the other to bethink themselves of some foreign aid, they sent to the *Romans*, desiring them to take the patronage of them, their own Country-men, as being Originally *Campanians*.

30. The Message found no good entertainment with the Senate, for that the Fathers accounted it an absurd thing for them, who had punished the perfidiousness of those that had seized upon *Rhegium* so sharply, now to take upon them to protect those that were guilty, and patterns of the same Crime; and they could by no means be brought to consent unto it. But the people (who alone could do it) being perswaded by the *Protor* that it was high time to stop the proceedings of the *Carthaginians*, who had almost swallowed up all *Sicily*, and would use that Island as a Bridge to pass over into *Italy*, and being also made to believe how profitable it would be to their particular interests to undertake the War, having suffered much by that late one with *Pyrrhus*, and the *Tarentines*, they decreed that aid should be sent them. The next year was *Appius Claudius* accordingly sent over with an Army, with which he put to the worst, both *Hiero* and *Hannibal*, and thereupon constrained the other to joyn himself to him against the *Carthaginians*. This is called the *Sicilian*, or the first *Punic War*, which for that it falls into the History of the *Romans* more especially, under whom thenceforth *Sicily* was ever subject, it must necessarily be referred thither, as to its proper place. It began A.M. 374. the first of the 129 *Olympiad*, in the 19th of the Reign of *Antiochus Soter*, the second King of *Syria*, and the twenty first of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, the second also of *Egypt*, after the division of the Empire of *Alexander* the Great; twenty two years after the death of *Agathocles*, in the 49th year after the building of *Rome*, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, being Consuls.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The affairs of the Romans Contemporary with the Empire of the Macedonians.

SECT. I.

From the War of Privernum to the first Punic War, wherein the Romans first set foot out of Italy,

Containing the space of sixty six years.

War decreed against the *Paleopolitans*.

1. IN the year after the taking of *Privernum* was War decreed against the *Paleopolitans*. *Paleopolis* stood not far off from the place where *Neapolis* (now *Napoli* or *Naples*) is seated, and, as some think, there where at this day, is seen il borgo de *Chiara*. The same people inhabited two Cities, being descended from *Cume*, which was also a Colony of *Euboeis* in *Euboea*, now called *Negropont*. For the *Cumani* having a good Fleet first passed to the Islands *Menaria* and *Pitheculia*, and afterward ventured upon the Continent. The *Paleopolitans* trusting to their own strength, and counting of the treachery of the *Samnites*, and the plague which now had seized upon *Rome*, committed many Hostile actions against the *Romans* that inhabited the Countreys about *Cume* and *Falerum*. When *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publius Philo* were both Consuls the second time, the *Feciales* were sent to demand restitution, who bringing from those *Greeks* (more valiant in tongue, saith *Livy* than in deeds) a fiery and resolute answer, it was resolved that War should be made upon them.

Alexandria in Egypt, when built.

2. Whilest this War depended, the year following was *Alexandria* in *Egypt* built, as *Livy* writeth, whereas the foundation of this City was laid, while *Alexander* was in *Africk*, the year before the death of *Darius*, and the fifth before this, wherein *C. Petilius* and *L. Papirius Magellanus* were Consuls. This same year he maketh *Alexander* the King of *Epirus* to have been slain, who being Uncle by the Mothers side to *Alexander* the Great, is thought to have undertaken an expedition into *Italy*, out of emulation towards his Nephew, that as the one was now Conquering the *East*, so the other might endeavour to subdue the *West*, having no less matter to work upon in *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Sicily*, than the other found in *Asia* and *Persia*. He was deceived by the Oracle of *Jupiter* of *Dodona*, which bidding him beware of *Pandofa* and *Acheron*, he knowing there was a City of the former name in *Epirus*, and a River of the later, thought himself to much the safer, as he could get farthest off from these. Being therefore sent for by the *Tarentines*, he came into *Italy*, and made War with the *Bruttii* and *Lucani*, from whom he took many Towns, and three hundred Families, which he sent as Hostages into *Epirus*. He entered into a League with the *Metapontini* and *Romani*: But the *Bruttii* and *Lucani* recruiting themselves by the supplies of their neighbours, reinforced the War, and set upon him near *Pandofa* (a Town situate a little above *Consuntia*, the Metropolis of the *Bruttii*) near to which ran a River called *Acheron*. Taking this River with his Horse, he was therein slain by a *Lucanian*, and his dead body being carried down the stream into the Enemies quarters was mangled into pieces. A certain Woman whose Husband and Children were taken, prisoners by the *Epirotes*, got the pieces together, and in exchange for her relations sent her bones to *Metapontus*, whence they were conveyed into *Epirus* unto *Cleopatra* his Wife, and *Olympius* his Sister, whereof the one was Sister, and the other Mother to *Alexander* the Great.

Alexander King of Epirus slain in Italy.

3. The *Paleopolitans* though assisted by the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, were over-marched so, as glad they were to yield up their City, and the *Samnites* lost three of

Sect. 1. of their own Towns. The *Tarentines* yet proceeded, and drew both the *Samnites* and *Neapolitans* (the other part of this Greek Colony) afresh into the War, wherein also the Inhabitants of *Veſtium*, together with their allies engaged themselves. Whilst this War was but beginning, great firſt happened in the City. There, one *L. Papyrius* had given up himself to one *C. Publius* as a slave, to work out his Father's debt. Being a young man of a beautiful body, *Publius* attempted filthily to abuse him, and when he would in no wise suffer this, most grievously beat and tore his body with rods. In this plight *Papyrius* got away, and running to the People, by declaring his condition, so affected them, that they procured the Fathers to decree, that the *Consuls* should propose to them in the *Comitia* these two Laws: the first, That no man should be detained in bonds, except for some misdemeanor, till the time of his punishment: the second, that the money and goods, not the body of the debtor should be responsible. Whereupon all Prisoners for debt were forthwith let at liberty. The year following the *Veſtini* were overthrown by *Junius Brutus Scaeva*, the *Consul*, who also took from them two Towns. His Colleague *L. Furius Caninius* being sick in *Samnium* (or the Country of the *Samnites*) pronounced Dictator. *L. Papyrius* *Curſor*, the most famous Captain by far of those times, who named *Q. Fabius Rutilianus* for his Master of Horse-men. *Papyrius* being in Camp against the *Samnites*, was forced to return to *Rome*, for the renewing of his auspices, and at his departure commanded his Master of Horse-men not to stir out of the Trenches to fight one stroke till he came back: but *Fabius* understanding that a notable advantage of doing something of consequence was presented from the Enemy, fell upon the *Samnites*, and made great slaughter of them. The Dictator hearing of this, in a great rage returned to the Camp, and had put him to death, but that he was rescued by the Army, from which flying to the City, *Papyrius* followed him, and pressing fore to the Senate the necessity of discipline and authority, would not at all give way to the entreaties of the Fathers. This forced *M. Fabius* the Father of the party to appeal to the People and their *Tribunes*, by which he hardly was drawn to pardon him, though his authority was saved together with the life of *Fabius*, through the intreaties of those who might justly have Commanded it, as was confuted by himself.

L. Papyrius Curſor made Dictator.

Is hindered from punishing *Fabius Rutilianus* his Master of the Horse-men.

The *Samnites* overthrown,

Desire Peace which is denied them.

4. This severity of the Dictator so alienated the hearts of the Soldiers from him, that it had well nigh cost him the loss of a battle, which constrained him to be more Popular; then afterwards he overthrew the *Samnites*, and harraized their Country. This made them desire Peace, but returning quickly again to their former enmity, in the second year after, they received another great defeat from *A. Cornelius Arvinus* the Dictator. Herewith they were so struck, that they sent all the Prisoners they had home to *Rome*, with such plunder as they had taken, and the dead body with the goods of him who had been the Author of the Revolt, and who fearing to be given up had killed himself. The Senate onely received the men, with such goods as any Citizen could challenge for his own, and denied them Peace. At this *C. Pontius* a leading man amongst them took occasion grievously to inveigh against the injustice of the *Romans*, and causing them to take arms, led them presently near to a place called *Caudium*, whence having apparelled ten Soldiers in the habit of Shepherds, he sent them to *Calatia* (where he heard the *Consuls* lay at present) with a charge, that when they should be asked where the Army of the *Samnites* was, they should answer in *Apulia*, besieging *Luceria*, which it had already well nigh taken. A rumour being already spread abroad of such a thing, now obtained greater credit, and the *Romans* accounted themselves by all means bound to succour *Luceria*, and the rather, for fear lest all *Apulia* should revolt. Two ways there were which led to *Luceria*: one by the Sea side open and secure, another through the Straights of *Caudium* called *Furca Caudine* (at this day *Caudino*, and *Furche Caudine*, ten miles distant from *Benevento*) a place incompassable about with high Mountains, and into which one could not enter, nor depart out of it but through very difficult and straight passages. The *Consuls* leading their Army through this, as the nearest way, were quickly stopped up, so as they could neither proceed nor retire, because on all sides *Pontius* had blocked up the passage.

5. The *Samnites* having the *Roman* Armies at this advantage, sent to *Herennius* the Father of *Pontius* their General, and a very wise man, for his advice what was to be done. He sent word they should dismiss the *Romans* without any injury at all, which answer not pleasing, they sent back for another, and then he counselled them to cut them off, and not leave a man alive. These two extremes being

A. M. 561.
Ol. 114. ann.
P. C. 430.
Alexand. 13.

Livius lib. 5.

being ascribed to dotage, he came to the Camp, and offered his reasons. He said, he gave the first advice as such, which if followed, would by a great courtesy have for ever obliged a most powerful People, and the second, as tending so far to the weakening of their power, as they could not for a long time either recruit themselves or renew the War, having lost two so considerable Armies; as for any third expedient he found none. Being asked concerning a middle way of dismissing the *Romans* in safety, but under the obligation of some conditions, he answered, that this course would not procure them friends, nor diminish their enemies; for such was the *Roman* Nation, that being disgraced or defeated, it could not rest, but would still retain the memory of what present necessity urged it to submit to; neither, such he, will they suffer you to rest till punished abundantly. But this wise counsel would not be heard; so that the *Romans* had these conditions set them: The Army was to march away only with their clothes, having first in token of slavery passed under the yugum: the *Romans* should quit wholly the Country of the *Samnites*, and thence remove their Colonies: and both *Roman* and *Samnite* live under the same terms of confederacy and alliance. The Armies were constrained to submit, and in great shame and contumacious marched away disarmed. This disaster hapned in the fourth hundred thirty third year of the City, and the third after the death of *Alexander* the Great, when *T. Veturius Calpurnius* the first, and *Sp. Posthumius* the second time were *Consuls*.

Make it disgracefully pass under the yugum and march away disarmed.

The conditions are pronounced at *Rome*, and the *Roman* officers again defeated.

Dictator *M. Fabius* before him, and vouch him to the *Dii* *Manes*.

A summary account of the War with the *Samnites*.

The Priesthood and Augurship communicated to the *Comites*.

6. The City was most grievously afflicted with shame and anger at so disgraceful and unusual a thing. *Posthumius* perswaded the Senate to deliver himself and his Colleague into the hands of the *Samnites*, as being only obliged to the conditions, and not the State, which was unacquainted therewith. This being accordingly done, *Pontius* refused to receive them, exclaiming against the perfidiousness of the *Romans*. The Army then marching down again sufficiently revenged themselves, under the conduct of *Papyrius*. Several Towns which had revolted were recovered, and scarce could the *Samnites* obtain a Truce for two years. They broke this Truce ere the time was out, and thereby drew the War again upon them, which enduring for eleven years, they lost many thousands of men, with many Towns, which humbled them so, that upon their submission the usual confederacy was granted to them. Then were the *Æqui* chastized, who had helped them, and thereby were other Nations affrighted into subjection. In the second year after, began another War with the *Hetruscans*, wherein were fought divers bloody battles, but still the *Romans* had the better, who stormed divers Towns, and wasted the Country. Two years after, the *Samnites* rebelled again, and joined with the *Hetruscans*, but with the same success as formerly, being grievously slaughtered, especially under the conduct of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Decius Mus*; the latter of whom, seeing his wing give ground, in a great and bloody battle fought with the *Samnites* and *Gauls* (for those now had joined with them) solemnly devoted himself and the Enemy to the *Dii Manes*, and rushing into the midst was killed, as his Father had been forty four years before. Still continued the miseries of the *Samnites*, and two years after their last Army (for this time it must be understood) was cut in pieces by *L. Papyrius* son to the former, who also took many Towns, and for his service obtained a most splendid Triumph. It is observed, that over the *Samnites* the *Romans* triumphed thirty times: viz. *Consuls* twenty six times; *L. Papyrius* the Dictator twice, *Publius Philo* once, who first of all others triumphed with *Proconſular* power, and once *Q. Fabius* another *Proconſul*. The Family of the *Fabii* obtained, of these thirty, four triumphs, and that of the *Papirii* five, as may be seen in the *Capitoline* Tables. This war having begun in the 410 year of the City, ended in the 481, and therefore continued 71 years, not fifty only, as *L. Varro*, according to his custom, falsely computeth; neither 81 as *Appian*, nor 49 only, as *Entropius*; nor yet only seventy, which number *Livius* aligneth with tolerable difference. All Writers agree, that the *Romans* had no Enemy in *Italy*, who longer, or more pertinaciously, managed the grand quarrel with them than the *Samnites*.

7. During these successes abroad, the People having got of late for many privileges, were reasonably quiet; yet their *Tribunes* having one occasion left to create trouble to the Fathers, stomached much that all the *Priests* and *Augurs* should be created out of the Nobility, and laboured to make the *Commons* partakers of these Offices. The Senate made no great resistance, as being now accustomed to yield, and that in things of far greater moment as the *Comitum*, *Censurum*, *Electum*, *Triumphum*, and *Triumphum*. So, whereas as yet there were but four chief *Ædiles*, and as many *Ædiles*,

Sect. 1.

The Law of
Appeal re-
newed the
third time.

Angur, to them were added four, and to those five out of the body of the *Commons*. And this same year did *M. Valerius* the *Consul* prefer a Law of *Appeal* more diligently enacted. Now was it the third time preferred since the banishment of the Kings, always by the same Family. The cause of renewing it, faith *Livie*, I suppose was no other, than that the power of a few prevailed above the liberty of the Commons. Which cannot be, if we consider, how for a long time the will of the multitude had got ground, and before this overturned the prerogative of the *Patricians*. The *Lex Porcia*, faith he, seemeth alone to be enacted for the backs of the Citizens, because it inflicted an heavy punishment upon him that should beat with rods or kill a *Roman* Citizen. The *Lex Valeria* having prohibited any to be killed or beaten who had appealed, if any did contrary, added no more than it was *naughtily done*, which (such was then the modesty of men) was I believe, a sufficient obligation for the Law. Now scarcely can any one threaten a Slave in that manner. *Fabius Gurgus* after this, being *Consul*, fought unpropertiously with the *Sammites*, whereupon the Senate consulted about removing him from the Army. *Fabius Maximus* his Father deprecating this ignominy, prevented it, by promising he would go to the War as *Legatus* or *Lieutenant* to his Son. He performed it, and so assisted the young man, that he procured him Victory, and a Triumph, wherein *C. Pontius* the *Sammite* being led was put to death. After this, *L. Posthumus* a man of *Consular* dignity, being set over the Army, used the help of the Soldiers in his own field, and for that was punished. The *Sammites* desiring Peace, the League was renewed with them the fourth time. But presently again, as it seemeth, they rebelled; for *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *Manius Curtius* (named *Dentatus*, because born with teeth, according to *Plinie*) overthrew them in several bloody battels, and took divers of their Towns. *Livie* in his eleventh Book (as appeareth from it's Epitome) wrote, that *Curius Dentatus* the *Consul*, having overthrown the *Sammites* and *Sabines*, who had rebelled, triumphed twice the same year. After this were Colonies sent to *Castrum*, *Sena*, and *Adria*. The *Triumviri* for Capital matters were now also first made. The *Centus* being persisted, the *Law* was made, and two hundred and seventy three thousand Polls of the *Roman* Citizens were cessed.

War with the
Sammites.

The third se-
paration of
the Commons.

8. Presently after happened the third separation of the Commons from the *Patricians*. The cause was the great debts which the poorer sort had contracted. As a remedy for this the *Tribunes* of the Commons, those incendiaries, proposed new Tables in way of defalcation, which the *Consuls* in favour of the Creditors opposed. The contest came to that height, that the *Plebeians* departed into the *Janiculum*, for the reconciliation and reduction of whom, *Q. Hortensius* was made *Dictator*. He appeased them with good words, and persuaded them to return, by promising that for the time to come their *Plebisfetta* should have the force of Laws, and bind the whole polittick body. This accordingly, by a Law called *Lex Hortensia*, he enacted: though it appeareth out of *Livy*, that the same in effect had been granted twice before, viz. in the three hundred and fifth year of the City, by *L. Valerius*, and *M. Horatius* the *Consuls*, and again in the four hundred and sixteenth by *Q. Publus Philo* the *Dictator*, fifty years before this present, which having not been observed, might give the Commons as great distaste as the matter of debts, if we may judge from that which pacified them. * *Florus* telleth a story, that the busines of Matrimony betwixt the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* caused this third separation of the Commons into the *Janiculum*, the tumult being raised by *Camilus* the *Tribune*. But students are to take notice, that none but he speak any thing of this Sedition in this place, and by the instigation of this person, for this cause of marriage. That great Contentions were raised betwixt the two orders about the taking away the Law made by the *Decemviri*, which forbade marriage betwixt them, is often attested by *Livy*. But that the Commons departed into the *Janiculum* for the burden of their debts, after great and long contentions in the four hundred and sixty eight year of the City, is by several Authors affirmed, and that thence they were reduced by *Hortensius* the *Dictator*, who preferred a Law in the *Escoleium*, that what the Commons commanded should bind all *Quirites*: neither do Writers mention any other cause of the third Separation.

The Lex Ho-
rtensia.

The error of
Florus.

9. *Hortensius* died in the time of his Magistracy. After this there was action with the *Volsinenses* and *Lucani*, against whom assistance was given to the *Thurini*. Then the *Roman* Ambassadors being killed by the *Galls Senones*, War was decreed against them, and *L. Cecilius* the *Pretor* was cut off by them with the Legions. The *Tarentines* being jealous of the growth of the *Roman* power, had hitherto privily

Livii Epitom.
lib. 11.

A. M. 3719.
O. 123. ann. 1.
P. C. 462.
Silius 21.
Ptol. Legi 32.

Strabon
lib. 2.

Livii Epitom.
lib. 11.
Ptol. lib. 16.
Strabon.

A. M. 3719.
O. 123. ann. 1.
P. C. 462.
Silius 21.
Ptol. Legi 32.

* Liv. 1. 10. p. 25.

The Original
of the Taren-
tines, and a
description of
their Cities,
Government,
and conver-
sation.

privily favoured the *Sammites*, though openly they maintained a confederacy with the *Romans*. This People, being the offspring of the *Parthenie*, who were banished *Lacedemon*, for that being promiscuously begotten, they could not have any inheritance, and therefore plotted against the State as was shewn before, inhabited a Citie called *Tarentum*, from *Tarus* a certain *Heroe*, the Metropolis once of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and all *Lucania*. It was situate in a Peninsula on the Bay of the *Adriatick* Sea, famous for its bigness, Walls, and Haven especially, which lay so convenient for laying into the *Roman* Coasts; *Illyria*, *Illyricum*, *Epirus*, *Acadia*, *Africk* and *Sicily*, that *Florus* accounteth the situation admirable. The *Tarentines* affecting loose Democratical Government, obtained great power in those parts, having a more considerable Fleet than any of their neighbours, thirty thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and one thousand persons fit to command them. They embraced the Philosophy of *Pythagoras*; especially one *Archytas*, who governed the Citie a long time. In aftertimes luxury was produced by prosperity to such excess, that if credit may be given to *Strabo*, the *Tarentines* had more publick Festivals yearly, than the year hath dayes; by reason whereof, the State of the Common-wealth under such a Government was rendered much worse. One of their bad customs was (as he judgeth it) to use the Conduct of Forciners in their Wars; for against the *Messapii* and *Lucani* they employed *Alexander* the *Molossian*, and before that *Archidamus* the Son of *Agellus*, as afterward *Cleonymus* and *Agathocles*; and afterwards *Pyrrhus* against the *Romans*. They contended with the *Messapii* about *Heraclea*, and employed also against them the two Kings of the *Darii* and *Peucetii*. Neither would they obey the foreign Captains for whom they had sent, but fell to odds with them which procured no small inconvenience.

The Original
of their War
with the Ro-
mans.

They sent
for Pyrrhus
King of Epi-
rus.

10. Near to the Haven, in the view of the Sea, was the Theatre of the City, which proved the cause of all its misery and calamities, faith *Florus*. They were therein beholding Games, when *L. Valerius* the *Dumvir* as he is called in *Livy*'s Epitome or one of the *Roman Admirals* layed thither as to a confederate Citie. They taking the *Romans* for Enemies, faith *Florus* (who addeth what cannot be credited, that they scarce knew, who, or whence the *Romans* were) or as others think, or at least riled it, and slew the Admiral. The Senate sent *L. Posthumus* to complain of the injury, who delivering his message boldly was dismissed with a very dissatisfactory answer, at his coming in, having had * Urine thrown upon him, or one of his Companions. War therefore was decreed against the *Tarentines*, and committed to the management of *L. Emilius* the *Consul*, who first indeavoured by fair means to reclaim them, and when that could not do it, waited their Territories with Fire and Sword, revenging their insolence with cruelty as *Orosius* writeth, for which service he triumphed the year after his Consulship, as appeareth out of an old inscription. The *Tarentines* finding themselves too weak for the encounter, sent to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* for aid, whom they had formerly assisted against the *Corcyraens*. The multitude were of themselves rather inclined to peace; but a certain company of men, by Greek Authors called *Demagogi* (from their leading of the People) would not let them rest, till they had resolved upon the War; whereupon they sent Ambassadors to *Pyrrhus*, who not onely in their name, but of other *Italians* also presented him with gifts, and signified that they stood in need of a General, Eminent both for abilities and reputation; *Italy* it self being able to furnish them with Forces out of the Countreys of the *Lucanians*, *Messapians*, and *Sammites*. The King being of a restless spirit, encouraging himself in vain hopes (whereby he grasped as it were the Empire of all the *West*) promised them to come over with an Army, and dispatched before him with three thousand men, One *Cineas* a *Thessalian*, an excellent Orator, and Scholar of *Demosthenes*. He afterwards took the Sea himself with twenty Elephants, three thousand Horse, and twenty two Foot, besides five hundred Archers and Slingers; but upon the Main was seized with such a Tempest, that his Fleet being severed, many Vessels were lost, he was forced to leap out into the Water, and with great hazard got to Land, and onely at present two Elephants, a very few Horse-men, and about two thousand Foot could be recovered from the Shipwrack by the *Messapians*; upon the Coasts of whom they were cast.

11. *Pyrrhus* did nothing without the consent of the *Tarentines*, till his Ships, and the greater part of his Army arrived; then taking notice how they minded nothing but bathing and feasting, he shut up the publick meeting places, restrained them

Sept. 1.

Legi Strabo.
lib. 6. p. 273. O.
Florus lib. 1.
c. 18.

Orosius lib. 4.
cap. 1.
Strabo.

* Valer. Max.
lib. 2. cap. 5.
Excerpt. 5.

Plutarch lib.
Pyrrho.

A. M. 3725.
O. 125. ann. 1.
P. C. 476.
Silius 22.
Strabo 16.
Ptol. Phila-
delp. 5.
Idem 102.

Sect. 1. War against the *Romans*, for which he had been called, or clearly quitting the Country of *Tarentum*, to leave the City in that condition wherein he found it: But returning them no pleasant answer, he bade them stay his time, and so departed, after he had carried on the War in *Italy* two years and four months. For the following year, *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *C. Julius Brutus*, both the second time, were *Consuls*. *Rufinus* was a man very expert in War, but extraordinarily covetous and scraping, inasmuch that upon this account he was much hated by *Fabius*, formerly mentioned. Yet, when this year he stood for the *Consulship*, for that it was a very dangerous time, and his competitors were persons of no value, *Fabius* laboured earnestly to have him elected, and when every one wondered at it; either to his friends, or, as *Cicero* writeth, to *Rufinus* himself, giving him thanks, he answered: *Admī compituri quam cœnare, I desired rather to be pilled than sold.*

Pyrrhus having found things in *Sicily* according to his mind, proceeded in his enterprize with as much satisfaction, till growing tyrannical, he incurred the hatred of those that employed him, part of whom revolted to the *Carthaginians*, and others betook themselves to the aid of the *Mamertines*. Perceiving at length that he was involved in the deep hatred of all, and nothing throughout the Island but revolts, new councils and a strong conspiracy against him, he received Letters from the *Sammites* and *Tarentines*, who being shut up in their Towns, which they hardly maintained, desired his assistance. He was glad of so specious a pretence, that he might not seem to be driven by desperation out of *Sicily*, which indeed as a perishing *Vedil* in so great a Tempest he was not able to govern, and so returned into *Italy*, after he had been absent near as long as formerly he had there continued. The *Barbarians* set upon him in his passage, and the *Carthaginians* so distressed him in the Straights, that he lost many of his Ships. The *Mamertines* having landed, to the number of ten thousand men before him, would not adventure to fight with him, but distressed his Army much in narrow and difficult places, killing two Elephants and many Men in the rear. He himself fighting in the front with a valiant and skilful Enemy, received a hurt in his head, whereupon he withdrew himself a little. This so animated the *Mamertines*, that one of them, great in bulk, and glittering with armour, came out far before the rest, and in a threatening manner bade *Pyrrhus* come forth if he were alive. *Pyrrhus* enraged with his guard, bloody as he was, and with a terrible countenance rushed through the midst, and coming up to the *Barbarian*, struck him with such fury upon the head, that the stroke through the Swords metal and the strength of the arm, pierced to the lower part of the body, so that in a moment it was chined down in the middle, and the two parts fell down on either side. The *Barbarians* astonished hereat, left off their attempts, and so without further interruption he marched with twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse to *Tarentum*, where increasing his Forces by new levies, he proceeded into *Samnium* against the *Romans*, who there lay encamped.

Pyrrhus being so often overthrown by the *Romans*, their courage was wholly broken, and for that they were displeased with him for his going into *Sicily*. He divided his Forces into two parts, whereof one he sent against *L. Cornelius Lentulus* into *Lucania* to hinder him from joining with his Collague *M. Curius Dentatus* the other *Consul*, against whom he marched, then lying in a fortified place near *Beneventum*. Halting to set upon him ere the other could come to his relief, with the most valiant of his men, and fierce of his Elephants picked out, he marched by night towards his Camp, but passing through Woods his lights failed him, and going out of his way he lost his time so much, that at break of day the *Romans* discovered him upon the Hills. *Curius* then in haste, as he could, drew out his Forces, and filling upon the vanguard of *Pyrrhus* put it to flight, killing many men, and taking some Elephants. Animated by this success, he descended into the Plain, and there joyned battle with the whole Army. In one wing he beat back the Enemy, in the other by the violence of the beasts was born back to his Camp, whence calling forth those who kept the guard, they from high places pined the Elephants with darts, that they forced them back upon their own friends, whom bearing down, and breaking their ranks, they thereby procured Victory to the *Romans*. *Florus* and *Orosius*, contrary to what *Plutarch* reporteth of *Beneventum* (concerning which place Learned men are much doubt) make the battle to have been fought in *Lucania* in the *Apulian* Plains. *Florus* writeth, that

He is defeated by Curius Dentatus the Consul.

Gilius l. 4. c. 8. A. M. 3728. P. C. 477.

L. de Orat.

A. M. 3730. Ol. 126. an. 2. P. C. 479. Silencio. 28. Antioch Sat. 8. Pto. Philad. 10.

the cause of the Victory was a young Elephants being wounded in the head, which turning back and roaring for the pain, the *Dam* hearing him, ran as to his relief, and so both of them disordered the battle, the overturning, as *Enemies* all the met. *Orosius* saith, that the beasts were thus disordered by bundles of hemp besmeared with pitch, which having hooks in them and set on fire, the *Romans* cast upon their backs, and the Towers set thereon. *Frontinus* maketh the battle fought about *Faventum*, in the *Arusinian* Plains. *Entropius* is silent concerning the place; but writeth, that *Curius Dentatus* beat *Pyrrhus* back to *Tarentum*, slew twenty three thousand of his men, and led, the first of all others, Elephants (four in number) in triumph to *Rome*; which beasts the *Romans* called *Luca boves*, because they were first brought out of *Lucania*, where *Pyrrhus* was overthrown: This maketh much against that place which *Plutarch* assigneth for the battle, the original of whose error seemeth a mistaking of *Beneventum* for *Faventum*, or *Stautum*, a City of *Lucania*.

This Victory, saith *Plutarch*, made way for the establishment of the *Roman* Empire: for the *Romans* got such courage and reputation by this success, that being counted invincible, they presently obtained all *Italy*, and not long after, *Sicily* also. As for *Pyrrhus*, he having spent six years, and fall'n from his hopes both in *Italy* and *Sicily*, returned into *Epirus*, yet with a mind nothing daunted. He was thought the Ablest Captain of all the Kings of that time, both for military skill, and personal valour; but what he had already obtained, he lost still by striving to grasp more. Therefore *Antigonus* compared him to a *Gambler*, who having lucky hits, knew not how to use them. (a) Having sent to the Kings of *Asia*, and *Antigonus* especially, for men and money, after he had received bare Letters, he called the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* together, and told them, that presently assistance would come, which report being carried unto the *Roman* Camp, the *Consuls* durst not stir, and so taking this advantage, the night following, he passed over unmolested into *Epirus* (b) *Curius* the *Consul* having taken his Camp, touched nothing of the plunder; and whereas the Senate gave seven Acres of ground apiece to the people, and five hundred to him, he would not exceed the common proportion. This year, *C. Fabricius Lusignus* and *Q. Ænilius Papus*, much (c) commended for their poverty, being *Censors*, (d) removed *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, who had been twice *Consul* and once *Dictator*, from the Senate, because they had found in his house of plate for the service of his table ten pounds; this being against a Law, as (e) *Plutarch* hinteth. At this *Lustrum* were censed two hundred seventy one thousand two hundred and twenty four polls of *Roman* Citizens, as appeareth from the Epitome of the fourteenth Book of *Livius* History.

And withdrew him self into his own kingdom.

Philo Philadelphus by Embassy made a confederacy with the *Romans*.

The Castle and Town of *Tarentum* taken; most of *Italy* being now subdued.

17. The *Roman* name had begun to be famous before, but was terrible after the overthrow of *Pyrrhus*. In the second year after his flight, (a) *Ptolemy Philadelphus* sent Ambassadors to congratulate with the *Romans* about their success, and to enter into confederacy with them. They sent, to do him honour, Ambassadors also to *Alexandria*, where he received them most courteously, and sent them back loaded with gifts. At their return they brought the gifts, though given to themselves in particular, into the Treasury; but the Senate commanded them to be restored. In the third year after the departure of *Pyrrhus*, the (b) *Tarentines*, being neither able to drive out the Garrison he had there left under *Milo*, nor procure Peace of the *Romans*, desired aid of the *Carthaginians*, whereby giving the *Romans* battle, they were overthrown. *Milo* sensible how badly he was able to resist, by leave from the *Consul Papius*, departed with his men, and left the Castle, which the *Romans* having got into their hands, easily mastered the City, the walls whereof they demolished. Peace and liberty was granted to the Citizens, and the two *Consuls L. Papius Cursor*, and *Sp. Cornelius Maximus* (both *Consuls* the second time) triumphed, having finished both the *Tarentine* War and that of the *Sammites* in the four hundred and eighty first (or the four hundred and eighty second) year of the City, as the *Capitoline* tables do shew. The greatest part of *Italy* was now conquered, an accession being made not only of the *Tarentines* and *Sammites*, but the *Lucanians* also, and a little before of the *Etruscans*. After this, the (c) *Campanian* Legion, which without command had seized upon *Rhegium* was besieged, and upon surrender was put to death. The Inhabitants of *Apollonia* in *Illyricum* sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, the two *Ædiles Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Apronius* beat them; and for that they were delivered up to the *Apollonians*. The *Picentes* were overcome and had peace given them. Colonies were sent forth to

Sect. 1.

(a) *Passen. in Antioch.*
(b) *Pal. Max. l. 4. c. 3. extemp.*
(c) *Liv. l. 4. c. 4. extemp.*
(d) *Liv. l. 4. c. 5. extemp.*
(e) *Pal. Max. l. 2. c. 9. extemp.*
(f) *Agellus l. 17. c. 21.*
(g) *St. Sili.*

(a) *Liv. l. 4. c. 14. extemp.*
(b) *Pal. Max. l. 4. c. 3. extemp.*

(c) *Orosius l. 4. c. 3. extemp.*
(d) *A. M. 3733. Ol. 127. an. 1. P. C. 485. Silencio. 41. Antioch Sat. 12. Pto. Philad. 13.*

(e) *Liv. l. 4. c. 14. extemp.*
(f) *Pal. Max. l. 6. c. 6. extemp.*

SECT. 2. *Ariminum* in the Country of the *Piceni*, and to *Beneventum* (till now called *Ma-leventum*) in that of the *Samnites*. About the same time was silver Coin first stamped at *Rome*, brass being used altogether till now, the State having got much silver in a Cattle of the *Samnites*, as *Xonaras* writeth. This hapned five years before the first *Punic* War, as (2) *Pliny* computeth, *C. Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. O-gulnus Gallus* being *Consuls*, in the fourteenth year of *Antiochus Soter*, and the sixteenth of *Protolmy Philadelphus*, A. M. 3736, two hundred and sixty seven years before the birth of Christ.

Silver money
first stamped.

SECT. II.

From the First Punic War, to that with Antiochus the Great, in which the Romans first invaded Asia, the space of thirty seven years.

1. **T**He *Umbri* and *Sallentini* being newly subdued, and the number of *Que-stors* being increased to eight, the *Romans* took occasion to transfer their Armies over the Sea into *Sicily*, and begun that, which from the Island (that gave both occasion to, and was the seat of, it) is by *Greek* Writers called the *Sicilian* War. There had the *Mamertines* most perfidiously seized on *Messana*, as is already related, and thereupon were become Enemies to *Hieron* King of *Syracuse*, who besieged them justly as thieves and murderers, and had taken the City, but that *Annibal* the *Carthaginian* cunningly diverted him, with an intention to get it into his own hands, as it came to pass; for pretending fair things to the *Mamertines*, as before to *Hieron*, and sending them in provisions, he possessed himself of the Cattle. They being thus cheated by him, and now straightened by both, who had joyned together against them, betook themselves to the *Romans* for relief. The Senate began to be very sensible of the power of the *Carthaginians*, who had now almost the whole Island in their hands, and was jealous of their approach so near to *Italy*; so that a just quarrel with them seemed very acceptable. But so bad was the cause of the *Mamertines*, as they could not in conscience undertake the patronage of it, and gave them a denial. From the Senate the thing was brought to the People, which besides it's ancient use to debate matters concerning War, had by the *Hortensian* Law obtained power by it's *Plébiscita* to bind the whole State. The *Pretors* shewed what great profit would redound to the Commonwealth in general, and particularly to private Citizens (who having suffered much by the late *Italian* Wars, were desirous by a new one to recruit their fortunes) and therefore by a *Plébiscitum* they decreed aid to be sent to the *Mamertines*, in the fourth hundred and eighty ninth year of the City, *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgus* the third time, and *L. milius Vitulus* being *Consuls*.

2. In the year following, and the Consulship of *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, *Appius* was sent over with an Army to *Messana*, to execute the commands of the People. He first defeated *Hieron*, then the *Carthaginians*, and so raised the siege. The succeeding *Consul* *Manius Otilius* and *M. Valerius Maximus*, were ordered both, and with all the Legions, to pass into *Sicily*, wherewith *Hieron* was afflicted into obedience, perceiving that the *Romans* were most likely to remain Victors, and made his Peace upon these terms, To restore all their prisoners without ransom, and pay one hundred Talents of Silver. The *Romans* embraced his friendship the more readily, for that the *Carthaginians* being masters at Sea, they could not well fend over provisions, which they hoped might be supplied by him in good measure. They also by this alliance thought themselves eased of the burden of War, and therefore the next year they sent over but two Legions. *Valerius* the *Consul* from *Messana* had the surname of *Messala*, who also having taken *Catana*, carried thence a new Sun-Dial to *Rome*, *Papirius Cursor* having thirty years before set up the first that ever was in that City. This though not perfect, the People used ninety nine years, till *M. Philippus* their *Consul* set up a perfect one by it, and about the same time *Scipio Nasica* being *Consul*, first divided the equal division of the day into hours, by water dropping out of one vessel into another. This *Pliny* relateth out of *Varro*, who also reported, that out of *Sicily* the first Barbers were brought to *Rome* by *P. Ticius Mena*, about the four hundred and fifty fourth year of the City, before which time the *Romans* never cut their hair. The first that

Hieron King of
Syracuse being
worsted made
peace with the Ro-
mans.

A Dial brought
out of Sicily
to Rome.

And Barbers.

A. M. 3740.
Ol. 128. an. 4.
P. C. 490.
Sextus 49.
Antioch. 30.
Ptolem. Philad.
19.
21.

that was thaven every day was *Scipio Africanus*, whom *Augustus* imitated therein, none more using the Razor than he.

3. The next year was *Agrirentum* taken after a long siege; *Hannibal* who came to raise it being overthrown by *L. Posthumius* and *Q. Mamilius* the *Consuls*. The news whereof filled *Rome* with excessive joy, and the Citizens now elevated in mind, would not acquiesce in former Councils. It seemed not sufficient to them, that they had saved the *Mamertines*, nor enriched themselves with great booty; but conceiving good hope that they might be able to call the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*, and much thereby promote their affairs, they thitherto directed their thoughts and consultations. On Land indeed they seemed sufficiently to prosper, for *L. Valerius* and *T. Otilius* the succeeding *Consuls*, managed the War very well; but the *Carthaginians* without controversy being Masters at Sea, thereby procured the Maritime Towns to revolt to them, so that the War was poised betwixt the two interests, now inclining to one side, and then presently to the other. Moreover *Italy* was often molested by the *Carthaginian* Fleet; but *Africk* out of all danger. Wherefore they concluded, there was necessity of betaking themselves also to Sea matters. Having never as much as thought of the Sea before, they now set upon building of one hundred Quinquerees and twenty Triremes, a thing most difficult, because the Carpenters were utterly to seek how to make the former sort of Gallies, their use being utterly unknown to the *Italians*. But before they had made tryal, when they first transported their Forces to *Messana*, they ventured to fight with the *Carthaginians*, who had received the Dominion of the Sea, without any competition from their Ancestors; which boldness and confidence *Polybius* esteemeth no less than miraculous. First of all *Cn. Cornelius* the *Consul* and *Admiral*, going with seven Vessels to reduce a Town of the *Lipareans*, was taken in the Haven by one sent from *Hannibal*. But *Dulius* his Collegue presently after gave the *Carthaginians* a great overthrow, the Souldiers having provided iron hooks, by the help of which they could board them and fight as on Land. The *Romans* hereby extraordinarily animated, relieved the *Agessians*, and took *Macella* a certain Town by storm. But *Amilcar* Captain of the *Carthaginian* Land-Forces then lying at *Pen-normus*, understanding that in the *Roman* Camp there was a mutiny, for that the Auxiliaries and Legions contended who should have the first place in battel; and that the former had separated themselves, he suddenly fell upon them in their removal, and killed almost four thousand men. *Hannibal* after this loss at Sea departed to *Carthage*, where recruiting his Naval Forces he went into *Sardinia*, and being blocked up in a port by the *Romans*, lost many ships, and for that was crucified by the Souldiers, who overruled the defeat. The punishment which he feared for the former overthrow he craftily evaded; for, before the thing was heard at *Carthage*, he sent one of his friends thither, who coming to the Court, told the Senate that the *Roman* *Admiral* was come with a great Fleet, and therefore he was come to ask their advice whether he should fight him. All the Senate answered, there was no doubt but he ought, to which the messenger replied, he hath fought and is overthrown. By this means he hindered them from condemning that fact, which before they had judged that it ought to be done.

4. Now had the *Romans* passed both into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; Divine Providence as *Cassiodorus* noteth upon *Polybius*, so ordering it, that present success should dispose their minds for such future undertakings, as made way for their decreed Empire. (2) *Hanno*, the year following, being in *Sardinia* was slain, and his Army cut off by *L. Cornelius Scipio* the *Consul*. The next, many Towns were lost and taken in *Sicily* on both sides. But (2) *Calpurnius Flamma* a *Roman* Tribune (or Leader of a Legion) gave a great demonstration of his valour. For *A. Attilius* the *Consul*, having rally brought the Army into such straits, out of which there was no possibility to extricate himself, he with three hundred men took an hill near adjoining, and drew thence the *Carthaginians* to himself, till the Army could pass through without opposition. All the three hundred were slain, yet he forely wounded and covered with dead bodies survived, being by *Roman* Writers compared, for this act, to *Leonidas* the *Spartan*. This story is twice told by *Julius Frontinus*, who acquainted us with the uncertainty of the mans name, some calling him *Lutarius*, others *Q. Cadius*, but most *Calpurnius Flamma*. The following year, *C. Atilius Regulus* the *Consul* subdued the Islands *Lipara* and *Melita*, whereof the later is ennobled by the shipwreck of St. Paul, lying betwixt *Sicily* and *Africk*. *Polybius* writeth, that first *Regulus* was worsted at Sea, and then he defeated the *Carthaginians*. Now the *Romans* resolved to change the seat of the War

The Romans
now first ap-
ply them-
selves to Sea
matters.

Hannibal cru-
cified by his
Souldiers.

21.

Hanno slain.

The valour
act of *Calpurnius*
and *Flamma*.

SECT. 3.

A. M. 3743.
Ol. 129. an. 3.
P. C. 492.
Antioch. 31.
Ptolem. Philad. 23.

A. M. 3745.
Ol. 128. an. 5.
P. C. 492.
Antioch. 31.
Ptolem. Philad. 23.

(2) *Flamma*
L. C. 7.
(2) *Front.*
Strabo, l. 10. c. 1.
Examp. 19. c. 1.
10.
Gellius l. 2. c. 94.
dit.

Sect. 2.

A lamentable
madness of the
Carthaginian
Mercenaries.Hanno sent
to make up
the breach in
length inThey march
towards Car-
thage.Souldiers and
Africans hinder
the agree-
ment, and
provoke the
multitude.Whence ar-
rives the
Libyans, or Afri-
cas War.

cruit themselves by a cessation; but the Peace procured them greater danger than the War could well have done. For, *Amilcar Barca*, after the ratification, drew down the Forces to *Lilybæum*, and giving them up into the hands of *Gefco*, to be transported, laid down his Office. *Gefco* wisely considering what danger there was of such a multitude of Mercenaries it's falling into sedition (especially because they wanted their pay, which the publick Treasury already exhausted could not afford them) conveyed them into *Africk* by small companies together. But his Superiors, either through inadvertency, or for want of money, dismissed them not as they arrived; but stayed them till all should come together, with intention to prevail for an abatement of their wages. The City growing full, many outrages were committed by the Souldiers, which caused the Townsmen to procure their Captains to lead them out to *Sicca* a Town not far off, and when they left their baggage behind them, as intending shortly to return to *Carthage*, they fearing their unwillingness to depart, or their speedy return, because of their Wives and Children, in the carriages, forced them to take all away. When they were come to *Sicca*, they fell into greater licentiousness through want of employment, and demanded larger pay than formerly they had pretended to, expecting also great rewards promised them by their Captains in dangerous adventures. As soon as they were all come thither, *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* Pretor was sent to them, who was so far from curing, that he heightened the distemper.

9. He not only brought none of those things with him which they expected, but complaining of the emptiness of the Treasury, talked of abating something of their constant wages. This put the multitude into a rage, into which having once fallen, it was hard to be appeased, as upon other accounts, so through the diversity of their speech, things being either misrepresented by unskilful interpreters, or misunderstood by them who were willing enough to be mistaken. Breathing nothing but fury and violence, they took Arms, and in despite of *Hanno* and the other Officers marched toward *Carthage*, and encamped at *Tunk*, fifteen miles from the City, to the number of twenty thousand. The *Carthaginians* affrighted at the multitude resolved to satisfy them; but then the Mercenaries perceiving how they were feared, every day invented what to add to their demands, requiring besides their pay the price of their Horses lost in the War; and, after this was granted, Provision for several years, which they said was behind. Their late Masters not daring to deny them any thing, prevailed that some one who had commanded them in *Sicily* should be chosen as Moderator, and the whole matter left to him.

10. The Souldiers made choice of *Gefco*, as one who had best deserved of them. And he laboured to pacify them all he might, and was about to pay them their Arrears. But there being in the Army one *Spændius*, a *Campanian* of *Italy* by birth, but by condition a *Roman* slave, who having ran away from his Master, wanted neither strength nor courage; and one *Mathos* an *African*; the former fearing to be tortured to death if his Master caught him, as the *Roman* manner was, and the latter though free, fearing to be called to an account for his too great forwardness in the late stir, fought how to drive all things into extremity, that they might procure a War, inveighing grievously against *Gefco* and the *Carthaginians*, as having a design as soon as the rest were dispersed and gone home, to spend their rage against the *Africans*. The multitude herewith were strangely incensed, so that who ever attempted to speak, before they could be heard what they would say, were all stoned to death except these two. *Gefco* yet would not cease to do his duty, but went from one Nation to another, labouring to pacify them; but when the *Africans* demanded allowance for their Provisions, he bade them ask it of *Mathos* their Captain. This so transported them, that they plundered the goods of the *Carthaginians*, with all the money he had brought for the discharge of the Army, and binding him and his followers in a contumelious manner cast them into prison.

11. By the advice of *Mathos* they rebelled against the *Carthaginians*, and so began the War called *Libyæum* and *Africanum*, as also *Carthæum*. Their numbers being increased to seventy thousand. *Matho* and *Spændius* now created Generals, divided their Forces, and besieged *Utica* and *Hippacra*. *Hanno* was sent from *Carthage* to the relief of the *Uticans*, and at the first onset drove away the besiegers; but entering the Town, and loitering there, they set upon his Camp without, and killing many, took all his Engines, and other things prepared for the War. His Superiors troubled heretofore, created Captain *Amilcar Barca*, and sent him into the field with seventy

Læet Poliphus
L. 1.Amilcar Barca
defeateth the
Mercenaries.Who are fur-
ther provoked
by their Cap-
tain.Amilcar Uni-
teth the Car-
thagians for-
tice.Mathos and
Spændius ele-
vated by their
success be-
liege Carthage.Amilcar for-
ceeth them to
break up.

seventy Elephants, and ten thousand men. There he was encompassed by the *Africans* on his Front, the *Numidians* on his Rear, and *Spændius* on his Flank, where *Naravalus* a *Numidian* with two thousand of his followers revolted to him. Encouraged by this addition he engaged with his Enemies, causing his men to face about as the Front became the Rear, whereby seeming to be in confusion, the Mercenaries thought they ran, and breaking their Ranks to pursue them he took this opportunity, and setting on them out of order obtained the Victory, having slain ten thousand, and taken four thousand Prisoners.

12. He gave Arms to all such Prisoners as would serve under him and having exhorted the rest to fight no more against the *Carthaginians*, dismissed them freely. *Spændius* and *Matho*, together with *Autarius* Captain of the *Galls*, hearing this doubted how far his clemency, especially the offer of indemnity, might prevail with the *Africans* and others, and consulted how to obviate this his design by setting the multitude at irreconcilable enmity with the *Carthaginians*. To this purpose they feigned Letters to be sent out of *Sardinia* from their friends, giving them to understand, that obtain amongst them held intelligence with the Enemy, and advising them to keep close *Gefco*, and the other with him. *Spændius* taking heretofore occasion, earnestly advised them not to trust to the pretended clemency of *Amilcar*, and by no means to permit *Gefco* to escape; for thereby they should incur the contempt of their Enemies, and by strengthening them through the assistance of so great a Captain, not a little damage their own affairs. Whilst he yet spoke another pretended messenger brought Letters as from *Tunis* of the same Contents with the former; and then *Autarius* openly protested, that whosoever had any regard to the kindness of the *Carthaginians* could not be faithful, and therefore such were to be heard as perwaded the most bitter things against *Carthage*, all others being Traitors and Enemies. Then did he perwade them to Torture *Gefco* to death, with such as were now with him, and all that hereafter should be taken. There were many which spoke against this cruelty, especially as *Gefco* was concerned in it; but for some time they were not understood, speaking in their own Languages, and when what they aimed at was fully known, some one cried out *Strike them*, which so provoked the multitude, that they forthwith stoned them. After this, bringing forth *Gefco*, and the other *Carthaginians* to the number of seven hundred, they cruelly tormented them to death; and made a decree, that whomsoever of them for the time to come they should take, he should be used in the same manner, and if any of their Allies were taken, his hands being cut off, he should be sent back to *Carthage*. This they very carefully afterwards observed, having also refused to deliver the dead bodies to the Messengers that came for them, and threatened, if any more came, to deal with them as they had used *Gefco*.

13. *Amilcar* seeing into what straits he was cast by this boldness of the Mercenaries, sent for *Hanno*, judging that an end might sooner be put to the War if the Forces of the State were all United. Such of the Enemies as he took in the heat of the fight he killed, as he might by the Law of War, or taking them alive, cast them to wild beasts. When he thought that he had brought matters into a fair way of recovery, they presently relapsed into a far worse condition than ever. For, the ships that brought Provisions miscarried by force of Tempest; *Sardinia* at the same time revolted from them; which was wont to supply them with large Provisions; and *Hippacra* and *Utica* which hitherto had remained faithful, now revolted without any manifest cause. *Mathos* and *Spændius* herewith elevated, resolved to lay siege to *Carthage* it self, and shortly after performed it. The *Carthaginians* in this their distress betook themselves to their neighbours, whereof the *Romans*, and *Etyro* King of *Syracuse* in *Sicily*, being sensible of the weakness of their Enemies, were ready to do them all good Offices. Herewith better enabled, they held out, and *Amilcar* lying abroad, to cut off all Provisions from the Mercenaries, that being no other than besetged themselves, they were forced at length to rise up and depart, resolving to observe *Amilcar*'s motions, and ly in wait for him on the sides of the Mountains; for they would not venture to take the plain, being afraid of his Elephants, and the Horie of *Naravalus*; and otherwise they were much inferior to the *Carthaginians*, who far surpassed them in Military skill, though but equal to them in valour.

14. But *Amilcar* singling them out by parties, killed many of them, and when they engaged with their whole Force cut them off by stratagems; sometimes by day, otherwhises by night he would fall upon them on a sudden with great Terror; and such of them as he took he cast to the beasts. At length he compassed them

V u u u

them

Sett. 2. them about in such a place, as, though they were afraid to fight they could not escape, and being shut up within a Ditch and Rampire, they were forced to devour one another. Though they now could expect no mercy, yet they lent to desire a Parley, and having obtained leave, *Antarolus*, *Zarxas*, *Spendius*, and other Captains were ordered to manage it. It was agreed that the *Carthaginians* should pick out ten men whom they pleased, and the other be dismissed in their Coats. The Covenants being finished, *Amilcar* declared that he made choice of those who were present, and so got the most eminent Leaders into his power. The *Africans* understanding that their Officers were seized, took Arms in great haste, but *Amilcar* with his Elephants and his Army compassing them in on every side, put them to the Sword. For the improvement of this success, he and *Amibal* went and besieged *Mathos* in *Tunis*, before the Walls whereof he nailed *Spendius* to a Cross with the rest of the Captives. *Amibal* pitching his Camp on that side of the Town towards *Carthage*, scarcely demeaned himself, which *Mathos* considering, made a Sally, and killing many, took much plunder, and amongst other Prisoners *Amibal* himself, whom bringing to *Spendius* his Cross, after he had taken down his Colleague's body, he nailed him to it, and killed thirty more of the most Noble *Carthaginians*.

Utterly de-
scatch them,
and the War
enrich, after
three years
and almost
four months.

15. It was long ere *Amilcar* knew of this disaster, and when he did, for the distance of place, and difficulty of passage, he could give no relief. Marching therefore from *Tunis*, he late down by the mouth of the River *Macaris*, and his Superiors at *Carthage* making new Levies joyned *Hanno* in Commision with him. These two, after several passages, at length agreed to fight one set battle with the Enemy, who consenting, a bloody contest ensued, wherein at length the *Carthaginians* had the better. A great part of the *Africans* were slain, and the rest fled to a neighbouring City, where not long after they yielded themselves, and *Mathos* was taken alive. The Subjects of *Carthage* now all returned to obedience, except they of *Hippocrates* and *Utica*, who being past hope of mercy from their enraged Lords, seemed resolved to stand out; but *Hanno* and *Amilcar* bringing their Forces, constrained them to submit to such conditions as the *Carthaginians* would lay upon them. *Mathos*, and those that were with him being carried to the City, were handled with all sorts of contumely and torment, and so this *Libyan War* ended, having lasted three years, and almost four months, being, faith *Polybius*, the most cruel and wicked that ever we heard of. But it gave the *Carthaginians* occasion to repent of two great errors, *viz.* *Trusting to great a multitude of Mercenaries together when they were idle*; and the cruel, and tyrannical usage of their Subjects.

16. The *Romans*, (that we may return to them the History of whom is our proper subject) though they observed the League during these troubles, and at length, as was said, gave the *Carthaginians* also reason to like well of their friendship, yet thought they had more cause to be angry with them. For such of their Subjects as fled from *Italy* into *Africa*, they seized on, lest they should carry Provisions to their Enemies, and had at *Carthage* almost five hundred of such kind of men in Prison. Yet when Ambassadors were sent to complain hereof, they kindly dismissed all those in custody, which so affected the *Romans*, that they also sent them all their Prisoners, gave them all they asked, and permitted their Merchants to carry them necessities, forbidding them to Traffick with their Enemies: they also refused to hearken to such of the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries as having betrayed their trust, invited them into *Sardinia*. But though *Polybius* telleth us that this they did; yet it appeareth from him also that this modesty continued but for a time. For, allured, as it seemeth, by this invitation, they sailed thither, which much offended the *Carthaginians*, who thought that the place by far more right belonged to them; so that they prepared to send Forces into the Island. The *Romans* took occasion hereat to decree War against them, complaining that these Forces were not designed so much against the *Sardinians* as themselves, which forced the other, who found themselves in no good case to manage the War with them, to give way to the time, and quit not only *Sardinia*, but pay further to the *Romans* one thousand and two hundred Talents. This, though submitted to at present, bred such grudges and malice, as at length brake out into another War, a more dangerous and bloody than the former.

The Romans
wrest *Sardinia*
from the *Car-*
thaginians
with more
Tribute.

Comelius and
Tragedius first
at Rome, made
by *Livius* *Andronicus*.

17. In the (2) year after the ending of the first *Punic War*, the five hundred (2) Cities
and fourteenth of the City, *C. Claudius Cento*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Consul, the year preceding the birth of *Ennius*, the first *Comedies* and *Tragedies* were
written in *Comedies*.

Comelius and
Tragedius first
at Rome, made
by *Livius* *Andronicus*.

The *Ludi* *Strenu-*
si.

The *Satire*.

The third *Se-*
cular or *Te-*
rentine
Games.

The Original
of the *Ter-*
rentine Games.

The *Ter-*
rentine and *Se-*
cular Games
confounded.

Sett. 2. were made by *Livius Andronicus* the Poet. This man being a *Grecian* born, was rightly called *Andronicus*, and named *Livius* from his Master *Livius Salinator*, whose Children he taught, and for his learning was manumitted by him. (b) *Gellius* (1) Lib. 17. faith, that he now first at Rome taught plays about one hundred and sixty years cap. 21. after the death of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, and fifty two after that of *Menander*. But whereas he said by *Gellius* first to have made or taught plays at Rome, it is to be understood of these two sorts of Poetry now mentioned, (c) *Valerius Maximus* telling us, that he drew the minds of the spectators to those shews from the use of *Satires*, which by little and little succeeded that most antient and plain *Roman* sort of the *Histriones* brought out of *Etruria*, (as we shewed before) for the stopping of the Pettulence, through the command of the Oracle. These *Ludi Strenu-*
si were first managed with rude gestures, and incompofed Songs, called *Vogus* & *Colaphus*, which at random were wont to be uttered at the *Roman* Solemnities, came the *Satire*, as later in time to more elaborate, and as for metre a perfect Poeme containing ridiculous things digested into Verse, which they were wont to utter amongst themselves, after the antient custom. It differed as much from that of the *Greeks*, as from the rest differed *Dramatick* Poetry, whereof the *Romans* at this time knew not so much as the name. A *Satire* being afterwards variously handled by the *Romans*, at length was reduced to two sorts, which *Fabius* only acknowledged. The former was found out by *Lucilius*, and the later ennobled by *Varro*. *Horace* mentioneth two kinds of most antient Poetry; one whereof they used in the praise of their gods, as when they appealed *Tellus* with a Sow-pig, and *Sylvaenus* with milk: the other, when in jest and sport they jeered one another, being the same with the *Esphemine* Verses, whence came the *Satires*, to which *Livius Andronicus* added the plays of *Comedies* and *Tragedies*, as was observed.

18. Four years after, were celebrated at Rome the third time the *Secular Games*, concerning which it is convenient to speak in this place, that beginners may know the differences of *Roman* exercises. These were called *Ludi Magni*, as others were, (in opposition to the *Scenici*, and games made by private men) and *Ludi Terentini* (not *Terentini*, whereof Students are to beware) from *Terentius* a place in the *Campus Martius* where they were celebrated. But there were other games called also *Terentini Ludi* (which some not considering have run into confusion) and that more properly than these *Secular* ones were, and therefore the rise of them all is to be related. There was one *Valesius* a man of prime note, amongst the *Sabines*, who living near *Eretus*, and not far from *Tiber*, in a great Plague, had two Sons and a daughter which fell dangerously sick. Amongst his prayers for them, he heard a voice that they should recover, if carrying them to *Terentus*, he would fetch them some warm water of *Tiber* from the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proserpina*. He thought the City *Tarentum* was meant, and doubted how he should come by any *Tiberine* water in that remote part of *Italy*; but resolving to be obedient, he sailed down the River towards *Ostia*, and late at night arrived at the *Campus Martius*, where he understood there was a place called *Terentus*. Landing here, he gave his Children some warm water, wherewith refreshed they fully recovered, and told their Father, how in a dream they had seen a certain god, who commanded, that at the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proserpina* black coloured Sacrifices, (*furvae hostiae*) should be offered, as also that *Leſtiferes* (Beds made for the cause of Sacrifice, as whereon to lye down after the *Roman* fashion at a solemn feast) and night-games should be made. *Valesius* seeing no Altar in the place, thought of making one, when, as his slaves were digging for that purpose, they found one in the earth dedicated to *Pluto* and *Proserpina*. Here then he Sacrificed, and three nights together, because of the number of his Children, made *Leſtiferes* and Games, being afterwards from this thing named *Marius Valesius Terentinus*. *Zozimus* writeth, that the *Romans* one hundred years before being to fight with the *Albani*, were admonished to build this altar in the Earth, and that having sacrificed they covered it. But this passage concerning *Valesius* hapned about the twelfth year of *Servius Tullius*, wherein he founded the *Lustrum*; in the one hundred eighty and eight of the City; and the same wherein the *Panathenaea* were instituted (or rather reduced to the course of five years, being formerly instituted by *Theseus*) at *Athenes*, this being the third year of the 53 *Olympiad*.

19. This was the Original of *Terentine* Games, which some have confounded with the *Secular*. For, the next that were celebrated were made by *Valerius Po-*
plicola in the year following the banishment of *Tarquinius*, which *Zozimus* calleth

Uuuu 2 Games

Sett. 2. (1) Lib. 17. cap. 21.

(2) Lib. 2. c. 4.

Ludi Liviani
Ol. 136. an. 1.
P. C. 518.
Situat, 77.
Situat *Calli-*
us 11.
Prot. Euristi-
11.

Vide Valerium
Maxim. l. 2. c.
4.

Tina Terentini
celebrata *trian-*
stia *lata*.
August.

Seft. 2. Games of *Pluto* and *Proserpina*, and * *Conforinus*, from *Antias* the Historian, give them the name of *Secular*. This confusion call *Conforinus* into such a perplexity about the *Secular* Games, that he thus exprefeth the uncertainty of the Roman intervals of times and ages. * *Some think the Roman ages to be distinguished by the Secular Games; which, if it be so, the manner of the Roman age is uncertain. For, concerning the intervals of times, wherein these Games ought to be celebrated, we are not only ignorant how great they were formerly, but what they ought to be for the time to come. For, Antias and other Historians, with Varro and Livy, have written, that they ought to be made every hundredth year. But on the contrary both the Commentaries of the Quindecimviri (or fifteen men) and the edit's of Augustus testifie, that they ought to be reiterated every hundred and tenth, as * Ho-*

* *Quem vide cap. 17. lib. de Nat. Hist.*

Which much perplexed Conforinus.

The difficulty resolved by Jacobus Capellus.

Quindecimviri Dians preter divorum carit. Floras in carm. Seculari.

Observations concerning the Centenaries.

The Temple of Janus thus the second time. The first divorce.

* 20. * *Jacobus Capellus* dissolveth the difficulty in this manner. The cause of this perplexity which troubleth *Conforinus* is this. All *Secular Games* are Terentine, but all Terentine Games are not *Secular*. For some were made upon some occasion, as those which *Valerius Publicola* made this 245th year of the City, and *Valerius* about the year 188. These were Terentine Games but not *Secular*. Now, * the *Secular* are of two sorts. The greater, which perhaps thou mayst not call annual; * *Quindecimvires*, were celebrated at the distance of one hundred and ten years. Of this kind the first were made by the command of the *Quindecimviri*, in the 298 year of the City, 110 years, as it seemeth, after the first Terentine Games made by *Valerius*. So, the *Valeian* shall fall in the 188 of the City. The first of the *Quindecimviri* were made in the 298 year of the City, the Second in the 408, the Third in the 518, and the Fourth in the 628. The lesser *Seculum*, or Age, consisted but of 100 years, instituted as it seemeth, by *L. Valerius*, after the banishment of the Decemviri, that year being according to some the 300 of the City. So the First Centenary Games agree with the 305 Varroian year of the City, the Second with the 405, the Third with the 505, the Fourth with the 605.

21. Though the Second of the Centenaries should have been celebrated in the 405 year, yet whether it happened through the Gallick War or otherwise they were not till that following, wherein *M. Popilius Lenas* the fourth time, and *L. Cornelius Scipio* were Consuls, as *Zozimus* writeth. These *Conforinus* hath omitted and four more, if credit be given to the inscription of a certain Ithome mentioned by *George Herwart*, from which it should appear, that before this year were celebrated three *Secular Games*, viz. in the 100, 200, and 300 years, according to the account of *Picior*, and the 105, 205, and 305, according to that of *Varro*. Two Solemnities also at the distance of 110 years, as in the 188 and 298, after the account of *Varro*, to which may be added those made by *Poplicola* extraordinarily in the 245 year. So that the Games celebrated this year (viz. in the 406) may rightly be called the seventh Games. The *Quindecimvires* (or those of 100 years) continued till *Constantine's* time, who forbade them to be celebrated in the 1067 year of the City. His Son *Constantinus* also prohibited the Centenaries, which in his time fell into the 1100 year of the City. Fifty seven years after, the Heathen got leave of *Honorius* to celebrate the Terentine Games again in his sixth Consulship (for which *Claudian* thanks him) two hundred years after they had been kept by *Severus*. But to return, these Third *Secular Games* which gave occasion to this discourse, and were celebrated in the five hundred and eighteenth year of the City, and the fifth after the first *Punic War*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Licinius Varus* being Consuls, were those of the *Quindecimviri*, or of the interval of 110 years; (2) *Livius* Lib. 2. *Entropius* Lib. 3. *Plutarch* in *Numa*.

22. In the sixth year after the first *Punic War* (a) the Temple of *Janus* was shut at *Rome* now the second time, all things being in quiet, and the Romans having no Wars any where after the reduction of *Sardinia* by *M. Titius Torquatus* the Consul. In the following year, being the 520 of the City, the first (b) divorce was made by *Sp. Carvilius Ruga*, who, though he did it under a specious pretence

(2) *Livius* Lib. 2. *Entropius* Lib. 3. *Plutarch* in *Numa*.

(2) *Val. Max.* Lib. 2. c. 1. *Asconius* in *Caes.* c. 21.

(2) *Asconius* in *Caes.* c. 21.

(2) *Asconius* in *Caes.* c. 21.

ca. Venetia de Poet.

The Illyrians inflict the Romans at sea.

Whence a War ensue.

Peace is granted to Teuta the Queen.

The Seditious attempts of Flaminius the Tribune.

pretence of his Wives barrenness, was ever ill-willed for it by the People. This same year was *M. Porcius* (c) born in the Presidencies of *Typhalus*, who had the name of (d) *Cato* for his wisdom; *Catulus* in the Roman Language (whence the diminutive *Catulus*) signifying sagacity, acute, or ingenious. And this year did *Cn. Nevius* the Poet (e) publish plays to the People, who, wrote also the first *Punic War*, (wherein he served) in the most ancient kind of Verse called *Saevius Versus*, which were succeeded by the *Fescennini*, some being with metre and some without. He died in the thirtieth year after this, and left a proud (f) Epitaph of his own making, which he commanded should be engraven on his Tomb, and *Gellius* hath recorded together with those of *Plautus* and *Pacuvius*.

23. Five years the Temple of *Janus* continued shut, and in the sixth was opened by a War with the *Illyrians*. For, *Teuta* Queen of that Nation, the Widow of *Agron* (who for joy that he had prospered in his enterprises against the *Ætolians*, drank too hard, that he fell into a Pleurisy, and thereof died) elevated by her prosperity in Peace, gave out Commissions to her Subjects to rob all at Sea whomsoever they met with. The *Illyrians* then having taken *Phœnice* a strong City of *Epirus*, struck a great terror into all the Maritime parts of Greece, and setting upon the *Italian* Merchants, some they robbed, others they killed, and not a few they carried away prisoners. The Romans having hitherto neglected all complaints against them, when now many came together, sent unto *Illyricum* *Caius* and *Lucius Cornucani*, to inform themselves concerning these matters. *Teuta* answered, she would take care that no publick injury should be offered to the Romans, but it was not the custom to hinder any from making what private commodity they could out of the Sea. But faith *Lucius*, the Romans have a good custom publickly to prosecute private injuries, and to relieve the injured: therefore we will shortly endeavour, God willing, to constrain thee to amend these customs. The Queen took this liberty of speech so haughtily, that her Womanish impotency and anger prevailed against the Law of Nations, to have some sent after the Ambassadors, who killed *Lucius*. For this War was decreed against her, and both the Consuls of the 525 year of the City, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *L. Posthumus Albinus* Confil the second time, were sent into *Illyricum*; *Fulvius* with the Navy, and his Colleague with the Land-Army.

24. *Fulvius* received *Coreyra*, given up into his hands by *Demetrius Pharius*; (a) M. 3776. then took he *Apollonia*, and the Armies joining, the Consuls freed *Dyrrhachium* besieged by the *Illyrians*. Then most of the *Illyrick Cities* were either taken or delivered up, whereupon the Queen retired with a few followers to *Ribizon* a strong Town, situate upon a River of the same name, and the Spring following sent to *Rome* to desire Peace. It was granted to her on these terms: To pay a yearly tribute, to quit all *Illyricum*, except a very few places: and not to sail beyond the River *Oxisus* with more than two Barks, and those unarmed. For nine years the *Illyrians* continued in obedience, till the 535 year of the City, wherein rebelling, they were again reduced by *Emilius Paulus* and *M. Livius* the Consuls. For, *Demetrius Pharius* then their King, forgetting the great favours received from the People of *Rome*, wasted the Towns of *Illyricum* subject to the Romans, and passed the bounds set by the League. *Emilius* within seven dayes took *Dimalium*, and followed him to *Pharus*, a Town of the Island *Phario*, which he also took. *Demetrius* being fled to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, he seized on the rest of *Illyricum*, which he ordered to pay a stipend to *Pincus* the son of *Agron*. But thus was begun, and finished the War with *Teuta*, which *Florus* (according to his custom, breaking the order and series of time) fallly placeth after the *Gallicum Cispalpinum*, or that with the *Galli* inhabiting within the *Alpes*.

25. For the same year wherein the peace was made with *Teuta*, the promulgating of the *Agurian Law* by *C. Flaminius*, Tribune of the people, brought this great, and dangerous War upon the Common-wealth. There being a good quantity of ground Conquered within the Countrey of these *Galli*, he preferred a Law for the dividing of it to the People, man by man. *Q. Fabius Maximus* being now Consul the second time stiffly opposed it, *Sp. Carvilius* his Colleague not flinching as (c) *Cicero* telleth us; the Senate also laboured to cross it, but when in the *Rostra* *Flaminius* read the Law, his Father laying hands on him he obeyed, and went down, though he neither valued the Consul nor Senate, nor yet was affrighted with the levying of an Army. Nay, the People about him was so overawed by paternal right, that as *Valerius Maximus* writeth, though the Assembly was thus disappointed, not the least muttering was heard. Whether the Law for division fully

Seft. 2. (c) *Cicero* de *Sorditate*. (d) *Plutarch* in *Cato*. (e) *Asconius* in *Caes.* c. 24.

Polipius Lib. 2.

A. M. 3776. Ol. 137. ann. 4. P. C. 525. Sil. Calistich. 18. Ptol. Boorg. 18. Item & Jo. 11th.

A. M. 3776. P. C. 525.

(c) *De Senili*.

Lib. 4. c. 1. c. 2.

Enchiridion 5.

Sect. 2. fully passed or not (by reason of the interruption by old *Flaminius*) yet this thing gave occasion to a new and great War, as *Polibius* writeth, who mistaketh the time by four years, for as much as these first about the *Agrarian* fell not out in the five hundred twenty second, but the five hundred and twenty sixth of the City, where-withall the second Consulship of *Fabius Maximus*, and that of *Sp. Carminius Maximus* is joined. Indeed the first of *Fabius* fell in with the five hundred and twenty first year of the City, two years before *Tenta* killed the Ambassador, and two more at least before the finishing of the *Illyrian* War, whence may be conjectured that as the mistake of *Polibius* might arise from want of distinction, betwixt the first and second Consulships of *Fabius*; so the error of *Florus* (or him, who ever wrote that *System*) in placing the *Gallic* War before the *Illyrian*, might proceed from an (unconsiderate) trust to the Authority of that excellent Author.

Occasioneth
the War, call-
ed *Billum Ga-*
licum Cisalpi-
num.

26. The report concerning this Law awakened the *Galls*, especially the *Boii*, who were nearest neighbours. Concluding now that the *Romans* sought not so much for glory and Dominion, as out of a covetous design of enriching themselves, they sent to the *Insubres* for aid, exhorting them to remember what their Ancestors once did at *Rome*, and to tread in their steps. These joining together sent over the *Alps* for other *Galls*, living near *Rhodanus*, and called *Gefsa*, from their Wages, *falsi Polybii*, or as others write, from *Gefsa* a kind of weapon they used. Their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroetius* being allured by great promises, with a vast force passed over the *Alps*, and joining with the *Insubres* and *Boii*, to the number of fifty thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse brake into *Estruria*. When first the *Romans* heard of their passing the *Alps*, they commanded *Æmilius* the Consul to go to *Ariminum*, to give them trouble in the narrow passage way. They ordered one of the *Ætates* into *Estruria*, for, *Ætillus*, the other of the *Comiti*, bearing the *Ætates* into *Sardinia*. The whole City was sad and grievously afflicted, fearing the *Galls* as fatal to it. All the Registers of the Military age were inquired into, to see what forces they and what their Associates were able to fer forth. The *Illyrians* prepared to fight, not as for the *Roman* Empire, but their own safety; so that an Army was now readiness, consisting of seven hundred thousand Foot, and twenty thousand Horse, according to *Polybius*. But *Fabius Pictor* wrote, as *Ænropius* relateth, that eight hundred thousand men were prepared for this War, wherein he himself was employed.

Preparations
on the Roman
side for this
War.

27. The Tables of the Military age, as they were brought to the Senate, contained of the *Latinæ* eighty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horſe; of the *Sannites* twenty thousand Foot, and ſeven thousand Horſe; of the *Lapyges* and *Meffapians* fifty thousand Foot, and ſixteen thousand Horſe; of the *Lucanians* thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horſe; of the *Murſi*, *Marcinij*, *Ferentini*, and *Vefſini* twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horſe. And of the *Roman* people gave their names, together with thoſe of *Campania*, two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and two hundred and thirty thousand Horſe. The total ſum five hundred and fifty eight thousand. There went out with the Conſuls four Legions, whereof each contained five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, together with thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horſe of the Affociates: in all fifty thousand eight hundred Foot, and three thousand two hundred Horſe. There were in readineſs for neceſſary occaſions, of the *Etrurſians* and *Sabinians* fifty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horſe, which the *Pretor* led into *Etruria* to oppoſe the Enemy on the Borders. Of the *Venetis* and *Cenomanis* were appointed twenty thousand and ſome many of the *Umbri* and *Galſates* inhabiting the Territories of the *Boii* to draw them back, and divide them a readineſs. Theſe were the Forces placed on the Borders. At *Rome* were in a readineſs for the uncertain chances of War, as a ſupply, thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand five hundred Horſe of Citizens, beſides of the Affociates thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horſe. In *Sicily*, and about *Tarentum* were placed two Legions, whereof each contained four thousand two hundred Foot, and two thousand Horſe. The ſum of all theſe amounts to two hundred ten thousand and three hundred men. So, ſaith *Polypius*, the ſum of the Forces which guarded the City were one hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and about ſix thousand Horſe, but the whole number of the multitude fit for War was ſeven hundred thousand Foot, ſeventy thousand Horſe, which yet *Hannibal* durſt oppoſe, and invade *Italy* with ſcarce twenty thousand. But this will appear further in what ſhall be hereafter ſaid.

28. The

28. The

Chap. IX. *Contemporary with the Empire of the Macedonians.*

28. The *Gallæ* descending into *Etruria* wasted all with fire and Sword till they came to *Clusium*, a place three dayes journey dist int from *Rome*. There were they belted, the *Pretor* on their back, and the two Consuls before blocking up all the passages, so that they were forced to fight two contrary wayes in two Fronts, and that very disadvantageously, both by reason of their nakednes, and the unfinckes of their Arms. But the vanity of the *Gæstæ* was more hurtfull to them, who casting off their Cloths would needs fight naked and charge first; for, being easily discomfited, they discouraged their fellows. Forty thousand were slain, and ten thousand taken, amongst whom was *Consulianus*; the other King *Aneroesius* having killed himself. This battel was fought in the five hundred and twenty ninth year of the City, *L. Fœmilis D. pus*, and *C. Attilius Regulus* (who was therein slain) being Consuls. Afterwards inroads being made into the Territories of the *Gallæ*, they were severall times overthrowen, and so harraled, that they sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to beg peace on any terms. The people being inclining enough to it, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cernelius Scipio* the Consuls of the 532 year put a stop to the thing.

Which the
Consuls him
der.

29. The former especially, having a disposition fuitable to his name (*Marcus* and *Manerius* being thought to be derived of *Mars*, and therefore also the diminutives *Marculus* and *Marcellus*) inflamed the multitude to the War; whereupon the *Galls*, now desperate resolved to make the last tryal, and using all inducements, sent out a third thousand of the *Gefates*. The *Celts* invaded first the Country of the *Insubres* besieged *Acerre*, which to relieve the *Galls*; laid siege to *Clautridum*, a Town associate with the *Romans*. Here was fought a bloody battle, wherein the *Galls* were overthrown, *Marcellus* with his own hand killed *Vardonus* King of the *Gefates*, and dedicated the third * *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, though *Numa* had commanded they should be consecrated to *Quirinus*. I thought that escaped fled to *Mediolanum* (now *Milane*) the chief seat of the *Insubres*, which being shortly taken, the War was thereby ended after six years, and *Marcellus* returned in Triumph. The title of the Triumph in the *Capitoline* annals is mentioned with the *Galls Insubres*; *Germani* also to have been subdued, which *Germani* seem no other then the *Gefates*, thus called by some mistake. As for the name of *Gefates*, though *Polychius* thinketh it derived from their Wages, and others from a kind of waving, yet * another rendreth a more probable derivation, which the condition of these people being Mercenaries prompeth to. The *Tentonick* language (a dialect whereof *Joseph Scaliger* and others prove the ancient *Gallick* to have been) calleth him *Gaeft*, whom the *English Saxons* (a branch also of the *Tentonick*) nameth *Gelf*; at this time, betokening a stranger. The word *Gefata* might well therefore be thence derived, being changed something by those that were ignorant of the Language, from that whereby the *Galls* signified strangers, such as these Mercenaries were.

30. The third year after the ending of the *Gallic*, began the second *Punic*, or *Carthaginian War*. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain had a great itching desire, to renew the quarrel with the *Romans*, as soon as the State could recover its strength, and had done it betimes, but that the War with the Mercenaries happened, which much distressing the Commonwealth, he passed over into *Spain*, where having to do with such an Enemy as he could grow upon, he there enlarged far and wide the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and died in great honour, though he was drowned in a River, being put also to flight by *Drifon* King of the *Iberi*, who pretending to come to his assistance in the siege of *Helice* unexpectedly fell upon him. As he had governed the Army in *Spain* nine years, so his son-in-law *Asdrubal* succeeding him, commanded it almost as many, with a mind as averse from the *Romans* as he; but he dissembled his hatred and designs, that he might gain all *Spain* to the *Carthaginian* interest. After eight years he was slain by a *Gall* (saith *Polynius*) or a slave, to a certain *Spaniard* (saith *Justin*) who killed him in revenge for his Masters death. The *Carthage* was much bettered the affairs of *Carthage*, not so much by Arms as his winning the affections of the petty Princes. After his death *Annibal* the son of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* was chosen Captain by the Army, and presently confirmed at *Carthage* by the people, whose father he was, being along with him into *Spain*, being then nine years old, compelled to swear at the Altar, his hand touching the Sacrifice, that as soon as he could he would be an Enemy to the People of *Rome*.

31. *Annibal* presently after his Creation fell upon the *Olcades* whom he subdued, and besides them, within a years space, the *Vascai* and *Carpentani*, and nothing

Marcellus end
 eth the War.
 * Affice ut a
 signis polliis
 Marcellus opi-
 m^{us}
 Ingreditur, vi-
 dorque viros
 saperiment om-
 nes.
 Hicrem Roma-
 nam magno tur-
 bante tumultu
 Sisset equales
 ferret P^{ro}p^{ter}o
 Gallum, rebel-
 les
 Tertiusque arm-
 potri suspende
 capta Quirino
 Virgil. *Æn.* 6

The Acts of
Amilcar Bar-
cas, after the
ending of the
first *Panick*
War.

Of Asdrubal
his son-in-law

Annibal the son of *Ani-car* *Barcas* created General by the Carthaginians.

Sect. 2.
A. M. 3780.
Ol. 138. ann. 4
V. C. 429.
Sel. Cirrus 2
Piol. Exurg. 22

Vide Polybium
lib. 2.
Plutarch. in
Mucelle.
Florum. l. 2. c.
Eutrop. lib 3.
Orosium lib. 4.
cap. 13.
Livii Epitom.
lib. 23.

* *Simpson in
Chronic. Catho-
lic. ad A. N.
3780.*

Diod. Sicul.
lib. 25. Eclog.

Polyb. lib. 3.
Livius l. 21.
Corn. Nepos in
Hamilcar.
Val. Max. l. 9
c. 3. Euter. Ec-
clesi. 3.

Seft. 2. thing remained beyond the River *Iberus* that was considerable, and unsubdued, besides the *Saguntines*. They being confederate with *Rome* gave them their intelligence how things went, who sent some into *Spain* to see how matters stood, and what was intended by the *Carthaginians*. These Commissioners having audience of *Hannibal*, religiously admonished him not to meddle with the *Saguntines*, and (according to the League made with *Asdrubal*) not to pass over the River *Iberus*. His answers did not conceal his inward hatred, which caused the *Romans* to expect no better than a War; but they hoped to have *Saguntus* the seat thereof, and endeavoured to clear themselves of *Iblyricum* ere it hapned. *Hannibal* was not ignorant of what they designed, and therefore resolved by taking that Town to cut off all hope of Warring in *Spain*. He doubted not by that example to terrify others, so as to reduce to obedience those that yet stood out, and confirm therein such as he had already brought under; and this especially he aimed at by reducing this place, to leave no Enemy at his back, by the plunder of which also he intended to gratify his Soldiers. With all his force then he set upon it, and provoking his men by his own example to all manner of diligence, took it in the eighth month.

He taketh *Saguntus* a Town in *Spain*, confederate with *Rome*.

The Inhabitants retained their fidelity unto the *Romans* to the last, and when almost spent with hunger, Fire, Sword, and Engines, they that remained, in a fire made in the Forum consumed themselves with all their Riches, as *Florus* writeth, though *Polybius* speaketh of much money found in the Town, besides rich stuff, which *Hannibal* led to *Carthage*.

Satisfaction is demanded by the *Romans*.

32. When first the *Romans* heard that *Saguntus* was taken, they sent Ambassadors to *Carthage* to require that *Hannibal* should be delivered up as the breaker of the League, or else to denounce War. Upon their arrival the *Carthaginians* deputed *Hanno* to treat with them, who slighted the matter of the League made with *Asdrubal*, pretending there was none; and if there was, it was made by his mere pleasure without the consent of the Senate. Besides, therein, he said, was no mention made of the River *Iberus*; that a regard was to be had of the Allies of both the States he confessed, but this nothing concerned the *Saguntines*, who at the time of the ratification were not confederates with *Rome*. The Ambassadors perceiving the *Carthaginians* backward to what they propounded, spake no more; but the Senior of them holding out the lap of his Gown to the Senate, Here, saith he, we bring you both War and Peace; whether you will have I shall bring forth. The *Carthaginian* King bade them bring forth which they pleased; then the *Roman*, laying, he would take out War, many of the Senators answered, that they accepted of it. This fell out in the Consulship of *M. Livius*, afterward called *Salinator* (from his bringing up the Impost upon Salt) and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. In their time foreign Ceremonies begun to be brought into *Rome*, which displeasing the more sober sort of them, the Senate thought fit that the Chappels of *Isis* and *Serapis* should be pulled down. When no Artificers would venture to touch them, *Æmilius* the Consul put of his pretexts, or long Robe edged with purple Silk, and taking an Hatchet struck it into the door.

And none being given, War is denounced and accepted of.

The second Punic or *Carthaginian* War begun.

Hannibal having conquered all *Spain* as far as the *Pyrenean* hills,

33. In the year following, being the five hundred and thirty sixth of the City, the sixth of *Antiochus* the Great, and the fifth of *Ptolemy Philopater* in the Consulship of *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, three and twenty years after the ending of the first Punic War, the second began, which we have described by *Polybius*, and after him by *T. Livius*, who hath transcribed the twenty first Book of his History almost word for word. *Hannibal* now twenty six years of age, in the Spring moved from his Winter quarters with ninety thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, and passing over the River *Iberus*, subdued all the Towns as far as the *Pyrenean* hills. Then leaving *Hanno* with a sufficient force to keep the Country, and sending as many of the *Spanish* Soldiers home, he marched with the rest, in number fifty thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, over the *Pyrenean* mountains and so through *Gall* unto the *Alpes*. Having marched one hundred miles in ten days from the River *Rhodanus*, he came to the foot of these Mountains, which when he ascended, he encountered with great difficulties being opposed by the *Allobroges* (inhabiting the Country now called *Savoy*) who possessed themselves of the places through which he must necessarily pass. On the ninth day he arrived at the top, whence his Soldiers had a prospect of *Italy*. Proceeding after a little rest, he lost as many men here in the depth of the Snow, as formerly by the incursions of Enemies, and at length came to a place which would afford no passage for Horse, or Elephants. The place of itself was precipitous, but lately by a falling of earth it was become so, to the depth of one thousand foot. He laboured then to bring his

A. M. 3787.

Ol. 140. an. 3.

7. C. 536.

Antiochus Mag.

6.

Ptol. Philop.

2. 3.

Livius l. 21.

3.

* *Val. Max.*

l. 6. c. 3. except.

his men through other ways never before trodden, but at length the Snow making them impassible, he was forced to betake himself to the levelling of the Rocks. They made a great fire, wherewith the Rock being heated, they putrified it with Vinegar, then did they cleave it, and so diminished the descent by moderate turnings, that not only the beasts of burthen, but the Elephants also might safely pass. Four days were spent about the Rocks: and by this time almost all the beasts were wasted; for on the top was little grass, and that covered with Snow. Coming lower, certain Valleys afforded pasture, whereto the Cattel were refreshed, and rest was given to the weary Soldiers. Thence descended *Hannibal* into the Plain, in the fifth month after he had parted from new *Carthage* (built by *Asdrubal*, and now called *Cartagena*) in *Spain*, having passed over the *Alpes* in fourteen days. In the passage he lost a great part of his Army, bringing into the Country of the *Insubres*, but ten thousand, and two hundred *African* Foot, eight thousand of the *Spanish*, and six thousand Horse.

Pallish over the *Alpes* into *Italy*.

Defeateth *Scipio* the Consul.

And *Sempronius* his Colleague.

34. *Scipio* the Consul having *Spain* for his Province, was by Sea going thither, when he understood that *Hannibal* was near the River *Rhodanus*. There he intended to have given him a stop; but missing of him, he returned on shipboard and halted to *Italy*, there to meet him, before his men had yet refreshed themselves. They met and joyned battel, wherein the Consul had the worst, being wounded, and preserved alive by the valour of his young son afterwards named *Africanus*. The *Roman* Senate, when first they received intelligence that *Hannibal* had passed the *Alpes*, sent for the other Consul *Sempronius* out of *Sicily* to the aid of his Colleague. According to order he brought over his Army, and united it with *Scipio's* at the River *Trebia*. Having had the better in some skirmishes with certain parties of *Hannibal*, he desired to make trial of a battel, that his Colleague being sick, he might have all the glory of the Victory, and though *Scipio* alleged, that by delaying to fight the *Galls* might be farther drawn in, and their own Soldiers better exercised, yet left the battel should be deferred till the coming of the next Consul, he resolved to fight alone. *Hannibal* feared nothing more, than that they should refuse to fight, because as yet the *Galls* continued his, and he knew the best of the *Roman* Captains to be unable to act, and his own Army fresh and cheerful. In the battel, which shortly followed, the *Romans* were overthrown, being drawn out by a party that *Hannibal* sent to provoke them, ere they had, armed their bodies against the extremity of the mid-winter season, either by meat or other provision; so that ingaging with cold and hunger, and beset with their Enemies (whereof as in the former battel, the *Numidians*, to their great terror fell upon their rear) they were defeated though with great slaughter of the Enemy, through whose ranks ten thousand broke and escaped to *Placentia*, the rest being either slain, taken, or drowned in the River. The *Carthaginians* having pursued them to the River *Trebia*, returned to their Camp so stupified with cold, that they were scarcely sensible of the Victory. For, rain mixed with snow, and intolerable cold, killed many men, and almost all the Beasts and Elephants.

35. At this time things went better with the *Romans* in *Spain* and *Sicily*. In the former *Cnaeus Scipio* (being sent thither by his Brother the Consul upon his return into *Italy*) overthrew *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and took in a good part of the Country, wherein was also new *Carthage*. For the following year *C. Flaminius* (who being *Tribune* had preferred the *Agrian Law*) was the second time made Consul, together with *Cn. Servilius Geminus*. He had a good gift in speaking, but no skill in War, being yet heady and impatient of advice. *Hannibal* having all this while made the Country of the *Galls* the seat of the War, resolved to change it, and after some consultation about his way into *Etruria*, resolved upon that of the Fens, as short and unexpected to the Enemy, though more troublesome to pass. Being forced to march three or four whole days through water, this sorely distressed all his men, except the *Galls*, many of the beasts were left in the mud, and the Hoofs of the Horses came off. He himself riding on an Elephant that was one-ly left, escaped with his life, but was sorely pained in his eyes, one whereof he lost utterly. Being arrived at dry ground, he hoped by some means or other to entrap the Consul, understanding what his disposition was: He passed by the Camp and went further into the Country, which enraged *Flaminius*, who thought himself slighted by the Enemy. When amongst the *Romans* some told him that he must not rashly pursue, but use great caution, especially by reason of the Horse; but above all things stay for his Colleague, and not hazard a battel without the conjunction of both Armies, he was so far from following their advice, that he could

X x x

not

Seft. 2.

Sect. 2.

not bear their words. Riving with all his Forces he had neither respect to time nor place, only seeking to fight, as if nothing had been more certain than the Victory, with hope whereof he so elevated the vulgar, that a Rabble followed the Camp greater in number than the Army it self, and furnished with Chains, Bonds, and other things, wherewith to keep fast those Prisoners and booty, whereof they doubted not to become Masters.

And Flaminius
at the Lake
Thrasymene.

36. *Annibal* marching through *Etruria*, wasted it with Fire and Sword, the more to irritate his Enemy, and at length came to the Lake called *Thrasymene* and *Thrasymene*, near to which are certain Mountains, and betwixt them and it a narrow way leading to a Valley, beset with them, and a ridge of Hills. These Hills he made choice of, wherein to place his men, bestowing them round about, so that *Flaminius* following him into the Valley, was fallen upon round about, and slain with many of his men ere (almost) they knew who hurt them, by reason of a mist which then was risen from the Lake. Within the Valley fell fifteen thousand, and near upon fix thousand escaped to a Village, where they were forced to yield themselves. *Annibal* gathering all his Prisoners together, to the number of fifteen thousand, kept in custody the *Romans*, but dismissed the *Latines* without ransom. The body of the Consul, faith *Valerius Maximus*, was sought for by *Annibal* to be buried; even his body, who as much as in him lay, had buried the *Roman* Empire. *Cn. Servilius* the other Consul who kept *Ariminum* (a Country of Italy now called *Rimini*, lying upon the River *Rubicon*) hearing of *Annibal's* coming into *Etruria*, purposed to joyn with his Colleague, but finding that difficult, chose out four thousand men whom he sent to his aid, under conduct of *C. Centenius* (by some called *Centronius*) whom he commanded, if possible, to reach him before the fight. *Hannibal* hearing of this supply, after the battle, sent out *Maharbal* with a party, which cutting off one half, forced the other to an hill, where they also yielded themselves.

37. The *Romans* struck with consternation at these losses, upon mature deliberation resolved there was need of a General with absolute authority. But the Consul (who alone had power, and that in the *Roman* Dominions, to name a Dictator) being absent, and incompassed with the *Carthaginian* Forces, so that no message could conveniently be sent to him, and the People having no power to create a Dictator, they created as a Prodictator, or Vice-Dictator, *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, whose Master of the Horse-men was *M. Minutius Rufus*. *Fabius* matched *Annibal* in policy, breaking his success by delaying to fight, which others had increased by their temerity, so that he obtained the name of * *Cunctator*. *Hannibal* was hereof very sensible, being by him put to his shifts, wanting provisions exceedingly, and lying in an Enemies Country. But the Master of Horse-men being something hot and rash, in *Fabius's* absence, got the better in certain skirmishes, and hereby procured so much favour from the multitude, which now accounted the worthy Dictator lazy and fearful, that beyond all example his power was made equal to that of his. *Minutius* pushed up herewith, sought to improve his authority by further rashness, so as to engage with the Enemy, in which action he and his party had been overthrown, but that *Fabius* in good time came in and saved him. This convinced him of his former folly, that he confessed his fault to the Dictator, whom he called his Father, and renouncing his new power again, subjected his Office to the Dictatorship.

38. *Fabius*, when his six months were out, laid down his Office, and was badly required, the *Tribunes* and others calumniating him with the Nobility, as wilfully lengthening the War, which procured *Terentius Varro* a rash, hot, and inconsiderable man, for the next year to be created Consul. He, though joyned with a prudent person *L. Emilius Paulus*, so far prevailed, as to joyn battle with *Annibal* at the place of *Cannae* an ignoble Village of *Apulia*, which the year before had been destroyed, and only the Castle remained, on which *Annibal* had lately seized. The *Romans* brought into the Field eighty thousand Foot, and about fix thousand Horse; the *Carthaginians* not much above forty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. *Florus* writeth, that for the destruction of the unhappy Army, both General, Earth, Heaven, the day, and the whole nature of things conspired. For *Annibal* not content with the sending of those who counterfeiting a revolt, fell upon the backs of the *Romans*, observing the nature of the place, so chose out his ground, that besides his Army they must needs fight with wind, dust, and Sun. But from others it appeareth, that the *Romans* fighting with their faces toward the South, and the *Carthaginians* toward the North, the Sun-beams offended neither. However the abilities

Sect. 2

abilities of the *Punic* General were seen so far in this, as in other battles, that he overmatched them in skill, who exceeded him in numbers, making such slaughter of them, that at length wearied, he commanded his Soldiers to forbear, as *Florus* telleth us. Of the *Romans* we slain fifty thousand men say *Plutarch* and *Appian*; seventy thousand faith *Polybius*, and *Livy* hath forty thousand Foot, and two thousand six hundred Horse. Amongst these was *Emilius* the Consul (who unwilling to survive the defeat refused to live) 2. *Quæstors*, 21. *Tribunes*, 80 of *Senatorial* degree, divers of *Consular* dignity, and so many *Equites* or Knights, that, as *Pliny* writeth, *Hannibal* sent three bullocks of Gold Kings to *Rome*, which were the Emblems of that Order, though *Pliny* from this number endeavoureth to prove that the use of them at this time was promiscuous, else a vast number must there have been of them: but *Livy* writeth, that more likely report held there were but one bullock. *Hannibal* lost five thousand and seven hundred of his men. *Varro* the Consul fled to *Venusia* with seventy Horse, whither also escaped four thousand Foot and Horse, which leading to *Cannussum*, where were already ten thousand men, he made up a shew of a *Consular* Army, which by the help of Walls, though not of Arms, seemed able to defend it self.

39. Had *Hannibal* taken his opportunity and marched to *Rome*, in all probability he might have made an end of the War, and of the *Roman* Empire both together; but this great Soldier knew (as *Maharbal* Captain of his Horse truly told him) how to get, but not how to use and improve a Victory. For, he lusted all this Summer, and having *Capua* a wealthy and luxurious City given up into his hands by the Towns-men, there he took up his Winter quarters, and *Capua* became a *Cannæ* to his Soldiers. For, hereby he utterly spoiled an excellent Army, which now was so enervated by the pleasures and effeminateness of the place, as ever after it became impatient of labour, and its ancient Military Discipline, so that before this it was harder for the *Romans* not to be overcome by *Hannibal*, than afterwards to overcome him. His fortune presently began to change. He was worsted at *Nola* by *Marcellus* the Pretor, and repulsed at *Casilinum*, a very small *City* for a good space. At this time, though there was a Dictator in the Camp (*M. Junius Pera*, whose Master of the Horse-men was *Tib. Sempronius*) yet the Senate being exhausted by the War, *M. Fabius Buteo* was named Dictator by *Terentius* the Consul, for filling it up, without a Master of Horse-men. He coming into the *Rosfra*, said, he did not approve that there should be two Dictators at one time (which never before had been known) nor that he was created without a Master of Horse-men; neither that the power of Censorship should twice be permitted to one man; nor that power for six months should be given to any Dictator, except for the War. What extrem necessity had procured, he said he would moderate. For he would not remove any Senator which *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Emilius* the late Censors had chosen, only transcribe, and cause them to be read over, left the credit, and esteem of Senators should be in the power of one man; and so he would supply the places of the dead, that this man before that, and not one order should seem preferred above another. The old Senate then being called over, he chose into vacant places, first such as since the last Censorship had born *Clerical* Offices, as each one had been first created; then such as had been *Ædiles*, *Tribunes* of the Commons, or *Quæstors*; and lastly, such had any spoils hung up at home, which they themselves had taken from the Enemy, or had received a *Civic* Crown. So one hundred and seventy seven being thus chosen with universal approbation, he presently laid down his Office.

40. The *Romans*, though the defeat at *Cannæ* threatened them with no less than ruin, quickly recovered their courage. When *Varro* (being sent for to name a Dictator) was near the City, all Ranks went forth to meet him, and though he was the cause of the overthrow, gave him thanks that he had not despaired concerning the Commonwealth. *Philip* King of *Macedonia* having expected the fortune of both parties, after the battle of *Cannæ* joyned in alliance with *Hannibal*; and this being discovered through the intercepting of his Ambassadors, for to prevent his coming into Italy, the *Romans* took order for the invasion of his own Territories. At this time *Hannibal* was beaten at *Cuma*, and constrained to raise his siege; and from *Nela* the second time by the same hand; *Hanno* having the same fortune at *Gruentum*. In Spain the *Scipio* managed the War that they got ground, being continually Superiors. *Asdrubal* was ordered by the Senate at *Carthage* to pass into Italy, but upon his departure they defeated him in battle, and by this success not only overthrew the design of joyning with *Hannibal*, but drew most

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Livy præ
Polyb. & Liv.
Plutarch in
Fabii.
Cæc. Nep.
Cæc. Nep.
Annal. in
Liv. 226.

P. M. L.
C. 226. &
Cæc. Nep.
Ann.

Who get
veth the
man a
most
grievous
over-
throw at
Cæ-
sæ.

And encre-
aseth his
Army
by winter-
ing at
Cæsa.

Two Dicta-
tors at the
same
time.

The Senate
filled.

The *Romans*
quickly re-
covered their
courage.

Annibal and
his party go-
ing down the
Wind in Italy,
and Spain.

A. M. 979.
Ol. 141. Jan. 1.
P. C. 538.
Ant. Jæg. 7.
Erel. Philo. 7.
Belli Periz. 3.

Livy lib. 23.

Sect. 2.

And in Sardinia.

In Sicily Marcellus besieging Syracuse.

Archimedes forced him to depart.

Yet he surpriseth the City, but cannot preserve Archimedes.

The Scipios having conquered almost all Syria, are destroyed by dividing their forces, and their death is revenged by Marcian.

The Romans besiege Capua.

of the Spaniards to their party, still improving the Victory. 41. In Sicily and Sardinia, though several attempts were made by the Carthaginians, and some revolts happened, yet things proceeded in a good condition. In one battle in Sardinia twelve thousand were slain, and many taken Prisoners, amongst whom were *Africanus*, *Hanno*, and *Mago*, all noble Carthaginians. A year or two after the death of *Hieron* King of Syracuse (who having been a fast friend to the Romans died at ninety years of age or more) altered much the face of affairs. For *Hieronimus* his Grandson succeeding him, was for his wicked disposition quickly made away, and then the City breaking into divers factions; that which was most contrary to the Roman interest prevailed, by the means of two inconsiderable men made *Prators*, *Marcellus* the Consul besieged Syracuse both by Sea and Land, but was hindered from forming it by the skill and invention of that excellent Mathematician *Archimedes*. He framed such Engines, as therewith to cast huge stones upon the Romans, and great beams upon their Ships. He would let the Ships upon one end, overturn them, and hoisting them up into the air, after all the men, and other things were fallen out of them, let them fall upon the Walls, or return down into the Sea. Such was the exactness of his skill, both near at hand, and afar off, that neither by Sea nor by Land could they attempt a storm, their Engines of battery being also dismounted by the force of his.

42. *Marcellus* hereupon departed from the siege, jeering his own Engineers, and calling *Archimedes* by the name of *Briareus*. He destroyed *Megara*, one of the most ancient Cities of the Island, and falling upon the Army of *Hippocrates*, as it was incamping it self, killed above eight thousand men. After this he made incursions, and drew several Towns from the Carthaginians. He took *Damippus* the Spartan as he layed from Syracuse, about the redemption of whom convention often near the Walls of that City, he observed a Tower negligently kept, and convenient for receiving of men, because the Wall there might be easily mounted. Taking the opportunity of *Diana's* feast, wherein the Syracusians gave up themselves to Wine and Sports, he seized on this Tower and through it bestowing his men about the Walls, easily became Master of the City, after three years spent in the siege. He wept when he beheld the goodness of it, which notwithstanding his Commands for moderation (in which he was eminent) he knew would suffer much. But more than the rest, the death of *Archimedes* troubled him, whom he most laboured to preserve. Some wrote that this famous Artill busied in his Geometrical speculations minded not what was doing in the City; but a Soldier coming to him, and bidding him follow him to *Marcellus*, he would not go till he had finished his problem, and demonstrated it, whereupon the Soldier killed him. Others reported that a Soldier rushing in upon him, he desired respite from death till he had finished his contemplation; but the Soldier not at all regarding him flew him presently. A third report went, that as he was carrying his Mathematical instruments to *Marcellus*, certain Soldiers came upon him, who supposing it to be Gold he carried in the Vessel, instantly flew him. One of these ways perished *Archimedes*, who excelling all men in this noble skill, deserveth as much of blame as he had of knowledge, in that esteeming torrid and base the making of Engines, and what served necessary uses, he only seriously studied the Science abstracted from Mechanick works, and through this kind of greatness of mind, refused to write any thing concerning those works, which procured him his deserved fame and estimation.

43. At this time the *Scipios* in Spain having well nigh done their work, and intending suddenly to make an end of the War, unfortunately divided their Forces, and through the treachery of the *Celtiberians* were both cut off with almost their whole Armies. The Roman interest hereby had been destroyed in that Country, had not the remainders of the forces been kept together, and preserved by *L. Marcus* a Tribune, who revenged the death of the two Generals and his other Countrymen, by falling on the Carthaginians, divided into two several Camps, Secure, and without any watch, and suffering none to escape from one to give notice to the other, flew thirty seven thousand and took one thousand eight hundred and thirty with great plunder. In Italy, *Hannibal* had *Tarentum* betrayed to him by the Inhabitants, the Castle still holding out; and the Romans laid siege to *Capua*. Hither was *Annibal* called for aid; but he made no great haste, out of desire he had to take the Castle of *Tarentum*. Rethinking himself how great scandal he should give to all his Confederates, in case he did not relieve that City, he marched thither, and set upon the Roman Camp, which was so well defended, that he was repelled, though assisted by the Inhabitants, and his own Garrison he there had left.

Perceiving

Livius lib. 24.

Lige Platench de Marcellis. Livian lib. 25. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7. Eutrop. Europ. 7. Ciceron. Tull. lib. 1. 1. 5. 6. De Finibus lib.

A. M. 5999. Ol. 140. 25. 1. P. C. 542. Ant. M. 12. Tit. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Perceiving then that the Enemy would not be drawn out of his Trenches, and that he could not break through his Camp, left the new Consuls should intercept his Provisions, he resolved to be gone. Considering much whither he should go, he resolved for *Rome* it self, the head of the War, designing at least by this Enterprize to raise the siege of *Capua*.

44. His coming being heard of at *Rome*, they were there variously inclined as to resistance. Some thought that all the Armies in Italy were to be sent for; but *Fabius Maximus* would by no means hear of leaving *Capua*: Therefore a middle way was taken, to send for one of the Captains from the siege to the defence of the City. *Q. Fulvius* then the *Proconsul* chusing out fifteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse out of the three Armies, marched for *Rome*, which he entered at the Gate *Capena* (when *Hannibal* now lay encamped eight miles off) the Senate, left his power should be diminished, having decreed, that if he came into the City he should have equal authority with the Consuls. *Annibal* removing to the River *Arno*, three miles from the City, with two thousand Horse thence went to take a view of it. *Flaccus* stomaching he should take this liberty and do it with ease, sent out a party of Horse, which falling on made him retreat. The day after, and that following, *Hannibal* on one side, and *Flaccus* with the Consuls on the other, drew out their forces for a battle, when on both days fell such storms of hail and rain, as the Armies could not joy, but when they had retreated into their Camps a wonderful serenity appeared. This struck the Carthaginians with a religious awe, and caused *Hannibal* to say, that sometimes a Will, and otherwises fortune were wanting to him for the taking of the City. Removing back then his Camp to the River *Turia*, thence he proceeded to the Lake of *Feronia*, which Goddess had then a rich Temple there. This he robbed, and so marched through the Countreys of the *Lucani* and *Brutii* towards *Rhegium* and the Straights, where he well nigh had destroyed the Inhabitants unawares by the suddenness of his coming. *Flaccus* returned to the siege of *Capua*, whither that *Hannibal* returned not was much admired. The *Campanians* therefore despairing of any assistance from him, *Capua* was yielded up.

The heads of the Rebellion (fifty three in number) were put to death (twenty eight having before poysoned themselves) at the command of *Fulvius*, contrary to the Will of his Collegue *Appius Claudius*, who would have had the matter determined by the Senate at *Rome*. The common fort was sold, and the City, because situated in so good a foyle, reserved for a receptacle of all sorts of Plow-men, Labourers, and Artificers, without any shew of government of its own, after it had stood about two hundred and sixty years. These things hapned in the eighth year of the War, being the 543 of the City, the 13th of *Antiochus* the Great, and the 12 of *Ptolemy Philopator*, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* being Consuls.

45. This year was sent into Spain *Claudius Nero*, who having got *Astribal* the Carthaginians into a straight so as he might have cut off him and his Army, *Astribal* promised he would draw all his Soldiers out of the Countrey, but drew out the time in length by the interposition of his Punick faith, till by little and little he withdrew all his men out of the danger. The Senate and People hearing this, took it ill that *Nero* would thus suffer himself to be abused, yet knew they not whom to send to succeed him, and when the *Comitia* were held for the creation of a *Proconsul*, none appeared to stand for the Office. A great sadness hereupon seized on the multitude. When *Publius Scipio* son to *Publius Cornelius Scipio* slain in Spain (whom as we said he defended in battle) a young man but of twenty four years of age, stood up in a place where he might be seen, and professed himself Candidate, having the year before been made *Edile*, though under age, by the great favour and confidence of the People. With great joy he was created by the suffrages of all, but when they considered what they had done, and especially thought of his age, they were again much perplexed, which he apprehending, called them together, and with such spirit and resolution promised them good success, that they departed well satisfied, judging many things to be in him which surpassed humane admiration; for having good parts, he could let them off to purpose. Passing into Spain then this year, the summer following he took new Carthage by storm, a place of great consequence both for riches and situation, by the fame of which exploit, together with his loving demeanour towards the natives, he well improved the Victory.

46. *Hannibal* at this time indulging his cruel disposition in wasting such Countreys as he could not keep, lost his credit; and the Romans in Italy gained thereby.

Is hindered from fighting by Tempests, and departs towards Rhegium.

Capua yielded.

Nero deluded by Astribal.

Publius Scipio takes upon him the government of Spain and exceedingly prosperous.

Sect. 2.

A. M. 5994. P. C. 543.

Patriarchal lib. 1.

Livian lib. 24.

SECT. 2. This year *M. Valerius Leuinus*, who had done good service against *Philip of Macedonia*, was the second time, in his absence, created Consul, together with *Marcellus* the fourth time. *Leuinus* went into *Sicily*, where taking the City *Aggrigentum*, he thereby brought the whole Island under the Roman Jurisdiction. The year following being the tenth of the War, *Tarentum* was betrayed into the hands of *Fabius Maximus*, now Consul the fifth time, with *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, who the fourth time bore this Office. *Marcellus* for this year sometimes winning and sometimes losing with *Annibal*, for that following being created Consul (though he scarcely seemeth rightly created according to the Roman superstition) though otherwise vary enough, was cut off in an Ambush, whilst with his Collegue *T. Quintius Crispinus*, accompanied only with two hundred and twenty Horse, he went to view a place where he had a great desire to fight *Hannibal*. *Crispinus* also received a wound whereof he died, after he had named a *Dictator* for creation of the next Consuls.

47. The year following, *Asdrubal* was ordered to go out of *Spain* into *Italy*, to the assistance of his Brother *Annibal*. This caused great carefuleſs in *Rome*, by reason they knew not well whom to oppose against him. At length *M. Claudius Nero* and *M. Livius Salinator* (who lately had returned to the City, after that being publicly disgraced he had absented himself for several years) were created Consuls, having been at great odds, and now reconciled through the interposition of the Senate. *Livius* was ordered to meet *Asdrubal*, and *Nero* appointed to attend the motions of *Annibal*. But the later having some success against his Enemy, picked out of the flower of his Army six thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, and with great secrecy, and as much speed, marched toward his Collegue, that he might reach him ere he joyined with *Asdrubal*. Being joyined, they incompassed him, who was by a deceitful guide led into a dangerous place, and cut him with his whole Army in pieces: then marched *Nero* back to his own Army, and ere *Hannibal* knew of his departure, cast his Brothers head into his Camp, whereby to his grief he knew of the defeat. The year following did *P. Scipio* after many Victories obtained, finish the War in *Spain*; all the *Carthaginian* Captains being either taken or driven away. This happened five years after his undertaking the charge, and thirteen after the beginning of the War.

48. *Scipio* coming to *Rome*, and being made Consul, greatly desired to be sent into *Africa*, urging it to the Senate as necessary for finishing the War, and undertaking to manage his affairs, as to force the *Carthaginians* to recall *Hannibal* for the defence of his own Country. *Fabius Maximus* most earnestly, and with some heat opposed this, and a considerable difference hereupon arose; but at length *Sicily* was granted him for his Province, and leave given him to pass over into *Africa*, if he saw it convenient for the Commonwealth. All this year he spent in the Island, in providing necessaries for his Expedition, and the next, with a brave Fleet landed in *Africa*, where *Masaniſſa* King of *Numidia* (who in *Spain* had joyined with him) came in to his aid. Within a while he killed *Hanno* with three thousand men, and beſieged *Utica*; but *Syphax* King of *Numidia*, the enemy and competitor of *Masaniſſa* (who formerly had entered into league with *Scipio*, but again upon a marriage with *Annibal's* niece revolted) coming with the *Carthaginians* to raise the siege, he having attempted in vain to storm the Town, rose up and departed to his winter quarters.

49. In winter he was not idle, but again beſieged *Utica*, and entered into a Treaty with *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* about a Peace, in the mean time sending his ableſt Soldiers in the habit of Slaves with his Commissioners, to view the Enemies Camps. This being sufficiently done, he brake off the Treaty, and set fire upon the Camps, which the others not suspecting, but thinking it came by accident, were cut in pieces when they were buſied in quenching the fire, to the number of forty thousand men, and six thousand were taken Prisoners. Not long after he gave them another great overthrow, which so affected the *Carthaginians* with fear, that they called him *Hannibal*. Presently after they sent a Fleet to relieve *Utica*, which worsted the *Roman* Navy; and they might have done more than this had not fear made them loiter. But shortly after this, *Scipio* again routed *Syphax*, who had got together an unexperienced company of strangers, and taking him Prisoner, gave his Kingdom to *Masaniſſa*. In *Italy* about this time *Mago* was overthrown, and wounded in an engagement with *Quintilius Varus*, the Pretor, and *M. Cornelius* the Proconsul: he also was recalled as well as his Brother *Annibal*, and died on the Sea of his wounds. The *Carthaginians* sent an Ambaſſage to *Rome*, with a design to obtain a cessation till *Hannibal* could

could arrive out of *Italy*. But their aim being sufficiently understood, the message was lighted; and to witness their perfidiousness, they brake the Law of Nations, by offering to violate Messengers sent from *Scipio*.

50. *Annibal* being recalled by his superiors, with very much reluctance quitted *Italy*, after he had therein spent sixteen years. He complained much of the Senate and of himself. Of the Senate, because fighting so long a time in an Enemies Country, they had so little supplied him with money and other things necessary for War. Of himself, for that having so often overthrown and put to flight the *Roman* Legions, he had still delayed and given them time to breathe. It reported also, that ere he took Ship, he built an Arch near the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, wherein, in *Punic* and *Greek* letters, he wrote the sum of his great achievements. Taking the Sea, he landed in a few days at *Leptis*, whence he marched to *Adrumetum*, and thence to *Zama*. Considering now the weak estate of his Country, he desired a meeting with *Scipio* to treat of Peace, which being granted, the two greatest Captains in the World came to an interview betwixt their Armies, but receiving mutually no satisfaction, they returned to decide the controversy by the Sword. *Hannibal* in the battle behaved himself most gallantly, and like so expert a Warriour amongst his Soldiers, consisting of so many Nations and languages. But providence ordained the Victory to *Scipio*, who slew twenty thousand, and took as many Prisoners, yet not without great loss of his own men, whereof two thousand fell. After this, *Annibal* perswaded his Country-men to ask Peace, and Ambassadors were dispatched away accordingly.

51. *Scipio* was not averse to a closure, as loth to part with the glory of concluding the War, which the year before was in danger of being taken from him by *C. Claudius Nero* the Consul, and now by *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, who both had treated *Africa* for their Province, and to be joyined in equal authority with him. The power of concluding the Peace was by the People decreed to *Scipio*, with ten others, which was at length agreed to on these terms. That the *Carthaginians* being free, should enjoy all their Territories in *Africa*; but the *Romans* hold *Spain* with all the Islands of the Mediterranean anytime in question betwixt the two States. That all Rebels and Fugitives should be given up to the *Romans*. That the *Carthaginians* should deliver up all their beaked Ships, except ten *Triremes*, with all their tamed Elephants, and tame no more. It was made unlawful for them to make War in *Africa* or elsewhere, without Licence from the People of *Rome*. They were to restore all to *Masaniſſa*, and enter into confederacy with him. To give money and Corn to the *Roman* Auxiliaries, till the Ambassadors should be returned. To pay ten thousand Talents of Silver in the space of fifty years, and give one hundred Hostages for performance of these things. Thus ended the second *Punic* War, in the eighteenth year, and *Scipio* obtained the honourable surname of *Africanus*, being the first General (if *Livy* observe truly) who was ennobled by the name of a Country he had overcome.

52. The *Romans* had little or no rest after this War; for immediately begun, or rather went on the *Macedonian*, or that with *Philip*, the occasion being given, as was said, ten years before, upon his entrance into confederacy with *Annibal*. The *Aetolians* being also invaded by him, aid was sent them, by which he was worsted, and after seven years a Peace was made. But now the *Romans* having nothing to do, and being not without provocation, as well by his breaking of his faith with the *Aetolians* and others of their friends in those parts, as by his supply of men and money not before sent to *Hannibal*, and at the earnest request of the *Athenians* (the Territories of whom he had wasted) they decreed War anew against him, being also complained of by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodiens*, for molesting the Cities in *Asia*. *Ser. Sulpitius Galba* the Consul obtaining *Macedonia* for his Province, by himself and his Lieutenant, put him to the worst divers times, and had almost taken him. Together with *Attalus* and the *Rhodiens* he caused him to raise his siege from *Athens*, whereupon the *Aetolians* before backward enough, by reason of their Magistrate, and the *Athenians* now encouraged invaded his Dominions, but being idle and careless were easily repelled by him. This year, did *M. Furius* the Pretor get a great Victory over the *Galls*, which beſieged *Cremona* in *Italy*, killing thirty thousand, and with them *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* Captain. For this, after much dispute in the Senate, he triumphed, though against the Custom, and without precedent, for any one to receive this honour, that had obtained Victory with the Army of another, as he had done with the Soldiers of *C. Aretius* *Cona* the Consul

Sect. 2. Confil in his absence, who took it most hainously. The year following, *C. C. C.* *Belius* the *Prætor* entering unadvisedly into the Territories of the *Galls Infubres*, was incommoded and loft above fix thousand, and fix hundred men.

53. Nothing confiderable was this year done in *Macedonia* by *P. Villius Tappulus* the Confil; but his fuccedor *T. Quintius Flamininus* (now *Flamininus* as *Plutarch* * *Apud Lide* am. 32. now hath him) for the *Flaminii* *Patritius* must not be confounded with the *Flamini* who were *Plebeians*) using great expedition, beat *Philip* out of the Straights, wherein feurely he had encamped, and by Sea his Brother *Lucius* (with *Attilus*) took feveral Towns of his Confederates, and befieged *Corinth*, though in vain. The time coming for the election of new Confils; and it being usual for them to take the Provinces from their Predecessors, the *Tribunes* rightly objected, that this course hindered the progress of the Wars, and procured *Quintius* his Government to be continued to him, who being about taking the Cattle of *Opus*, Messengers came from *Philip* about a Treaty. Several times they met (which before they had also done at the Straights) and the Ambassadors of *Attilus*, the *Rhodiens* and *Acheans* were present; but the effect was nothing, and *Philip* gave up *Argos* into the hands of *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who used the Inhabitants with great cruelty and incredible exaction. But *Quintius* following *Philip* into *Theffaly*, gave him such a blow at *Cynofcephale*, as forced him to ask Peace, which was granted upon terms moderate enough. All the Cities of *Greece* which he had got in his hands, were hereby, beyond all expectation, and to the wonder of themselves and others, set at liberty, and left to their own Laws. The year preceding this conclusion, did the *Galls* receive a great overthrow from *Cornelius* the Confil. But in *Spain*, *C. Sempromius Tuditanus* was totally defeated. The same year wherein the *Macedonian* War ended, the slaves in *Tuscan* made a dangerous Rebellion, but were chastized, and quieted, by *Attilius* the *Prætor*. And about the same time was another victory obtained over the *Galls*.

54. The year after the ratification of the peace, some bickering there was in the City about the Women. Twenty years before, there had been a Law preferred by *Oppius*, Tribune of the People, presently after the defeat at *Canna*, forbidding women the wearing of Gold or Purple, and the use of any other kind of Pomp. This now did two of the present Tribunes labour to abrogate, the face of things being changed, and the occasion removed. *M. Porcius Cato* the Confil stood stiffly for preserving the Law, inveighing much against the Females; but partly through the apposite reply of *L. Valerius* the Tribune unto the Confil, out of his own book, called *Origines*, and especially through the importunity of the Women themselves (who with liberty of behaviour sufficient filled the streets, came to the Assembly, and constrained two of the Tribunes to let fall their interposition) it was abrogated. *Cato* then betook himself into *Spain* his Province, where using severity towards himself as well as his Soldiers, he restored the Roman interest by good Discipline. Having led his Army upon the back of the *Spaniards*, and thereby necessitated them to fight, he overthrew them in a great battle, and took their Camp; after which, notwithstanding the fickleness of the Natives, he reduced the Province to obedience. The same Summer did *L. Valerius Flaccus* his Collegue give another overthrow to the *Galls* in *Italy*.

55. In *Græce*, *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Sparta*, still held it, and *Argos*, in slavery; wherefore the freedom of them still was wanting to the universal liberty of *Greece*, resolved to be vindicated from the oppression of the *Macedonian* party. *Quintius*, upon *Nabis* his refusal to quit *Argos*, befieged them both, and took in *Gythæum* a Port Town, which drove *Nabis* to ask peace. *Quintius* was not against it, urging to the *Græcian* Allies the length, which was likely to be of the siege of *Sparta*, the unseasonableness of the Winter season, and the War that threatened from *Antiochus* King of *Asia*; but indeed fearing lest one of the new Confils taking *Macedonia* for his Province, might rob him of the glory of ending the whole controversy in these parts. Yet the *Greeks* being earnest for suppressing the Tyrant, he seemed to yield to it, and afterwards put them off by demanding such supplies as they could not furnish him with. Notwithstanding this, the peace could not be made; for, *Nabis* accepted not of the terms, especially of parting with his Ships. Hereupon *Sparta* was set upon round about, and had been taken, but that *Pythagoras* Son-in-law to the Tyrant set the out-houses on fire, which drove away the Inhabitants. Though the offer succeeded not, yet the danger put *Nabis* into such a fright, that he now accepted of the former conditions, and had peace granted

granted him; the *Argives* having ere this taken heart at the absence of *Pythagoras* their Governour, and freed themselves. The following year *T. Sempronius* the Confil killed many of the *Galls*, who had set upon his Camp, but with great loss of his own men. Several times had the *Romans* now the better against these people, and the *Ligurians*. Then came they flatly to fall out with *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*, and began a War with him five years after the ending of the *Macedonian*, in the 563 year of the City, the second of the 147 *Olympiad*, the three and thirtieth of *Antiochus*, and the thirteenth of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, A.M. 3814. P. Corn. Scipio Næstus, and *Manius Acilius Glabrio* being Confils.

S E C T. III.

From the War with *Antiochus*, and the invasion of *Asia*, to the destruction of *Carthage*, after which the Romans degenerated through security.

Containing the space of forty five years.

1. *Antiochus* had invaded the Territories of *Attilus*; but being then the friend of the *Romans*, gave over his Enterprize at their desire. After this, having an hungry desire after *Ægypt*; upon application of the *Ægyptians* to *Rome*, he was commanded to desist, which breeding in him discontent, it was heightened by reason of his setting upon several Cities in *Greece*. He said that they once had belonged (though not of a long time) to his Predecessors; but the *Romans* being ambitious to set all *Greece* at liberty, plainly told him that these Towns must not be excepted. When he was thus enough incensed, and by *Hannibal* (who had fled to him) spurred on, the *Æliolians* importuned him to joyn with them against their late friends and benefactors. This they did, being an inconstant people, and very covetous, having taken offence at the small quantity of booty, as they accounted it, allotted to them in the War against *Philip*, by *T. Quintius*.

2. The *Æliolians* first of all attempted to get into their hands *Lacedæmon*, and other Towns, before held as cautionary by *Quintius*; but mislaid of their design, though they brake into the former, and killed *Nabis* the Tyrant; for, they were afterwards cut in pieces by the Inhabitants themselves. *Antiochus* having through the cunning insinuations of *Thous* the *Æliolian*, changed his purpose of sending *Antiochus* into *Africa*, and thence into *Italy*, landed in *Greece*, with an intention to make it the Seat of War. He brought an inconsiderable Army with him; but seemed to have made a good beginning, having got *Chalcis* into his hands, and by that means easily brought under the whole Island of *Eubœa*. After this, he sent and buried the dead bodies of the *Macedonians* slain at *Cynofcephale*, thinking thereby to oblige *Philip*, who taking it as tending to his reproach, because he had not done it before, it proved but an effectual means to make him his Enemy, the *Theffalians* being no better affected, because he had taken some of their Towns. Then winning at *Chalcis*, he fell in Love with, and married an obscure maid; his Army which before was indifferently good, falling with him into all idleness and excess.

3. *M. Acilius* the Confil, to whom *Greece* fell by lot, easily recovered the places of *Theffaly*, and afterwards beat *Antiochus* out of the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, whither, being deserted by his confederates, he had retired, as is shewn in the History of his Kingdom. Then the Confil received the *Æoliens*, chiding them only for their ingratitude, and the Gates of *Chalcis* being set open to him, he presently recovered *Eubœa*. This done, he went against the *Æliolians*, from whom after he had taken one or two Towns they offered to submit, but being offended with the hard conditions he propounded, and for that large things were promised by *Antiochus*, they flew back. Hereupon he befieged *Naupactus* (now *Lepanto*) and had utterly ruined them, but for the intercession of *T. Quintius*. For he having then received the Island of *Zacynthus* from the *Athenians*, came to the Camp; and though they had ill deserved at his hands by detracting from his worth, yet thinking it dishonourable for him, being the deliverer of *Greece*, that any one people

And so doth
Flamininus.

One good
thing done by
the Tribune
of the People
Euphrates.
Philip over-
thrown by
Flamininus at
Cynofcephale,
defeated, and
obscured
peace.

The Oppian
Law against
the women
repealed.

Motions in
Greece.

The Romans
fight propo-
sedly against
the Galls.

The occasion
of the War
with Antiochus.

Things intro-
duced into
it.

M. Acilius the
Confil defeat-
eth Antiochus
at Thermopylæ.

Sect. 3.

A.M. 3814.
O. 147. an. 51.
P.C. 563.
Straboniana
122.
Ant. Mæc. 33.
Ptol. Epiphan.
13.

Y y y

Sect. 3. ple should perish, he proposed to the Consul to be considered, whether to counterpoise the power of Philip, who now had got by his leave Attamania, Perrhebia, Aperantia, and Dolopio into his hands, it would not be good policy to preserve the *Ætolians*. For this respect, and at their humble sute he gave them Truce, that they might send to the Senate at Rome, and broke up his siege. Whilst *Ætulus* did these things in Greece, his Colleague *Scipio Nasica* got a notable victory over the *Boii* in Italy, which utterly broke their power in pieces.

L. Cornelius Scipio the Consul claims *eth Greece* for his Province with leave to pass into *Asia*.

4. *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius Nepos*, being Consuls for the following year, came, according to the custom, to divide the Provinces by lot. Both were extremely desirous to have Greece, and *Lælius* being a man in great favour, offered that the thing might be left to the discretion of the Senate. *Scipio* at first knew not what to do, but his Brother *Africanus* perswaded him by all means to assent to it. The thing was new, and the Senate expected many words on both sides, when *Africanus* standing up, told the *Fathers*, that if they would decree Greece to his Brother, he would go his *Legatus* or *Lieutenant*, whereupon there was no need any more should be said; for it was presently voted with universal consent, and power given to the Consul to pass into *Asia*, if he saw it convenient. Coming into Greece he found *Aetolus* fall'n upon the *Ætolians* again, because the Senate had given them no positive answer, either as to peace or War; only two things were proposed: To cast themselves wholly upon the Senate, or pay down one thousand Talents, and have the same Friends and Enemies with the Romans. When they desired an exposition of the former, no answer would be given, but a command to their Ambassadors to depart: The Consul prosecuted what his Predecessor had begun, and with much ado, through the intercession of the *Athenians* by *Africanus*, another Truce was granted that they might have time once more to send to Rome. There their Ambassadors instead of confessing their faults, and asking pardon, boasted what friends and assistants they had been to the Roman State, which gave such offence, that they were commanded out of the City, as before.

5. *Antiochus* having with his Son *Selenus* besieged *Pergamus* the chief City of *Eumenes*, the friend of the Romans, was forced to raise his siege. He sent to *Æmilius* the Roman Admiral now on those Coasts about peace, who disowned any power of concluding it without the Consul. Then did the *Rhodians* at Sea defeat his Admiral, which was *Hannibal*, a man out of his proper Element, and afterward in a battle fought with *Æmilius*, *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, he fully lost the command of the Sea. Affrighted hereat, he foolishly left *Lyfymachia*, which this year might have kept the Consul in action, and adding one folly to another suffered *Scipio* to pass the *Hellepont* without interruption. Now he offered to quit all places in Europe, and such in *Asia* as were the friends of Rome, to discharge half of the costs sustained by the Romans in the War, and rather than not be quiet, he was content to part with a portion of his own Kingdom. These seemed but small things to the Consul, who thought it just that he, who had been the cause of the War, should bear all the charges of it, and not only quit *Ionis* and *Æolis*, but leave all the Greek Cities to their liberty, which could not be, except he parted with all *Asia* on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. The Ambassador had in charge to procure the favour of *Africanus*, to whom was offered the restitution of his Son taken prisoner, and all that could be expected on this side the Title of King, if he would live with him. But all private Offices of kindness only would *Africanus* promise, desiring him by all means to procure peace, and, when he had received his Son, not to fight till he should (being now sick) return to the Camp. This caused *Antiochus* to delay fighting, but the Consul followed, and provoked him to give battle, wherein his own Chariots Armed with Siches, being driven back upon his own men, procured his overthrow. After this, peace was granted on the same terms as it had been offered to him before the battle. And thus this War ended in a short time, and less trouble than was expected, the second Consul putting a period to it, who in imitation of his Brother took on him the surname of *Africanus*.

6. The year following, wherein *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius* were Consuls, the former going into Greece fell upon the *Ætolians*, who now had taken from *Philip* *Dolopia*, and *Amphibia* with *Attamania*; and besieging *Ambraeia*, drove them once more to sue for peace. They were referred by the Consul to Rome, where the Ambassadors of *Philip* made great complaints against them upon the former account. But the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* interceding once more for them, their sute was granted, on condition to pay five hundred Eubecan Talents at several

Antiochus affrighted as his last success at Sea maketh offers.

Which are rejected.

He is overthrown, and hath peace granted upon former demands.

Livius lib. 38.

Peace granted to the *Ætolians*. Several payments, to restore all prisoners, and have the same Friends and Enemies with the People of Rome.

7. *Cn. Manlius* the other Consul was now in *Asia*, where of that part taken from *Antiochus*, much he conferred upon *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, according to the result of the Senate. This done, he undertook an Expedition against the *Gallogrecians*, or *Galatians*, a People which having followed *Brennus* into Greece, after his death, had ninety years before passed into *Asia*, where they were so terrible, as none denied them tribute before *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*. They inhabited vast and high Mountains, and in that respect were with difficulty to be come at; but the Consul by throwing Darts, especially at their huge bodies, made great slaughter and subdued them. Returning home through *Thrace*, he had well-nigh lost his booty by the Inhabitants that lay in wait for it in the woody passages, and hardly got leave to triumph, because he had undertaken the War on his own head. It is observed, that luxury and idleness were first brought to Rome by his Army, out of *Asia*, through the provocations to effeminateness there found, and his loose and neglected Government.

8. In the third year after the ending of the War with *Antiochus*, and the same wherein he dyed, envy procured the fall of those by whom the Victory was obtained. For *Scipio Africanus* was accused of having defrauded the Treasury of the booty taken in the War, and had a day set him by the *Tribunes* to answer it before the People. It is not certain who was his accuser, some mentioning *M. Nevius*, and others the two *Patilii* *Tribunes*, set on, as some delivered, by *M. Porcius Cato* the Enemy of *Scipio*. The day of hearing being come, and the *Tribunes* having taken their places in the *Rostra*, the party entered the Assembly with a great train of Friends and Clients. Silence being made, he put on his triumphal Crown, and told the People, how as that day he had overthrown *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; wherefore thinking it convenient for that time not to meddle with any brawling business, he would go and salute the gods in the Capitol, and give them thanks, that as well that day, as at other times, they had given him both will and power to do eminent service for his Country. Then he wished that such of them there present as thought it convenient, would accompany him, and pray that they might have such principal Officers (*Principes*) as he had been.

9. Going up to the Capitol, the whole Assembly followed him, as also to all the Temples in the City, inasmuch that the very *Vestals* and Clerks left the *Tribunes* alone, who also followed, and from accusers turned admirers, (as appeareth from *Valerius Maximus*) out of very shame. The *Tribunes* accused him also grievously in the Senate, and desired he might be brought to his answer. He rising up, produced the Books of accounts, wherein was punctually set down all the particulars, but he tore it in pieces before them all, disdainful to give account for so small a matter in comparison of those vast sums he himself had brought into the Treasury. The next day of appearance he absented himself, and his Brother pretending his indisposition, he was excused, and another day appointed, before which he withdrew himself to *Linternum* (or *Liternum*) a Sea Town of *Campania*. For he clearly perceived under what envy he laboured, it being also objected against him, that he had spent in idleness all that Summer he lay in *Sicily*, and his power with *Antiochus*, who having discharged his Son without ransom, honoured him above all others, which he willingly took upon him, as one, who alone late at the helm, and could steer matters concerning Rome according to his pleasure. In his absence the *Tribunes* were very fierce against him, yet through the interposition of *Tiberius Gracchus* (formerly accounted his Enemy) he was not condemned.

10. *Lucius Scipio Africanus* his Brother was also called to an account, and escaped not condemnation; the money supposed to be retained to his own use, being charged upon his estate; and he was kept from imprisonment merely by the power of *Gracchus*. The following year was discovered the abominable practice of certain women at the feasts of *Bacchus*, which being kept in the night, all manner of filthiness and continual murders were committed. At first these festivals were observed but three days in a year, but now five in every month, and men were admitted, whereas they were begun by women. All who being present and drawn in, would not consent to such abominations, were sacrificed as Beasts, a vast number being bewitched with this folly. The matter being revealed to *Sp. Posthumus Albinus* the Consul, he acquainted the Senate with it, by which, order

Africanus his Brother is freed.

The abominable practices at the *Bacchanals* discovered.

Sect. 3.

Livius lib. 39.

Livius lib. 39.
Vol. Max. l. 3.
c. 7. temp. 1.
Gulianus 282.
Attic. l. 4. c. 18.

A. M. 2818.
Ol. 148. an. 2.
P. C. 567.
Sextus Phil.
l. 1.
Phil. Epiphani.
17.

Livius lib. 39.
Vol. Max. l. 6.
cap. 2. temp. 1.
Augustus de Civitate Dei. l. 18.
c. 13.

A. M. 2819.
P. C. 568.

Y y y z

was

Sect. 3.

was taken for apprehending the persons, imprisoning some, and putting others to death, as well in other parts of *Italy*, as in the City; the contagion having infected many other places, but especially *Capua*. It was brought to *Rome* out of *Hetruria*.

Africanus di-
eth.

11. In the second or third year after this discovery, and the fourth of his exile, died *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus*, whether at *Linternum*, or *Rome*, is unknown, the place of his burial being also uncertain. That he dyed this year, *Livy* gathereth, because having been *Prince* or chief of the Senate at the former Lustrum, this year he was left out, (which none used to be as long as he lived) by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius Cato* the *Censors*, the former whereof was chosen into the place. *Valerius Maximus* telleth us, that he commanded this to be ingraven on his Tomb, *Ingrata Patria nō offi quidem mea habet*, which sheweth that he was not buried at *Rome*. He had that hap which usually accompanieth the best men, to find their Country ingrateful, being of excellent parts, and of a kingly spirit, which he ascribed to himself in *Spain*, when the Natives saluted him by, and would have had him take upon him, the title it self. And upon this account he might be hated by *Cato*, who though a virtuous man, was morose and fowre. *Livy* joyneth with his (in the same year) the death of *Philopemen*, and of *Hannibal*; so that the three great Captains of the World at that time, left it desolate as it were by agreement. *Philopemen* Captain of the *Acheans* was through the fall off his Horse, taken in an engagement with the *Messenians*, and compelled to drink poyson, having done great service for his Country. *Hannibal* having notice that the *Romans* would demand him from *Antiochus*, fled into *Creta* to the *Gortynians*. Having great Treasure with him, and knowing himself to be in much danger, because of the Avarice of the *Cretans*, he filled many barrels with Lead, which covering on the top with Gold, he deposited in the Temple of *Diana*, trusting the *Gortynians* with his wealth. Then put he his money into brazen Statues, which he was wont to carry about with him, and cast them before the gate. They then watching the Temple diligently from none so much as him, he got away secretly, and went to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, who used him in the War against *Eumenes*. But *T. Quintius* being sent to *Prusias*, whether by the Senate on purpose, or upon other occasions, demanded him as the grand enemy of *Rome*, to be delivered into his hands. He had provided in his house several places for hiding out upon such an occasion; but being beted, and no way left to escape, he took poyson, which it's said he carried about him in his ring. So this renowned Captain ended his life in his seventieth year; for which thing *Quintius* was by many hardly thought of, and got the esteem of an importune and cruel man, as *Plutarch* writeth.

And Hannibal
all three in
one year.Several Nati-
ons subdued.

12. After these things, the *Ligurians* were often defeated by the Consuls and other Commanders; many a thousand of them being slain, as also of the *Celtiberians* and other Nations in *Spain* who were continually rebelling. The *Sfriani* beat the *Romans* out of their camp, and put them to the rout, *Manlius* the Consul in vain opposing it; but shortly after they were discomfited by the said *Manlius*, and afterward fully subdued by *Claudius* the Consul, who quelled also the *Ligurians*, as his Colleague *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* did the rebellion of *Sardinia*, with the loss of one thousand and five hundred of the revolvers. About this time *Corsica* also was subdued. The year following, *Cornelius* one of the Consuls died at the bath at *Cunne*, into whose place *C. Valerius Licinius* was elected. *Petilius Spurius* the other Consul fighting against the *Ligurians*, laboured to take a certain Mountain called *Latus*, concerning which in his speech to his Souldiers he saying, that that day he would take *Latus* (*Hodie ego Latum utique capiam*) by rash fighting confirmed what he had said in another sense (sciz. wherein *Latum* signifieth death) than he had meant it. These actions abroad were shortly after followed by the second *Macedonian* War, or that with *Perseus*, in the five hundred eighty and third year of the City, twenty four after the Peace made with his Father, and seventeen after the conclusion with *Antiochus*.

The War
with Perseus.

13. *Perseus* in a manner succeeded to this War as well as the Kingdom, his Father having intended and made great preparations for it. Puffed up by these preparations, he sought to draw away the Allies of the *Romans* from their friendship, and abused several of their friends. Their Ambassadors he slighted, refusing to give them audience, which made the Senate resolve upon the War; but it was to be committed to one of the following Consuls; only for the present, *Cn. Sertorius* the *Prator* of the City was commanded to raise men, and transport them into *E-*

A. M. 3822.
Ol. 155. an. 2.
P. C. 571.
Sulcius Philop.
P. C. 571.
P. C. 571.Livy Livian at
Sept.
Cato, Sept. in
Hannibal.
Julius 1. 32.
Antiochus 1. 32.
viri 1. 32.Livian 1. 40.
41.

pirus, there to seize on the Sea-towns, that the Consul might more freely land his Army. Some were sent also into *Greece* to confirm the States in their friendship and alliance, who also demanding audience of *Perseus*, after long waiting, he renounced the league made with the *Romans*, as entered into at the beginning of his Reign merely for security. Hereupon the Ambassadors renounced also the confederacy made with him, and after that the Consuls *P. Licinius Crassus* and *C. Cassius Longinus* had assumed their Office, the War was propounded to, and decreed by the People.

14. *Quintus Martius* and others being sent into *Greece* to establish the confederates in their fidelity, *Perseus* began to bethink himself, and was affrighted, hearing of the motions of the Enemy. He applied himself to *Martius* about a Treaty for Peace, trusting to that friendship which had passed betwixt their two families. The Ambassadors were glad of this address, and to divert him granted him Truce; that he might send to *Rome*, for he had all things in a readiness, and might have begun the War, as with great advantage to himself, so too speedily to the *Romans*, who as yet had neither Army nor Leader arrived. Peace was denied him by the Senate, and *A. Attilius* was sent to seize upon *Larissa* the chief City of *Thessaly*. Whereupon he drew together his Forces, having got a greater Army than any of his predecessors were Masters of since *Alexander* the Great. He took in some Towns upon his borders, and *Licinius* the Consul led forth and unpassable places, as had *Perseus* taken his opportunity, he might easily have destroyed it, as also if he had not too soon retreated in a battle fought shortly after. After this he sent to *Licinius*, offering to embrace the conditions submitted to by his Father, in paying the tribute, and leaving the Cities to their liberty; which yet would not be granted. Then were *Thebes* and *Alatiars* taken in by *Lucretius the Prator*, and the Consul having had the better in another skirmish, received some Towns, and took up his Winter quarters; whilst *Ampius Claudius* in *Illyricum* lost many men.

Peace is denied
him by the
Senate.Thebes and
Alatiars taken.Perseus be-
sotted with fear
neglecteth
his opportu-
nities.

15. The year following *C. Hostilius* the Consul did nothing of moment; yet this he did in reference to the Army; he reduced the Souldiers to that ancient discipline which his predecessor had left fall. *Q. Marcius Philippus* succeeding him at his first entrance into his Province might easily have been defeated, had he met with a prudent enemy, the ways being so difficult and dangerous, that the Souldiers could scarcely for weariness hold their weapons. And after he had got into the plains he might easily have been shut up on every side, and famished, but that *Perseus* besotted with fear ran away to *Pydna*, and left the Straights open to him. Yet *Martius* did nothing of consequence, leaving all to be performed by his Successor *L. Emilius Paulus*, who had been Consul seventeen years before. He caused the Eclipse of the Moon to be foretold to his Souldiers, lest they should be discouraged by it, which brought great terror to the Enemy, that knew nothing of the natural cause. He kept them from fighting when they were weary, though the Officers much desired to engage. But the Armies lying incamped on each side of the River *Enipeus*, it hapned that a Beast passing over from the *Roman* side, was seized on, and being rescued by degrees drew both the Armies into an engagement, wherein *Perseus* lost the day, and with it his Kingdom. Flying into the Isle of *Crete*, when all forsook him, he delivered up himself into the hands of *Cn. Octavius*. *Emilius* severely chastized the *Epirots*, who had joyned with *Perseus*, plundering and demolishing about seventy of their Towns, whereby so much booty was got, as each Foot-man had two hundred *Denarii*, and every Horse-man as much more. But the Souldiers having got little or no plunder in *Macedonia*, nor any of the Kings Treasure, denied their General a Triumph, which yet he obtained, and that very splendid. Of his four Sons, the two eldest he granted to be adopted to *Fabius Maximus*, and *Publius Scipio* the Son of *Africanus*, and of his two youngest, the one dyed five days before his Triumph, and the other three days after, which loss he sustained with great courage. Before his Triumphal Chariot was led *Perseus* with his two Sons, and this same year Triumphed *Cn. Octavius* the *Prator* at Sea, besides *L. Anicius*, before whose Chariot was led *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, whom being the Confederate of *Perseus* he had subdued, and forced to yield himself. This hapned to *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, in the five hundred and eighty sixth year of the City, the said *Emilius*, and *L. Licinius Crassus* being Consuls.

16. In the late War, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodiens*, being brought upon by *Perseus*, stood Neuters, whereupon *Eumenes* coming towards *lib. 45.*
Rome

Sect. 3.

A. M. 3844.
Ol. 152. an. 2.
P. C. 582.
Sulcius 1. 42.
Ant. 1. 32. P. 5.
P. C. 582.Livian 1. 44.
Plutarch 1. 4.
Emilius

Sect. 3. *Rome*, the Senate being unwilling either to declare him friend or foe, made a decree, in General, that no King should come into the City: the *Rhodians* with much ado, and after much seeking, were hardly received as friends and confederates. The same year that *Perseus* was overthrown, *Antiochus Epiphanes* besieging *Ptolemy in Alexandria*, upon the desire of the besieged, *C. Popilius Lenas* an austere man, with *C. Decimus*, were sent from the Senate to command him to desist, which he obeyed. After this the *Romans* fought in *Liguria* and *Corfica* with various fortune, the *Dalmatians* who had wasted the Borders of *Illyricum* and had overcome, and were overcome by *C. Marcius*, were subdued by *Scipio Nasica*. But in *Spain* things went so badly, and such losses were received, that the City was abashed, none being found who would either go Lieutenant to the Consul, or take place of a Tribune upon him, till *Scipio Africanus* (the Son of *Paulus* *Emilius*), but adopted by *Scipio* the Son of the *Hamilianus* standing up offered himself, and by his example drew on others. He went Lieutenant to *Lucullus* the Consul, and behaving himself most gallantly in the War, killed an Enemy in a Duel which had challenged out any one in the Army, and first mounted the Walls of *Interavia*.

17. *Lucullus* subdued several Nations in *Spain*, though *Sulpicius Galba* unfortunately fought against the *Lusitanians*. About the same time one *Andriscus*, an obscure man in *Macedonia*, but something resembling *Philip*, counterfeited himself the safe Son of *Perseus*. He was once sent to *Rome* by *Demetrius* the King of *Syria*, but making thence an escape returned, and renewed his claim to *Macedonia*, which partly by fair means, and partly by constraint, he got into his hands. *Juventius* the Pretor was first sent against him; but he having strengthened himself with the *Thracians*, cut him off and all his Army, and invaded *Thessaly*, whence he was ejected by the help of the *Acheans*. After this, *Q. Metellus* the Pretor sufficiently revenged the Commonwealth upon him, for he overthrew him in a great battle, whence he fled to *Byzantium*, a petty King of *Thrace*, who delivering him up, he led him in Triumph. *Metellus* (accounted most fortunate) reduced *Macedonia* in this third *Macedonian War* into the form of Province, which shortly after also happened to *Africus*. For, even now was prosecuting with all earnestness the third and last *Punic* or *Carthaginian War*, and the ruin of the City *Carthage* it self.

18. Their opinion is not faulty, who profess not to be able to find any Meritorious cause of this War in the *Carthaginians*, and theirs, who affirm that *Carthage* was more hated for its competition of Empire, than for any fault it had committed in those times. But there wanted no pretences. For, divers times had *Masaniissa* King of *Numidia*, and the *Carthaginians*, quarrelled about grounds upon the Borders, and often had the *Romans* sent to take up the quarrel, but especially of late not with indifference had they judged, for that the fault lay in *Masaniissa* who being a great friend of theirs, presumed too much upon their affection to himself, and the jealousy wherewith he knew them prejudiced against the other. The Ambassadors also that were sent to *Carthage*, finding the City full, and flourishing, from that peace they had now enjoyed about fifty years, and provided also for war as well as peace, spake much of the danger which threatened *Rome* from it; especially *Cato*, who never came into the Senate, but after that he had spoken his mind to any business, added, *This I think, and that Carthage is to be destroyed*. He was earnestly contradicted by *Scipio Nasica*, who feared, that this rival for Empire once being removed, security would breed the destruction of the Commonwealth, as it too truly proved, this security being strengthened by luxury and avarice, which the *African* Triumphs had brought in. But *Cato's* reasons drawn from present danger, so, in the apprehension of the Senate, over-ruled *Scipio's* forecast, that they resolved upon a War, and kept the resolution close till they could catch at a convenient opportunity and pretence.

19. There being at this time three factions in *Carthage*, one affected towards the *Romans*, another standing for the true interest of the State it self, and the third for *Masaniissa*, this later was expelled by the second, and a Law made that they should never be again received. Those men flying to *Masaniissa*, he sent *Gulussa* his Son to intercede for them, who being laid in wait for by *Amilcar Sannius*, although he escaped, yet thereupon the King besieged *Hlorocopa*, a Town he much desired; which act was expressly against the Articles of the League. *Adribal* went with a great Army to raise the siege, and a bloody battle was fought, wherein the *Carthaginians* were overthrown; but more dyed of the Plague, being incom-

Excess and the Rhodians having stood Neuters, are accordingly respected by the Senate.

Things go ill in Spain.

Andriscus a counterfeit Son of Perseus.

Is taken.

The pretences for the third Punic War.

Julius Peter. vol. 1. l. 14. 15.

Florus lib. 2. c. 12. Ptolemy lib. 4. c. 22.

A. M. 3877. Ol. 158. an. 1. P. C. 666. Prol. Ptolemy 33.

Leg. Polyb. 2. c. 33. Appian. in Ptolemy. lib. 1. c. 15. Ptolemy lib. 4. c. 22.

passed near a Lake, which by its noysom vapours corrupted the air. Hereby the remnant were forced to yield, and consent to a great Tribute, with the receiving back of their Exiles, and yet were they almost all slain by a party of Horfe sent against them, out of revenge by *Gulussa*. The *Carthaginians* therefore had now had an Army in the Field, and that against a confederate of *Rome*, which was against the tenour of the last League. This advantage the *Romans* took, and ordered the Consuls to undertake the War, though the other condemned those that had broken the League, and most humbly offered any reasonable satisfaction. *M. Manilius Nepos*, and *L. Marcius Censorinus* being now on their journey, it was answered, that they should enjoy all as formerly, if within thirty days they would send three hundred Hostages, (all Sons of Senators, or the principal Citizens) to *Lilybæum*, and do what the Consuls should further command them. The *Carthaginians* desirous to give satisfaction within the time limited sent the Children, and when now the Consuls were landed at *Utica* (which being a Sea-Town convenient for their purpose had been seized on before-hand) thither they sent their Commissioners to wait on them, and know their pleasure. *Censorinus* the Senior Consul commending their diligence, demanded all their Arms, which without any deceit were delivered up. Now with tears imploring mercy they desired to know their last doom, and were commanded to leave their City (which the Consul had order to level with the ground) and build another any where in their own Territories, so it were but ten miles from the Sea. This they received with great horror and rage, and all resolved rather to die than forsake, or give way to the ruin of their ancient seat and habitation.

The Carthaginians being commanded to leave their City, refuse to obey.

20. The Consuls delayed to begin the War, as not doubting in the least but to take the City thus dismayed and naked at their pleasure. But they found it not so for the Inhabitants acted by indignation and fury, though at first scarce themselves, setled their minds to resistance, men and women worked night and day in making of Arms. Where iron and brass were wanting, they made use of Gold and Silver; and the women gave the hair of their heads to supply the defect of Tow, or Flax. They made also *Adribal* (whom before for fear of the *Romans* they had condemned) their General in the field, where he had already a good Army. When the Consuls came against the City, they found such resistance that they were discouraged, and the resolution of the besieged increased hereby. They engaged several times to their disadvantage, and might have suffered much, had not the Army been secured and brought off, through the great wisdom and courage of *Scipio Africanus*, who drew off also *Pharaces*, the Master of the *Carthaginian* Horsemen, to his own party; which things procured him an exceeding great name. This year dyed *Masaniissa* ninety years old, leaving a Son but of four years behind him; and trusting his Kingdom with *Scipio*, to beat his discretion disposed of to his Children. This same year also dyed *Cato*, being about eighty five years of age, and lived not to see the too much desired ruin of *Carthage*.

Red the War begins.

Masaniissa and Cato die.

Scipio Africanus made Consul, though under the Consular age.

21. The year following, *Calpurnius Piso* the Consul, and *Manlius the Admiral* had no great matters, besieging *Clepea*, and *Hippo* (a Town situate betwixt *Carthage* and *Utica*) to no purpose. Within *Carthage*, *Adribal* Grand-Son to *Masaniissa* by his Daughter, being joyed in communion with the other *Adribal* without, was accused by him as intending to betray the City to his Uncle *Gulussa*, and having nothing to say for himself, or being too flow in it, was knocked on the head by a Form in the Council-house. Now at *Rome* were all mens eyes upon *Scipio Africanus*, looking on him as destined to end the War; and whereas he fought but the *Adribal*, and it was against the Law for him to be chosen Consul so young (being but thirty six, whereas the Law required forty three) it was dispensed with for this time, and then he was made Consul, who to ordered the matter, though not wholly during his Consulship, as he demonstrated the people not to have conceived vain hopes concerning him.

22. For, restoring discipline which had gone much to wrack through the neglect of *Piso*, he soon after took that part of *Carthage*, called *Megara*, and drove the Inhabitants into the Citadel or *Burja*. Then securing the *Ithome* leading to the City, he cut off all Provisions from out of the Country, and blocked up the Havens; but the Citizens with incredible industry cut out an other passage into the Sea, whereby at certain times they could receive necessities from the Army without. *Scipio* therefore in the beginning of Winter set upon their Forces lying abroad, whereof he slew seventy thousand, and took ten thousand, so that now no relief could be obtained from without. In the beginning of Spring, he first took the

Taken Carthage.

Sect. 4. the Wall leading to the Haven *Citho*, and then the *Forum*, where was a most lamentable spectacle, some being killed by the Sword, and other ways, others half killed by the fall of houses, or by fire, or half buried in the earth; or having one Limb torn from another. Six days the siege of the Citadel continued. On the seventh it was desired by some that all who would come forth should have their lives, which being granted to all but revolvers, some fifty thousand yielded, and afterward *Africanus* himself, who was reviled for it by the revolvers (who set fire to the Temple, and therewith burnt themselves) as also by his wife, which threw her self with her two Children into the flames.

A. M. 3859.
Ol. 158. an. 3.
P. C. 608.
Puls. Physion.
an. 1.

Which is razed.

23. Then was the City destroyed, being twenty two miles in compass, and so big, that the burning of it continued seventeen days. The Senate at *Rome* receiving the news joyfully, sent ten of their own Rank whom they joined with *Scipio* for disposing of the Country. They ordered none of *Carthage* to be left, and that it should never be rebuilt, laying heavy curses on those that should do it. All the Cities which assisted it in the War were to be razed, and the grounds given to the friends of the People of *Rome*: the rest of the Towns were to be tributaries, and governed yearly by a *Pretor*. All the Captives were sold, except some of the chief. And such was the destruction of this renowned City, so famous once for command and Empire, and rival to *Rome* it self, after it had stood about seven hundred years, in the fourth after the beginning of the War, the six hundred and eighth of *Rome*, the third of the one hundred and fifty eighth Olympiad, and the fifth of *Ptolemy Physcon*. A. M. 3859, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius Nepos* being Consuls.

SECT. IV.

From the destruction of *Carthage* to the War with *Mithridates King of Pontus*, which afforded the occasion to the first Civil War.

Containing the space of fifty eight years.

The Achean war, and the destruction of Corinth.

1. This year was fatal, not only to the greatest City of *Africa*, but of *Greece* also; *Corinth* that famous Mart-town being levelled with the ground. The occasion was given by the *Acheans* themselves, who violated the *Roman* Ambassadors (though whether by word or deed is uncertain) who were sent to dissolve their Community, and leave the Cities to their own peculiar Laws, which because of this union and fellowship had been too formidable. They had also in conjunction with the *Boeotians* and *Thrace* of *Choloe*, made War against the *Lacedaemonians*, their friends and allies of *Rome*, because they would not be subject to them. Upon these grounds the Senate decreed the War, which *Metellus* as yet in *Macedonia* first undertook; who drawing down his Army through *Thessaly* into *Boeotia*, there overthrew *Critolaus*, then took *Tibbes*, with *Megara*, and coming to the *Isthmus* was there treating of Peace, when *L. Mummius* the Consul came into this Province. He overthrew *Dionus* the *Achean* General, after which he entered *Corinth* and razed it, because there the Ambassadors had been abused. The men were slain, and the women and children sold, with all such slaves as the *Acheans* had manumitted for the Wats. As *Scipio*, who destroyed *Carthage* (as his Grand-Father before him for conquering it) had the surname of *Africanus*, and *Metellus* for his reducing *Macedonia*, that of *Macedonicus*; so this year *Mummius* for this success obtained the Surname of *Achaicus*, and according to the custom, having others joined with him, reduced those parts and all *Greece* with *Epirus* into the form of a Province, called afterwards *Achaia*, not *Greece*, because the *Greeks* were subdued when the *Acheans* had the chief command, as *Pausanias* writeth.

Ligi Philippi
Patrici. l. 1.
c. 12.
Florus. l. 2. c. 16.
Livii Epitom.
lib. 6. c. 51. 52.
Plutarch. in
Achaia, de
de re Corinth.
Plinius l. 3. p.

A. M. 3859.
Ol. 158. an. 3.
P. C. 608.
Silius. 1671.
Puls. Physion.
an. 1.

Mummius thence firmated Achaia.

Viriatus up in Spain.

2. Now was it seventy four years since the *Romans*, in the second year of the second *Punic* War, entered *Spain* in an hostile manner, and since that time, especially since the departure of *Scipio Africanus* the elder, many had the risings and struglings of that People been, of all others most impatient of the yoke. Now was *Viriatus* up in Arms, who of all others made a robber, and of a robber a General over such-like as himself, and made the *Romans* work sufficient for the space of fourteen years, in which time he defeated many Armies. *Q. Fabius Maximus Sempronianus* (or rather *Emilianus*, being Brother to *Scipio Emilianus*, and adopted by *Fabius Maximus*) after some success was yet by him brought to

Is destroyed by Cæpio.

to such frights, as glad he was to ask Peace upon equal terms, which *Cæpio* the Consul of the following year, refusing to stand to; received Orders from the Senate accordingly to prosecute the War. *Cæpio* attempted at unawares to destroy him; but he eluded, and sending Ambassadors to treat of Peace, *Cæpio* grew wroth on them, that returning they murdered him, to their own shame, and the Consul's small credit, in his bed.

Bad success in Spain.

Cæpio's Scipio's children to be created Consul the second time.

3. But, a more dangerous War than this threatened from *Vannutia*, a Town of no great bigness, yet peopled with most valiant, though but few, Inhabitants. Before *Viriatus* his death they had foiled *Q. Pompeius* the Consul several times, and forced him to condescend to a dishonourable Peace, which though he denied, was sufficiently proved, and by favour only he escaped that punishment, which fell on *Mancinus*, who being constrained to accept of the same terms, was delivered up to the Enemy; but (as the *Sannites* formerly did by another after the defeat at *Caudinum*) they refused to receive him. After this *Brutus* defeated many thousands of the *Lusitanians*, and overthrew the *Gallaecians*; but *Leptinus* the *Proconsul* set upon the *Vasces*, a harmless People of the hiernmost *Spain*, or *Hispania Terracensis*, (for in the 559 year of the City, *Spain* was divided into *Citerior* or *Terracensis*, and *Ulterior* or *Betica*, and *Lusitania*, two Prætor's being yearly sent thither, the number of which Officers was therefore upon this occasion increased to six) by whom he was utterly defeated. These things so affrighted the *Roman* Soldier, that he almost quaked at the sight of a *Spaniard*, and at *Rome* Men were seized with great fear and shame. Therefore *Scipio Emilianus Africanus* must be created Consul the second time, as the only refuge and hope of his Country.

He besiegeth Numantia, and taketh it.

A servile War in Sicily.

4. At the first he restored discipline, the want of which had spoiled all, but then coming to engage, found the courage of the Enemy such, that he resolved to fight no more, but lay close siege to *Numantia*, and govern himself according to the comportment of Affairs. At length the Besieged, greatly frightened, offered to yield upon reasonable Conditions, or fight if they might have Battel given them, which being denied, having drunk strong drink on purpose, they assailed the Beliegers so fiercely, that the *Romans* had run, but that *Scipio* was the General. At last they fired the City over their own heads, and scarcely one of them remained to be led in triumph. This famous City was seated in the hiernmost *Spain*, in the head of *Galicia*, and the confines of the *Celtiberians*. It had with four thousand Men, for the space of fourteen years, slain *Florus*, or twenty according to *Sirabo*, born the brute of forty thousand *Romans*, and many times put them to shameful flight, with great slaughter. *Scipio* destroyed it, after he had for a year and three months continued the Siege, fourteen years after he had to deal with *Carthage*, in the 627 of the City, A. M. 3871. *P. Minus Scævola* and *L. Calpurnius Piso Prætor* (both learned Men) being Consuls. At this time a servile War was raised in *Sicily* by one *Ennus* a *Syracusan* of *Apamea*, the State of *Antigonus* of *Enna*. It was followed by *Calpurnius Piso* the Consul, and finished by *P. Rutilius Nepos* his Successor. Twenty thousand Slaves were by him slain in Battel: *Ennus* being cast in Prison died (as his said, of the lowlie disface) at *Morgantia*.

Thirius Gracchus's riotous faction about the Agrarians.

5. Ever since the beginning of the *Tarentine* War to this time, for the space of almost 150 years was there much modesty, abstinence, self-denial, valour and virtue amongst the *Romans* in general, of which yet especially the *Fabii*, *Fabrinii*, *Marcelli*, *Curii*, *Metelli*, the *Scipio's* and *Emilii* have left Examples admirable to be commended to all Posterity, such were their cautious and politic, yet just and noble carriage, both at home and abroad. But now the *Athen* Expeditions and Triumphs having brought in excess and riot, and the ruine of *Carthage* having taken away fear, idleness with security by degrees stole in upon them, and the infirmity of the Government (after that fear, which hitherto had preferred it safe, was removed) again effectually shewed it self. For though after this time many a People was subdued and brought under, and much glory gotten abroad, yet was it stained by emulations, jealousies, and contentions at home; and even by shedding the Blood of one another in an open, though civil, feud, which first came to pass while the former things were performed in *Spain* by *Scipio*.

6. *Thiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, Son to one of the same name, (who had been twice Consul, and once Censor) by *Cornelia* an excellent Woman, Daughter of *Africanus* the elder, being *Quæstor* to *Mancinus* the second in *Spain*, had in hand in the dishonourable Peace made by him, for which, being re-elected by the Se-

Sect. 4.
Vide Appianum in Ibericis.
Florus. l. 2. c. 18.

Orsius l. 3.
c. 7.
Patrici. l. 2. c. 4.

Erasmus in Siciliâ.
Orsius l. 3. p.

Orsius l. 3. p. 2.

Sect. 4.

nate, or at least thinking himself so to be, acted now by shame and fear, in distrust of the Nobility, as it's said, he cast in his head how to become gracious and popular with the Commons. Procuring himself to be chosen *Tribune*, he preferred a Law, forbidding any Man to possess above five hundred Acres of the publick Grounds, and ordering the overplus to be divided to the poor. For, such Grounds as the People of *Rome* took from their Enemies, they were wont, if tilled, to divide to their own Citizens; if not arable, they then let them out to farm by the *Censors* to *Italians*, or the ordinary sort of *Romans*, on condition, that if they plowed them, they should pay the tenth part of the Corn, and the fifth of other Fruits: and if they bred up Cattel, they were charged with a certain Rent. But it came to pass, that by incredible impudence and licentiousness of the Rich, the Husband-men were outed of their ancient Possessions, which by Purchasing, and other ways, they got wholly into their hands, so that the Publick was defrauded of its Revenue, and the Poor of their Livelihoods. For restraining the avarice of the Rich, the *Lex Licinia* and *Sempronius* were enacted. *Gracchus* increased the former by adding that, left the Law should be wrested, half should be given to the Children, and the rest divided to such Poor as had nothing. And if any went about to enlarge their Portion by Purchase, *Triumviri* or three Men should be yearly appointed to judge what Ground was publick, and what private.

7. This nettled the Nobility exceedingly, who, by virtue of this Law, were to part with their Inheritances; and one of his Collegues, *Ostavius* by name, opposed it, for which he so handled him, as glad he was to quit his place, into which *Gracchus* chose *Q. Mummus*, one of his own Faction. This severity being without precedent, much alienated even the minds of the multitude from *Gracchus*, who also perceiving there was not ground enough to quiet them all, (the expectation of whom he had now raised) he offered a Law for distributing the Money which *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* had left, together with his Kingdom, to the People of *Rome*. The Senate being assembled to consult what was to be done, and all being of opinion that *P. Murius Scaevola* the Consul should defend the Common-wealth by Arms, he refused to do any thing by force. Hereupon *Scipio* *Nafica* taking up his Gown under his left Arm, held up his right Hand, and bad every one that loved the State to follow him. Up he went into the Capitol, being accompanied with most of the Senate, many *Equestes*, and some Commoners, where *Gracchus* was speaking to the People, and endeavouring to be chosen *Tribune* for the following year. They fell upon him and his hearers, whereof they killed three hundred, and amongst them himself, with a piece of a Seat as he ran down from the Capitol. Thus he fell by the means of his own Kinman, being a most excellently accomplished Man, though too violent in a manner honest enough. And this was the first Blood which in a seditious way the *Romans* first drew from one another, observed by *Cicero* to have been at the same time that the other *Scipio* destroyed *Numantia*.

8. At this time there were some Rumors at *Athens*, and in *Delos*, being as sparks of that fire formerly kindled by *Ennus* in *Sicily*, which with some trouble were extinguished; neither was *Italy* altogether free from them. But a more noble War infused about the Kingdom of *Asia*. For, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* or *Asia*, (for so he is called, because of a good part of *Asia* given to *Ennues* his Father) by his last Will left the People of *Rome* his Heir: But after his death *Arifonius* his base Brother seized on the Kingdom as his Inheritance. First was *Licinius* *Crassus* the Consul sent against him, but was overthrown, and being taken, struck one of the Soldiers on the Eye, on purpose to provoke him to kill him, which he did. He having thus miscarried, (though he was assisted in his enterprize by several Kings) his Successor *M. Perperna* hastening into *Asia*, set upon *Arifonius* at unawares, when he was not yet recovered of the security contracted by his Victory, and overthrowing him in Battle, besieged him in *Stratonice*, where he forced him by famine to yield, and shortly after the Consul died at *Pergamus*. The remainder of the War was finished by *M. Aquilius* the next years Consul, who poisoned Fountains for taking in some Cities, and having together with those joined with him, (according to the Custom) seized the Province with sufficient oppression of the People, he led *Arifonius* in Triumph, though taken by another Man's labour; who by order of the Senate was strangled in Prison, in the 62^d year of the City, the said *M. Aquilius Nepos*, and *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* being Consuls.

g. The

9. The civil dissensions died not with *Gracchus*, (who perished four years before) his Law for division of the grounds being still in force, and the people being sensible of the equity thereof, as they accounted it; for that the rich had got all into their hands, and those that underwent all the toil in Conquering the Land, were ready to starve, being also exhausted by the Wars, and almost none but slaves left in *Italy* for ordering of the grounds. *Gracchus* had a younger Brother called *Caius*, whom together with *Fulvius* *Flaccus*, and *Popilius* *Carbo*, he had made *Triumviri* for division of the grounds. He with his Collegues undertook the patronage of the Law, and prosecuting his Enterprize with all earnestness, such trouble arose about the division, in accounting and removing, that the *Italians* finding themselves aggrieved betook themselves to *Scipio* *Africannus*. He refused not to undertake their Patronage, yet in the Senate spoke nothing against the Law; only thought fit that the executive power thereof should be taken from the *Triumviri*, and given to some others. The Senate most willingly did this, and conferred it on *Sempronius Tuditanus* the Consul, who finding the work troublesome, went his way under pretence of the War in *Illyricum*. There being now none to fly to in this Case, the People conceived great indignation against *Scipio*, as ingrateful, and favouring the *Italians* more than themselves, from which his Enemies took occasion to raise further jealousies. Indeed hearing of *Gracchus* his death at *Namantia* by repeating a verse in *Horace* he liked well of what was done to him, and being at his return asked concerning his death, he approved of it before all the People, which being offered at him for it, he rebuked the multitude with contumelious language. But at night going to his Chamber, he meditated of something he intended to speak to the People the day following, and in the morning was found dead at his Bed, it's uncertain by what means. *Cornelia* the Mother of the *Gracchi* was suspected to have joynd with her Daughter his Wife (who being not overhandsome, neither loved him much, nor was over much loved) in practising something upon him. No inquisition was made after his death, and he was buried privately, though so great a man, and one that had been the Pillar of the Common-wealth.

10. The Possessors of the grounds still made delays in the division, and some thought that they to whom they were to be divided should in way of recompence be made free of the City, which however pleasing to others, was highly displeasing to the Senate. While men muttered much of these things, *Gracchus* procured the *Tribuneship*, and then, bearing a grudge to the Senate effectually shewed it. He preferred a Law for dividing of the publick Corn to every man monthly, and getting his Office continued to him for another year, that he might gratify the *Equestes*, brought down the Office of judging corrupt Officers from the Senators unto them. *Romulus*, as we said, instituted three Centuries of *Equestes*; of Horse-men, whereof one from himself was named *Romulus*, another from *Tiberius* *Tullius*, and the third from *Lucius* (or *Lucius*) *Lucerius* under *Romulus*, and the Kings, they were also called *Celeres*, *Flavimanes*, and *Trojillii*. Afterwards *Terquinius Priscus* added three hundred more, and so there continued to be six hundred *Equestes*. But though they were in the Common-wealth from the beginning, yet had they no peculiar order, authority, or rank, till this Law of *Gracchus*, by which it was enacted, that these judgements should be peculiar to them. Their reputation thence forward increased, with various success above the *Patricians* till *Cicero*'s time, who boasting himself of this order, procured it such honour, that from his *Consulship* it came to be as a peculiar order in the State (before being included in the *Plebeian*, though it had a distinction by way of service) being added to the *Senatorian* and *Plebeian*; out of which respect it was written after them both. Thus in several times there were several Ranks and Distinctions; the first distinction was between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; then *Plebeians*, wrestling from the other a Communion in the greatest Offices, and places, though *Patricians* might still be distinguished in reversion to Families, yet all Dignities being common to the rest with them, such *Plebeians* as could rise to be *Senators*, constituted with the other the *Senatorian* rank (which included the *Patricians*, though the *Patrician* not it) the second distinct from the *Plebeian* which still contained the *Equestes*. Then, as was said, the *Equestes* by the means of *Gracchus* and *Cicero*, brake out from amongst the *Plebeians* into a rank of their own.

Sect. 4.

Vide Apian.

de bello civili

lib. 2.

Patriam lib. 2.

cap. 6.

Mureti in

P. Max. in

lib. 6. cap. 2.

Livy 59. 60.

Orat. lib. 5.

cap. 10.

Florus lib. 2.

cap. 15.

O. Sallust.

de bell. lib. 2.

cap. 7.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Livy 59. 60.

cap. 10.

Sect. 4.

How the Senators lost in the translation of the judicial power to the Equites by *Caio*.

Publicans when so called.

Caio attempted other factions.

He destroyed with his party.

11. By this Law (saith *Florus*) *Gracchus* so divided the People of *Rome*, that he made it double headed (*bicipitem*, which expression *Varro* also used, as appeareth from *N. nius*) and the *Equites* having the lives, and fortunes of Senators and Nobles in their hands, by seizing on the Revenue, with authority piled the Commonwealth. He took the best time that could be devised for the making of the Law, because the Senators having had hitherto the power of judging, were become odious of late, in that for many they had acquired *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *M. Aquilius*, persons Capitally guilty of corruption. It's said, he boasted, that by this Law he had cut the sinews of the Senatorian rank. And so he did; for by the authority of judicature they passed sentence upon Roman Citizens, *Italians* and *Senators*, noting them with ignominy, banishing, or putting them to death at pleasure, till such time as their power was abated, as will be seen. For in the *Comitia*, or *Assemblies*, they conspired with the *Tribunes*, and obtaining thereby what they pleased, had all things in their power, and flourished with riches, whereas nothing remained to *Senators*, but a vain shew of Dignity. The Senators prevailed with *Servilius Cæpio* when Consul, to make themselves partakers of the power of judging, by a Law which he got preferred; yet still had the *Equites* the better, for three hundred *Senators* only were added to them, who were in number six hundred. By the Laws of *Levius Drusus*, *Sylla* and *Cotta* their power was abated, *Drusus* making it but equal in judgement with that of *Senators*. *Sylla* transferred it wholly to the *Senators*, and *Aurelius Cotta* communicated the power of judging to three sorts; *viz.* *Senators*, *Equites*, and the *Tribuni Aerarii*. But the *Equites* alone were wont to farm the customs of the *Centors* for five years, and thence from their farming the Public Revenue had the name of *Publicans*. These were the principal of the *Equitarian* Order. The Ornament of the City, and the strength of the State, who made for many Companies as there were Provinces subject to the payment of Toll, Tribute, Custom, or Impost.

12. But *C. Gracchus*, further than this, to gratifie the *Commons*, repaired the high-ways throughout *Italy*, sent forth Colonies, bade the *Italians* sue for their freedom, and gave power of suffrages to other Friends and Allies, contrary to the custom; whom the Senate forbade to come near the City, at such time as they knew his Laws would be offered, and to please the people, they gave way to the sending out of twelve Colonies. *Gracchus* thus frustrated, departed into *Africk* with *Flaccus* his Colleague, intending to plant a Colony where *Carthage* stood; but was disappointed therein also. Wolves, it's said, removing the bounds of the intended City by night, as they were laid by day, whereupon the South-layers pronounced the design unlawful. Having been twice *Tribune*, he stood for it the third time, and had many voices; but his Collegues offended by his vehement carriage, got *Mimicius Rufus* chosen into his place, who rescinded many of his Laws. *Gracchus* enraged hereat, when the Assembly was met, went up to the Capitol, accompanied with *Flaccus* and his Friends privily Armed. There *Attilius* the Crier of *Optimus* the Consul taking him by the hand, and desiring him to spare his own Country, was slain. He then went about to excuse the fact to the People, but could not be heard, and so together with *Flaccus*, and his other Confederates got them home; the Consul keeping strict watch all night in the City. After this they were cited by the Senate to come and give an account of their actions, but they betook themselves to the *Aventine* Mount, where fortifying themselves, they offered in vain liberty to all slaves that would come in to them. But the Consul sending a party against them, *Gracchus* fled into a Grove beyond *Tiber*, and procured his Slave to kill him, who instantly after he had cut off his Head, run himself through with the bloody Sword. *Flaccus* flying to a Friends house was betrayed and slain: and of their party, through the severe inquisition of the Consul, were put to death three thousand persons, 11 years after the death of the elder *Gracchus*. In the Consulship of this *Optimus* was there such a temper of the air called *Cottura*; that Wine being congealed through the heat of the Sun into a consistency of Honey, kept good for near 200 years, and from him had the name of *Vinum Optimianum*; being still preserved in *Plinius* (c) his time, though (b) *Paterculus* denieth there was any in his, which was long before.

13. The death of *Gracchus* (whose Head was not *Sacrofanct*, as *Florus* imagineth, being out of the Office of *Tribune*) for the present allayed the distempers of the Commonwealth. For, presently after was a Law made, that one might

A. M. 388.
O. L. 156. ann. 4.
P. C. 621.
Publ. Pop. 26.

(c) *Plin. l. 4. c. 4. § 14.*
(b) *Liv. l. 2. c. 1.*

The distempers of the State something allayed thereby.

An horrid Po-Rillence in *Africk*.

The Abstric- War.

Affair of Tarent very obscure.

The original of the War with *Jugurtha*.

sell his Land, which the elder *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the poor, partly by purchase, and partly by constraint, were again dispossessed. Afterward the Law for division was fully abrogated by *Sp. Borcius*, and the grounds left to their ancient Owners, with this condition, that a Tribute out of them should be paid to the people, and this divided man by man. But not long after another *Tribune* abrogated the Tribute it self, and so nothing was left remaining to the poor.

14. During these Domestick troubles the *Sardinians* rebelled, and were reduced by *L. Aurelius*, and the *Fregellans* were punished with the loss of their City by *L. Optimus the Prator*. Upon *Africk* fell such a Pestilence, as for its Original, and effects, was strange and wonderful. It arose from an infinite number of Locusts, which having overspread the ground, and destroyed not only Corn and other Fruits, but even Trees and dry things themselves, at length by a wind were driven into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and there purrifying corrupted the Air. Hence ensued a most fearful Plague, both of Men, Cattle and Fowls. In *Numidia*, where *Micipsa* was now King, eight hundred thousand died; upon the Sea-Coasts about *Carthage* and *Utica* two hundred thousand; and in *Utica* it self thirty thousand Soldiers there lying in Garrison, fifteen hundred being reported to have been carried out in one day through one Gate alone. Two years after, *Q. Metellus* the Consul subdued the *Islands Baleares*, and restrained Piracy there maintained, and at the same time was carried on the War, called *Bellum Allobrogicum*; which hence arose. The *Saltes* in *Gall* beyond the *Alps* invaded the *Nasibians*, the friends of the People of *Rome*, and for this they were chastized by *Fulvius*, and subdued by *C. Sextus Calpurnius*. *Teutomas* their King flying out of the battle, was received, and protected by the *Allobroges*, who also invaded the *Ædii*, friends of *Rome*, and drew into Confederacy the *Arverni*. First, *Cn. Domitius Enobarbus* overthrew them, and (by the use of Elephants especially) slew twenty thousand, and took three thousand Prisoners. After him *Q. Fabius Maximus* (Grandson of *Paulus Æmilius*, by his Son adopted into the *Fabian* family) defeated them, with the *Arverni* and *Ruteni*, in a bloody battle, wherein one hundred and twenty thousand are reported to have been slain, and taking *Bituitus* (or *Bitulius*) King of the *Arverni* Prisoner, obtained the surname of *Allobrogicus*. These *Allobroges* inhabited about the Countries now called *Dauphine* and *Savoy*: the *Ruteni* nearer to the Sea; the *Arverni* more toward the North; the *Ædii* in *Burgundy*, *Cesar* de *belgi* and the *Salais* or *Syltes* in *Piemont*. Now was *Gallia Narbonensis* reduced into a Province.

15. But the *Scordisci*, a People of *Gallish* Original, inhabiting *Thrace*, defeated the Roman Army under *Caro* the Consul, yet were afterwards driven back into their own Country by *Didius the Prator*, and the Consul *Drusus*; and after this gave occasion of a glorious Triumph to *Mimicius*, of which honour *Metellus* also had partaken. These translations of *Thrace* are of all others most unknown; either because they are confounded with those of *Ilyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Mysia*, or *Macedonia*; or because what has been written of that subject in particular, hath miscarried. Now we arrive at two Wars both together, and carrying noise sufficient with them through the variety of events, and fullness of History: *viz.* that with *Jugurtha*, and the other with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Now to know the Original of the former, it's necessary to fetch thence a little higher.

16. *Masanißa* King of *Numidia*, that old and constant friend of the Romans, left three sons: *Gulussa*, *Masanißal*, and *Micipsa*, of whom the last (his Brothers being dead) obtained the Kingdom alone. He had two sons, *Himempsal* and *Adherbal*, with whom he brought up *Jugurtha* his brother *Masanißal's* son in the same condition, and receiving Letters from *Scipio* out of *Spain*, who gave him large commendations (and under whom he served with his Uncle's Auxiliary forces) he adopted him. When *Micipsa* was dead, *Jugurtha* murdered *Himempsal*, and attempted to do as much for *Adherbal*, who fled to the *Romans* for succour. By this time avarice and injustice had so much possessed the City, that *Jugurtha* sensible of it, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* with full hands, who so wrought upon the Senate, that might overcame right, and it was decreed, that ten Commissioners should be sent to divide the Kingdom betwixt them. The Commissioners thinking they might lawfully imitate those that sent them, were bribed to bestow the richest and best Peopled part upon *Jugurtha*, who therewith not satisfied, after their departure, fell suddenly upon *Adherbal*, besieged him in *Cirtiba*, and at length getting him into his hands made

Sect. 4.

Large Apparatus to build the *Colosseum* l. 1.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60.

Optimus l. 3. cap. 11.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

Liv. l. 45. c. 60. 61.
Florus l. 2. cap. 2.

SECT. 4. themselves behind all; so that as in voting they could not hinder the rest, so seldom were they called to vote at all, which afterwards considered, though not at present, wrought some disturbance. *Cato* the Consul did very good Service, but thereof boasted so much, that he compared himself to *Marinus*, for which as he was fighting against the *Marfi*, he was killed in a croud by *Marinus* his Son. *Pompey* overthrew the *Picentes* and *Asulan*. Having long besieged *Asulum*, he defeated the Enemy which fell forth, killed eighteen thousand of the *Marfi*, took three thousand, and being got into *Asulum*, caused all the Officers and Principal Men to be beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. *Sylla* his Successor in the *Confesship* overthrew the *Sammies*, and stormed two of their Camps, by which success elevated. He went, stood for, and carried that greatest Office. This War was ended by him, after it had endured above two years, in the 666 year of the City, he the said *L. Cornelius Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls.

After which freedom of the City is given to the conquered *Italian*, having been before this denied to them.

28. What the *Italians* could not get with armed hand, was given them conquered; at first to all, except the *Lucanians* and *Sammies*, and shortly after to them also, but ranked by themselves in the same manner as the former. Not long after this, which was a kind of Civil War, there were stir in the City about Usury, which being rigorously exacted by the Creditors, *Alfio* the *Pretor*, who withstood it, was murdered by them. Yet hitherto these Seditions in the City were managed but by private Persons, or in a private manner, but now came it to that pass, that the Heads of the Factions got whole Armies to themselves, and carried on their interests in open War one against another, their own Country being as the prize and reward of the Victory, such were the manners and behaviour of those who, through the infirmity of the Government, were not able to bear that greatness of fortune, which from the temperance and moderation of their Fathers had descended upon them. But an occasion to the first Civil War was minitired by that with *Mithridates*, which began ere the *Social* or *Italian* ended.

SECT. V.

From the War with *Mithridates* and first Civil War, to the combination of *Pompey*, *Craffus*, and *Cæsar*, termed by *Varro* *Tripartita*, which proved the ruine of the *Popular* Government,

Containing the Space of twenty eight years.

Mithridates King of *Pontus*.

1. *Mithridates* was King of *Pontus*, (a Country of *Asia*, so called because it lieth upon the *Euxine* Sea) thought by some to have been defended from one of the seven *Perfians*, who conspired against the *Magi* that had usurped after the death of *Cambyses*. He was surnamed *Eupator* and *Diomyis*, being a Man of a vast mind and ambitious spirit. Succeeding his Father, who was a friend of the People of *Rome*, at thirteen years of age, within two years he made away his Mother, who was left Partner with him in the Kingdom, and after her his Brother also, and in his youth he subdued the Kings about *Phasis*, beyond *Caucasus*. Thirty years after his coming to the Kingdom, he thought of no less than the Empire of *Asia*, the *Romans*, as he fancied, being now sufficiently employed in the *Cimbrian* and *Italian* Wars. He began with *Paphlagonia*, parting it betwixt himself and *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*, and being checked for this by the *Romans*, and commanded to desist, he pretended it was his Fathers Inheritance, and to amend the matter he seized on *Galatia* too. Then casting his Eye upon *Cappadocia*, he caused to be murdered *Ariarathes* King thereof, and his Sisters Husband, and when he married to *Nicomedes*, he drove out his Forces, and pretended to seize upon it for the use of her Son, whom then he murdered also, and bestowed it on one of his own Sons. The *Cappadocians* refused to obey him, and called out of *Asia* *Ariarathes* one of their former Kings Sons; but him did *Mithridates* drive away, and he shortly after died. *Nicomedes* afterwards procured one to counterfeit himself the Brother of *Ariarathes*, and beg the Kingdom of the People

Justin l. 37. *Strabo* l. 10.

Memoir apud *Plutarch*.

Strabo l. 12. *Justin* lib. 38.

His vast designs, and great attempts.

People of *Rome*; and he sent his Wife thither to aver that she had three Sons by *Ariarathes*. *Mithridates* hereupon sent one to the Senate to affirm, that he whom he had placed in *Cappadocia* was also the Son of *Ariarathes*.

The Senate therefore,

2 The Senate knowing well the aim of both, took from *Mithridates* *Cappadocia*; and *Paphlagonia* from *Nicomedes*, who had got it into his hands, and left these two Kingdoms to their own liberty. But the *Cappadocians* protested that they could not live without a King, and being therefore allowed to chuse one from amongst themselves, made choice of one *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* sorely repining to be thus overruled, procured *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia* and his Son in Law to be an Enemy to the *Romans*, and perwaded him to expel *Ariobarzanes*, whilst he did as much by young *Nicomedes*, who now had succeeded his dead Father. Both of these Princes fled to *Rome* for relief, which was decreed them, and Commissioners were appointed to re-establish them, whereof *Manius Aquilius* was chief. This being performed, they perwaded both the Kings to invade *Mithridates*. *Nicomedes* did it, though unwillingly, whilst *Mithridates* opposed him not, that he might have an advantage against him; only he sent *Pelopidas* to the Commissioners to complain of him. They considering that *Mithridates* was a powerful Prince, returned this Answer, That they did neither like that he should molest *Nicomedes*, nor *Nicomedes* him; for the former was not convenient for the *Roman* Common-wealth. He nothing moved with this Answer, re-invaded *Cappadocia*, lending *Pelopidas* back with a bold expostulation. They hereupon raised a considerable Army against him on their own heads, without any decree of Senate or People. *Nicomedes* engaging first of all with him was put to flight, though *Mithridates* his main Body never engaged, and next after him *Manius* was discomfited. Then seized *Mithridates* upon *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, and other Provinces, as far as *Ionis*. He took also *Q. Oppius* and *Aquilius*, the later whereof he killed by melted Gold poured into his mouth, being ever wont to upbraid the *Romans* with avarice and corruption.

But he again recovers many Countries.

Sylla hath the charge of the War decreed against him.

3. The *Romans* hereupon decreed a War against him, though they were now employed in the *Italian*; and *L. Cornelius Sylla*, and *Q. Pompeius Rufus* being Consuls, it fell by lot unto the former. But whilst he was yet employed in finishing the *Italian* War about *Nola*, *C. Marius*, who had been fix times Consul, either moved by a desire of profit, or of glory, perwaded *P. Sulpitius*, Tribune of the People, to prefer a Law for transferring the command against *Mithridates* to himself. He drew the People of *Italy* to his Party, by promising them that had been of late made free of the City, equal Privilege with the rest, which were distributed into thirty five Tribes; so that the thing was carried on by strong hand, and *Pompey's* Son, Son in Law of *Sylla*, was killed in the heat of contention. *Sylla* hearing of this, hasted to the City, easily perwading his Army to any thing, for that his Soldiers were unwilling that any other should go that Expedition, from which they promised themselves so great matters. To him his Colleague *Pompey* joined, and though *Marius* and the Tribune made all opposition possible, with some difficulty they entered the City, and *Marius* with his complices betook themselves to their heels. *Sylla* suffered no harm to be done to the Citizens, but reverted what *Sulpitius* had done, regulated the Senate, and procured *Marius*, with *Sulpitius*, and ten others, to be declared Enemies to their Country, whom it might be lawful for any to kill, and unlawful to harbour; their Goods also being set to sale.

Which *Marius* seeking unjustly, is driven from the City, and declared an Enemy.

4. *Sulpitius* was found and put to death. *Marius* hid himself in the Fens of *Montemarus*, and being discovered, a Gall was sent to kill him, but could not do it, he was so dashed at his preference; so that being conveyed out of that place, he escaped into *Africk*. To him *Cætesus* and others, who had fled into *Namidia*, joined themselves, expecting an opportunity to invade their own Country. *Pompey* the Consul, to secure *Italy*, was appointed to receive the Army of *Cn. Pompey*, who had done such good Service in the *Murrian* War; but the Soldiers unwilling to leave their old General, who also took it heavily, made away the Consul. For the year following *L. Cornelius Cinna* and *C. Octavius* were Consuls, whereas *Cinna*, as some think, corrupted, was altogether for the new Denitions, and recalled *Marius*, with the rest of the Exiles; but he was driven away by his Colleague, and *L. Mornia* was put in his place. He then going about to the *Italian* Cities, by giving them fresh hopes of equal Privilege, and pretending that he suffered these things for their sakes, got much Money. *Marius* also

A a a a a coming

Justin l. 38.

A. M. 3915. Ol. 173. an. 1. P. C. 655. Succeeded.

Consult Appianum de lib. et illi lib. 1. *Plutarch* l. 2. cap. 17. *Strabo* in *Marius* & *Sylla*. *Justin* Epitoma l. 37.

coming over to him, they raised a considerable Army, wherewith *Cinna* sat down before the City. *Marius* took *Hofia* by force, and *Cinna* being not able to do any thing at *Rome*, stormed *Ariminum*. The Consuls, for that they could not recall *Sylla*, sent for *Altilius* then lying in *Sannium*, but he differing with them about some conditions, had them granted by *Marius*, to whom then he joyined himself. In the mean while the City it self was near being betrayed to *Marius* by *Appius Claudius* a Tribune of the Army, who being intrusted with the *Janiculum*, thus required him for former kindness.

5. Though he and *Cinna* brake in, they were repelled by *Offavins*, and C. *Pompey* the *Præsent*, who shortly after was killed with a Thunder-bolt. *Marius* after this took in several Towns about *Rome* where Provisions lay, and *Cinna*, by promise of liberty, drew many Slaves out of the City, which the Senate understanding, left the People should make disturbance within, sent to him about an agreement. He refused to admit of any address made to him as a private Man, so that they were forced to treat with him as Consul, and desired he would swear to abstain from Blood. This he flatly refused to do; but promised, that wittingly and willingly he would not be the cause of any Mans death; so he was received, and the Law abrogated for banishing *Marius*, and his Associates. Upon their entrance began plundering and slaughters in all places. *Offavins*, though having the Oath both of *Cinna* and *Marius*, refusing to fly from his charge, was killed, and his Head set upon the *Roftra*, to which was afterwards added that of *Antonius*, (Grand-father to the *Triumvir*) an excellent Orator, who for a good space defended himself by his eloquence from the Soldiers, and several others. None were spared, either for dignity, worth, or age. The dead bodies, being mangled and abused otherwise, were left to be torn in pieces by Dogs and Fowls, none daring to bury them. All *Sylla's* Friends were killed, his House defaced, and his Goods put to sale, he being judged and declared an Enemy. *Merula*, though he never fought the Consulship, but had it put upon him, and *Catulus*, having their days set them to answer, destroyed themselves.

6. Thus cruel were *Cinna* and *Marius*; but however they raged against their Country-men, the common People shewed much Abstinence and Justice at this time. For when they had exposed the Wealthy Houses of the proscribed Persons to be plundered by them, none were found that would enlarge their own fortunes, or take a share out of the publick calamity. They obtained now from other Meas Goods, how indigent soever they were; although when accustomed to such Tragical fights, the People of *Rome*, as it happens, grew more hard-hearted. For it carried not it self with the same moderation afterwards, in the Proscription made by *Sylla*, when many were found that bought the Goods of the Proscribed Persons. And yet in that made by the *Triumvirs*, few would be inticed to make such Purchases; and afterward when *Cremona* was taken, and the Citizens were exposed to sale by the Soldiers; the *Italians* bravely disdained to make Slaves of their Country-men, born as free as themselves were.

7. *Cinna* and *Marius* having thus satisfied their bloody minds, made themselves Consuls for the following year: But *Marius* died e're the months end, having born this Office now seven times; a Man more profitable to his Country in the time of War than of Peace. To him succeeded *Valerius Flaccus*, whom *Cinna* sent into *Asia*, to supply the room of *Sylla* there. But he by this time had done the work, and was coming home to revenge the former injuries, having subdued *Mithridates* in less than three years, killed one hundred and sixty thousand of his Men, recovered *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Ionis*, *Asia*, and other Countries, which he had got into his hands, taken his Navy from him, and forced him to be content with his own Inheritance. These things are to be declared in order.

8. After *Mithridates* had taken *Aquilus* with the rest, and seized upon *Asia*, and other Countries, (whilst *Sylla* was at *Rome*, feeling things there against *Marius* and his Faction, as is before shewed) he sent his Letters abroad into all the Cities of *Asia*, willing them at one day prefixed, to kill all *Italians* and *Romans*, with their Wives and Children, and cast them out unburied; then to seize on their Estates, taking one part to themselves, and reserving the other for his use. This was accordingly done, and eighty thousand according to some, according to others one hundred and fifty thousand perished in one day. Then went he into the Island *Cos*, where getting great Treasure into his Hands, there laid up by one of the *Cleopatraes*, he departed to *Rhodes*, and all manner of ways attempted to take the City, *Sylla* though

Getreth into Rome, and there cruelly rageth with Cinna his Collegue.

How the People carried it to proscribed Estates and Persons now and at other times.

Mithridates causeth eighty thousand Italians and Romans, or more in one day to be killed.

A. M. 5517.

Plut. Max. l. 9. c. 2. Extrem. 3. Plutarch in Sylla.

though without success; such was the constancy and fidelity of the *Rhodiens* towards the *Romans*, amongst other Confederates which universally revolted. Then sent he *Archelaus* his General into *Greece*, leaving *Peloidas* in *Lycia* to carry on the War there, he himself providing Forces, and punishing such as he found inclinable towards the *Romans*.

9. *Archelaus* first recovered *Delos*, which from the *Athenians* had revolted to the *Romans*, then joyined he to himself the *Abdians*, *Lacedæmonians*, and *Boeotians*. After this he was fought by *Britius*, who had put to flight *Metrophanes* first also into *Greece* from the King; but having fresh Supplies, *Britius* withdrew himself to the *Piræus*, or Haven of *Athen*, which shortly after *Archelaus* took in with his Fleet. Now *Sylla* arrived in *Greece* with five Legions, and some Companies of Horse, and having furnished himself with Money and Provisions in *Ætolia* and *Theffaly*, marched into *Attica* against *Archelaus*, almost whole *Beotia*, with *Thebes* the chief City, revolting to him in his passage. He besieged *Archelaus* in the *Piræus*, a very strong Place, as fenced with a Wall almost forty Cubits high, consisting of square Stones, and built by *Pericles* during the first motions of the *Peloponnesian* War. Having also besieged *Athen* it self, he spent the whole Summer in the Siege, and at length took it, the Inhabitants being unable to make any more resistance through famine, which so far prevailed, as they made meat of foddren Leather, and fed upon the Bodies of dead Men. The *Piræus* was also shortly after taken, and the Walls thereof demolished, with the Arceual and all the Rarities therein destroyed. Then *Sylla* followed *Archelaus* through *Beotia*, and fought with him through *Cheronea*, in a Place so straight, that no way being open for flight, he slew so many, that of one hundred and twenty thousand not many more than ten thousand remained, this being an Army felt over by the King out of his new Provinces.

Sylla arriving in Greece.

Taken Athens and the Piræus, and overthrown Archelaus the Kings General.

And again,

10. *Mithridates* put divers Princes of his newly conquered Provinces to death, for fear they should kill or betray him, by which cruelty he lost all *Gallagracia*, *Ephesus* also, and other Towns revolted from him, whereof such as he recovered he used cruelly, and afterwards fearing a general defection, to purchase favour he set the *Greek* Cities at liberty. Some that conspired his death were discovered, and upon suspicion were sixteen hundred Men made away. Then sent he another Supply to *Archelaus* of eighty thousand Men, which with the other ten thousand remaining of the former Army, were routed by *Sylla* near *Orchomenus*, and about fifteen thousand being slain, the rest betaking themselves to their Camp were also killed or taken, a vast slaughter having been made. *Archelaus* having lost his Son *Diogenes* hid himself in a Fen, and thence fled to *Chalcis* once more. After this *Sylla* chastized the *Beotians* for their fickleness (for they would stand to neither Party long) and took up his Winter Quarters in *Theffaly*, providing himself of Shipping, because he heard nothing of *Lucullus*, whom he had sent into *Egypt* to procure a Navy. Now at this time was *Flaccus*, who had succeeded *Marius*, sent into *Asia* by *Cinna* to succeed *Sylla*. Him *Fimbria* his *Questor* killed in a quarrel about lodging, being hated by his Soldiers, and he headed his Army, with which he several times fought, and that prosperously, against *Mithridates* his Son, and drove the King himself into *Pergamus*, and thence to *Pisane*, where he took Ship and fled to *Mitylene*, and might have been taken if *Lucullus* would. Then did *Fimbria* harrace *Cappadocia*, and burnt *Ilium* the Daughter of *Troy*, for that the Inhabitants had given up themselves to *Sylla*, and not to him; so that though a *Roman* and so akin to them, he is said to have used them worse than did *Agamemnon* himself. This hapned to *Ilium* in the latter end of the 173 *Olympiad*, about one thousand and fifty years after the first taking it by the *Greeks*.

11. *Mithridates* receiving intelligence of the blow he had received at *Orchomenus*, wrote to *Archelaus*, to procure his peace on as good terms as he could. To a Peace *Sylla* was not now averse, being in great want of Money, and receiving no recruits from the City, where he was declared an Enemy, and desiring above all things to carry back a good Army into *Italy* to revenge himself. He offered Peace therefore on these conditions: That he should deliver up all his Navy, all *Ægines* and *Captives*, restore the Inhabitants of *Chios*, and others whom he had carried into *Pontus*, remove his Garrisons from all places whither he had brought them since the breach of the Peace, pay all the Charges of the War, and be content with his *Fathers* Kingdom. All these Conditions were agreed to save parting with *Paphlagonia*, but the Ambassadors saying they could have had better terms of *Fimbria*, drove *Sylla* into a great displeasure, with a comparison so odious to him. Shortly after *Mithridates* himself met him, and found him so resolute, as he gladly accepted

Sect. 5.

Plut. Appian. in Mithridat. c. 1. Plutarch in Sylla.

Appian. in Mithridat. lib. 6. cap. 2. Florus l. 3. c. 5.

A. M. 5521. Pl. 173. an. i. Pl. c. 679. Strabo l. 239. Luc. Cinna 4. c. 2. Plutarch in Mithridat. c. 2.

Foreeth Mithridates to beg Peace.

Sect. 5. ended all the terms. So ended the first War with *Mithridates*, being concluded by *Sylla* three years after his coming into Greece.

12. *Sylla* required of *Finbria* the Army to be delivered up to him, as held by no Authority; but was answered, as having as little himself. Yet the Army denied to fight against that of *Sylla*, and forsook *Finbria*, who thereupon sent a slave to murder *Sylla*, which was discovered. He begged pardon, and it was granted him, so he would take Ship and depart out of *Asia*; but he gave him a better way, and going to *Perinthus*, there destroyed himself. *Sylla* said he had to be buried, saying, he would not imitate the barbarism of *Marius* and *Cinna* towards his friends at *Rome*, whom they deprived both of Life and Burial; yet he kept in this mind but a while after his arrival there, whither he now hasted, having fined *Asia* grievously for its revolt, and settled Affairs according to present occasions. He took *Albani* in his way, whence he carried with him the Library of *Apollonius the Teian* (in which were most of the Books of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, then not vulgarly known) bought by him of the Posterity of *Nileus*, to whom *Theophrastus* had given it. He wrote to the Senate, to which he recounted all the great Services he had done, and then how he had been rewarded by the Party of *Marius*, telling them plainly, he would come and revenge both himself and the Publick, by punishing the Authors of the injuries, not meddling with any other, either old or new Citizens. The Senate hereat affrighted, sent to treat with him, offering their endeavour for his satisfaction, if he would presently make known his mind. *Cinna* they ordered to stop his Leavies; but he only returned them a plausible Answer, and proceeded, designing himself and his Colleague *Carbo* Consuls again for the following year, that there might be no need of going to *Rome* to a new creation. He passed over some of his Forces into *Dalmatia*, there to fight *Sylla*; but the hindermost were driven back by a Tempest, and they refused absolutely to fight against their Country-men; so that those, who as yet had not passed the Sea, refused to go aboard. Hereupon he going to speak with them, an Officer who made way before him struck one of them, who struck him again, for which offence he commanding him to be laid hold on, a Tumult arose, wherein he himself was ran through, and so perished in his fourth Consulship, and the 670 year of the City, a Man worthy to have dyed by command of the Conqueror, than the fury of the Soldiers. *Carbo* then continued Consul alone all the remaining part of the year.

13. *Cinna* and *Carbo* had by a Law abrogated *Sylla's* command, and procured War to be decreed against him, before the Senate was affrighted into the offer of a mediation. He answered, that he would never be reconciled to such wicked Persons, as they desired he should; but if the People of *Rome* would give them indemnity, he should not oppose it; yet he thought those that would come to him might be more safe, seeing he had at his devotion such an Army. Hereby declaring sufficiently what his intentions were, he also demanded restitution of his Estate, his ancient Dignity and Honours; but the Messengers coming to *Brundisium*, and there hearing of *Cinna's* death, and the disturbance of the Common-wealth, returned back to him. Then crossed he the Sea to *Brundisium* with a Fleet of sixteen hundred Ships, and sixty thousand Men. Being landed, *Metellus Pius*, who had absented himself from *Rome* for fear of *Marius* and *Cinna*, came to him, as also *Pompey*, afterwards firnamed the Great, who though his Father was no friend to *Sylla*, yet coming now to him with some Forces, became afterwards his greatest favourite. Besides these came *Cethegus*, who having joyned with *Cinna*, now begged pardon. *C. Norbanus* and *L. Scipio* the Consuls, with *Carbo*, made all preparation for resistance. The first trial at Arms was at *Clusium*, where *Norbanus* lost six thousand Men, and fled to *Capua*. *Scipio*, through the treachery of his Army, came with his Son into the Power of *Sylla*, who dismissed them both. After this *Sylla* sent to *Norbanus* to treat of Peace; but (perhaps) being not thought serious, had no answer returned back.

14. He then passed on in *Italy*, making havock of all things, as *Carbo* did, who getting into *Rome*, procured *Metellus*, and the rest that joyned with *Sylla*, to be declared Enemies to the State. Both Parties sent up and down the Italian Cities, labouring both by fair means and foul to procure Forces; and so all this Summer was spent, wherein the Capitol was burnt none knoweth how. For the following year *Papirius Carbo* the third time, and *Marius*, Son (but adoptive as

Apian. Plin.
tarch in Sylla.

Finbria Ar-
my revolted
to him.

He marcheth
for Italy
against his En-
emies there.

Landed at
Brundisium.

Defeated
Norbanus.

most probable) to the old one, were Consuls; the latter being but twenty seven years old. In the Spring was *Carinus* the Lieutenant of *Carbo* overthrown by *Metellus*, and *Marius* himself by *Sylla*, and beaten into *Præneste*, where being closely beleaged, and despairing of his own safety, he wrote to *Brutus*, then *Prætor* at *Rome*, that he should under some pretext call together the Senate, and kill those his Enemies; *P. Antisthius*, another *Carbo*, *L. Domitius*, and *Mucius Scaevola* the High-Priest, which was with cruelty enough performed. *Metellus* by this time having overthrown another Army of *Carbo's*, *Pompey* defeated *Marius*, another of that Party, *Sulla* marched to *Rome*, which he easily entered, many of the opposite Faction being fled. Their Goods he set to sale, and willing the People to be of good cheer, for that he was necessitated thus to act, he left a sufficient Garrison, and departed to *Clusium*, where he and his Officers several times overthrew *Carbo's* Armies. *Carbo* sent to *Præneste* to relieve *Marius* his Colleague eight Legions, which *Pompey* meeting in a straight place, slew many of them, and most of those that escaped, departed to their own homes. After this, *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in a Fight with *Metellus* had ten thousand of their Men slain, and six thousand yielded, whereupon many fell off to *Sylla's* Party, as also all *Gall* within the *Alps*. *Norbanus* fled to *Rhodes*, where fearing to be given up, he killed himself; *Carbo* into *Africk*, though he had thirty thousand Men at *Clusium*, and other Forces, which were then broken in pieces by *Pompey*. *Carinus*, with other Commanders, attempted to break through, by the help of the *Samnitæ*, and relieve *Marius*; but this being with no effect, they then made for *Rome* it self.

15. A bloody Battel was fought at the Gates, where many thousands were slain on both sides. Yet *Sulla* had the better. *Carinus* and *Marius* were taken, and their Heads sent to *Præneste* to be shewed to the Inhabitants, at which sight, understanding how things had passed, they yielded up the Town to *Lucullus*, and *Marius* killed himself, whose Head was set up in the Pleading Place at *Rome*. All his Faction in *Præneste* were put to death, and all the Natives with the *Samnitæ*; the *Romans* only with the Women and Children were spared, who lost all they had, the Town (the richest at that time of all others) being plundered. *Norba* a little after was taken, and burnt to the ground by a Fire which the Inhabitants kindled over their own heads, some one way, and some another, destroying themselves. So came *Italy* into the Power of *Sylla*, who in the improvement of his Victory, shewed what fury and revenge, backed with Power, are able to do.

16. Having sent *Pompey* into *Africk* against *Carbo*, and given him a charge thence to pass into *Sicily* against others of that Party, he called the People together, and told them that he would put them into a better condition if they would obey his commands, but he was resolved to prosecute his Enemies with all sorts of calamities. So he did in a larger measure than any before him. He put to death eight thousand together in the *Villa publica*, a large house in the *Campus Martius*, made for the reception of the Ambassadors of Enemies; and liberty was given to his Soldiers to kill all they met, till *Furcius* putting him in mind that he ought to leave some to Reign over; he then first of any Man published Tables of *Proscription*, wherein were proscribed first of all eighty Senators, and sixteen hundred Equites, to which he afterwards added more, promising two Talents to those that should discover them, and threatened such as by whom they were harboured or concealed. Of those out-lawed Persons some were slain in their Houses, others killed in the Streets, and others prostrate at his feet; those that fled, their Goods were seized on. *Marius*, a Man of *Consular* Dignity, and brother to *Sylla's* great Enemy, had at the Sepulcher of *Catulus* his Eyes first pulled out of his Head, and then his Hands and Legs cut off at several times, that he might die by degrees. But not only against private Persons, but Cities also did he rage, whereof some, after the Inhabitants were sold, he caused to be demolished. Many were turned out of their Possessions, which were given to his Creatures. *Pompey* drove *Carbo* into *Sicily*, and thence into *Corsica*, where being taken and brought to him, after he had inveighed against him in an Assembly, he caused his Head to be cut off, and sent it to *Sylla*.

17. Both the *Consuls* being now destroyed, *Sylla* withdrew himself out of the City, and willed the Senate to create an *Inter-rex*, which they willingly did, hoping they should have a new election of Consuls, and named *Valerius Flaccus*. He

Generall al-
so into his
Power.

Publisseth
Tables of Pro-
scription.

And rageth
cruelly a-
gainst Persons
and Cities.

Sect. 5.
A. M. 3923.
Olymp. 174.
ant. 3.
P. C. 523.

Elge Apian.
de Sylla et Sylla
l. 1. Plutarch
in Sylla.
Plutarch. l. 2.
Valerius Max.
lib. 9. c. 2.
Exemp. 1.
Florus lib. 3.
c. 21.
Oronius lib. 5.
cap. 20, 21.
Livii Epitom.
l. 89.

Sect. 5. He then wrote to him to ask the People, that seeing the necessity of Affairs required for great an Officer, a Dictator might be created, and that not for any limited time, but till all evils should be redressed: and now he spared not to mention himself. This the People was forced to yield to, as being in his Power, and so this Office, which for the space of one hundred and twenty years (ever since the years after Hannibal, quitting of Italy) had been intermitted, was conferred on him without any limitation of time. A gilded Statue on horse-back was erected to his memory near the *Roftra*, with this Inscription, To *L. Cornelius Sylla* the happy General; for he would be called *Felix*, and sometime *Aphrodisius* or *Beautiful*. This hapned in the third year of the 174 Olympiad, the 672 year of the City, 80 before the Birth of *Christ*.

He maketh himself Dictator in private.

His actions while such.

He layeth down his Power,

And dieth.

A difference becometh the Consuls about his Buriall and confirmation of his acts.

18. That a shew of the Common-wealth might remain, he permitted Consuls to be made, which were *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*; yet did he plainly Reign alone, having twenty four Axes carried before, as the Kings in old time, with a great Guard continually at his heels, abrogating old Laws, and enacting new at his pleasure. He regulated the Consularship, ordering that none should be capable of it without passing first through other Offices. He overthrew the *Tribuneship*, by making those that bore it incapable of any other trust. To the Senate he added three hundred out of the Equeites, to the People ten thousand out of the Slaves of the proscribed, making them free, and calling them after himself *Cornelii*; and to twenty three Legions he assigned much Land in Italy to oblige them to him. For the following year he gave way to have Consuls also, but joynd himself with *Q. Caecilius Metellus*, which course the Emperours afterwards imitated. The year after, when the People, to please him, designed him Consul again, he waved it, and created *Servilius Iulianus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*; and then, to the astonishment of all Men, laid down his Dictatorship, and though he had done such, and so many horrid things, yet offered to give an account of his actions.

A. M. 3224.
Ol. 175. an. 1.
P. C. 674.
Syllabus. 233.

A. M. 3226.
P. C. 676.

19. None accused him except one young Man, whose reviling language made him say, that this for the time to come would keep any one from laying down such Supreme Power; which *Cæsar* indeed seemeth to have been aware of. Not long after he went into the Country, where minding nothing but his Pleasure, he not long after died at *Puteoli* of the Lowfe disease, his Body being purfied, and all turned into Lice, as *Plutarch* writeth. And this was the end of *L. Cornelius Sylla*, a Man born of the Noble Family of the *Cornelii*, (which of late had been Eclipsed, through the laziness of his Ancestors) being the sixth in descent from *Cornelius Rufinus*, one of the most eminent Captains in the War with *Pyrrhus*. As his life was pernicious to his Country; so his death brought also trouble to it, the two Consuls and their Factions falling out about the Honour which was to be given to him at his Funeral. *Catulus* prevailed against *Lepidus*, and he was carried in great State through the City, and first of any of his Family was burned, being fearful, as *Cicero* thought, left he himself should be dealt with as he had used *Marius*, whose Bones he had caused to be digged up, and thrown away. After the Funeral, the Consuls fell into a greater diffention. *Lepidus* would restore the Grounds given away by *Sylla*, and abolish his Laws. The Senate was fearful of another War, and caused them both to swear, that they would not decide the Controversie by the Sword; but *Lepidus* was resolved not to return out of his Province, till the new creation was over, and when he should be out of his Office begin a War, as then discharged from his Oath. Hereupon the Senate sent for him, and when he came, he would have brought his Forces into the City, but being opposed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, a fight ensued, wherein he had the worst, and then fled into *Sardinia*, where he died the same year with *Sylla*.

Livii Epitome.
lib. 89.

Sertorius ri-
seth in Spain.

20. The Civil diffentions died not with him; for, though *Pompey* had suppressed *Carbo* in *Sicily*, *M. Brutus* in *Gall*, *Cn. Domitius*, and *Hierba* King of *Numidia* in *Africk*, who were preparing for War, (and for this triumphed, being neither Consul nor *Prætor*, and (scarcely twenty six years of age) yet a more dangerous War was now depending, raised in *Spain* by *Q. Sertorius*. This Man being one of *Cinna's* Faction, joynd with *Carbo* against *Sylla*, and having taken *Suessa*, thence passed into *Spain*, which fell to him by lot as *Prætor*. Thence he drove out such as were for *Sylla*, and joyning the *Celtiberians* to himself, still resisted *Metellus*, who was sent against him, whereby obtaining a great name, he chose three hundred of his friends, whom he called a Senate, in opposition and despite to that

at

at *Rome*. And now being made stronger by part of *Lepidus* his Army, which *Perpenna* had led thither, he designed no less than the invasion of *Italy*. The Senate afraid of this, sent *Pompey* against him, a young man, but of great esteem, who passing the *Alps* in imitation of *Annibal*, but another way, at first received some loss, and in the Spring following had no success, (though *Perpenna* and *Herculeus* were several times beaten by *Metellus*) but was reduced into great straits, and wrote to *Rome* for a supply. *Lucullus* Consul for the following year procured it to besent him, left the War that was renewed with *Mithridates* should be committed to him if he came back into *Italy*, which he affirmed else he would. Being now supplied with men and money, he, and his assistants fell upon the places subject to *Sertorius*, yet did they this year no great matters. But many of *Sertorius* his Army came over to them, being aggrieved that he made the *Celtiberians* his Guard, as distrustful themselves, and upon suspicion of the alienation of their minds, being cruelly used by him.

Is murdered by *Perpenna*.

21. The year following *Pompey* and *Metellus* being more bold, made excursions into several places, and with more success; yet no considerable battel was there fought. Indeed it needed not. For, *Sertorius* now grown lazie, spent his time with Women, and falling into an humour of cruelty had put many to death, whereby he wrought his destruction from his own party. *Perpenna* fearing it might fall to his lot to be made away amongst the rest, resolved to prevent it, and so inviting him to a Feast, murdered him after he had besotted him and his attendants with Wine. This was the end of this great Captain, who for some ten years had stoutly resisted such as had been sent against him, being rather Superior to them all, and admired by the *Spaniards* as another *Hannibal*. *Perpenna* with much ado was owned as his Successor, and not long after was overthrown, and taken in battel by *Pompey*. He offered, if his life might be spared, to disclose certain things of consequence in private unto *Pompey*; but he to his great commendation, commanded him to be killed, left accusing any man he should bring the State into further trouble. So ended this War in the 681 year of the City. *M. Tarentius Varro* that vast Scholar (being the most learned of any, either Greek or Roman) and *Caius Cæsius Varus* being Consuls. *Appius Claudius* in *Thrace*, and after him *Scribonius Cærio* fought prosperously against the *Scordisci* and *Dardanians* at this time: so did *Servilius* against the Pirates of *Cilicia* expelling them the Seas, and taking several of their Towns; as also *Colconius* against the *Dalmatians*. But these were inconsiderable matters in comparison of that War which now was renewed with *Mithridates*.

A. M. 3232.
Ol. 176. an. 4.
P. C. 681.

* Viri dicitur.
Sines indicantur
que Varro.
Livii Epitome.
l. 99. 91.
Orsius lib. 5.
cap. 23.

The War with
Mithridates
renewed.

Upon what
occasion.

22. *Sylla*, upon this departure for *Italy*, had left *Murena* behind him in *Asia*, to settle such things as were not yet composed, with the two Legions that belonged to *Fimbria*. *Murena* being ambitious of a Triumph, had caught at all occasions to renew the War, and had one presented to him after this manner. *Mithridates* waging War with them of *Colches* and *Bosphorus*, who had revolted from him; the former desired and obtained his Son for their King. This proved the destruction of him to death, having sent for it to have been procured by his seeking, put done him especial service against *Fimbria*. Against the *Bosphorians* he made then great preparations, inasmuch that every one thought he designed another War against the *Romans*. *Archelaus* was now at this time out of favour, for that he was thought to have granted too much unto *Sylla* in the Treaty of Peace, and therefore fled to *Murena*, and stirred him up to invade *Mithridates*, who neither had restored the intire possession of *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*. *Murena* did so, lighting the mention of Peace, which was objected to him. *Mithridates* sent to *Rome*, to complain of *Sylla*, and expecting the return of his Ambassadors, stirred not, though the other passing over the River *Hæly* fired three hundred of his Villages. Afterwards came *Callinus* from *Rome*, who though he shewed no Decree of the Senate, yet said, it was the pleasure of the Fathers, that all acts of hostility should be forborn, and afterwards he talked with *Murena* alone. Yet did not *Murena* forbear, so that the King judging that War indeed was intended, resolved to look to himself, and passing over the River overthrew *Murena* in battel, who fled into *Phrygia*. This Victory brought many over to the Kings party, and hereupon he drove all *Murena's* Garrisons out of *Cappadocia*. *Sylla* now dictator, was not well pleased he should be thus disturbed, and therefore sent *A. Gabinus* to command *Murena* in good earnest to forbear, and reconcile the King to *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* gave him his Son of four years of age for an Hostage, and received part of *Cappadocia*.

So

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Sect. 5.
Appian de hist.
to civilib. lib. 1.
Plutarch in
Pompeio de
Sertorio. Florus
lib. 3. cap. 22.
Livii Epitome.
lib. 90. dicitur.

consule Appian
in his Mithridatice.

So things were settled again, and the second War, as *Aspian* faith, ended in the third year. But some seven years after another was begun.

23. Presently after the last conclusion, he sent to *Rome* to have the conditions of the League recorded, but the thing was neglected. *Ariobarzanes* sent also to complain, that he kept the greater part of *Cappadocia* from him, whereupon *Sylla* commanded him to quit it, which accordingly he did. Afterward he sent again to desire that the League might be recorded; but *Sylla* being now dead, the matter was not as much as reported to the Senate. Hereupon he underhand procurer

The War again broken out and why

Mithridates recovereth *Bithynia*.

Lucullus besiegeth him being King of *Cyzicus*.

And forcing him to fly, pursoeth him into his Kingdom.

And into *Armenia*.

Tigranes King of *Armenia* his Son-in-law to invade *Cappadocia*, whence he led away three hundred thousand persons, and there built a City, to be the Metropolis of the Kingdom, which from himself he named *Tigranocerta*, i. e. the City of *Tigranes*. *L. Magius*, and *L. Fannius*, who had fled to him from *Fimbria's* Army, persuaded him to send into *Spain*, and join in league with *Sertorius*, which he did, and had granted to him *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, receiving from him as a Captain *M. Varus* (or *Marinus*) one of his Officers. Being now without hope of pardon, he made all preparations possible, and got together an Army out of divers Countries, consisting of one hundred and forty thousand Foot, and sixteen thousand Horse, where with the following Spring he invaded *Bithynia*, which Country, *Nicomedes* being dead without issue, had a little before given by testament to the People of *Rome*, which thing enraged him. *Cotta* the Governor, a man of little courage, fled to *Chalcedon*, and he got it all into his hands.

24. In the 680 year of the City, *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *M. Anselmus Cotta* being Consuls, the former of them was sent against *Mithridates* with one Legion out of the City, to which were joined those two that belonged to *Fimbria*, and two more, so that in all he had an Army of thirty thousand Foot, and one thousand six hundred Horse. He found the King before *Cyzicus* a City of *Propontis*, and presently besieged the besieger. He drove him to such straits by the help of *L. Manius* (who now again revolted) that though having a great desire to the place, he laboured much to take it, yet through extreme famine he was forced first to send away the Horse, and sick Footmen, into *Bithynia*, whereof fifteen thousand were intercepted, and then to fly himself with the rest that could escape the great slaughter made of them in their flight. During this double siege, *Eumachus* one of *Mithridates's* Captains made incursions into *Phrygia*, subdued the *Piside*, and *Isauri*, and endeavoured to do the same by *Cilicia*, till he was repelled by *Deiotarus* one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Gallio*. But *Lucullus* improved his success on land by several Victories at Sea, wherein he took divers of *Mithridates's* Commanders, and hastened into *Bithynia* to overtake him. He, flying with all speed for fear of this, suffered most grievous shipwreck, and had been cast away, but that he was received into a Pirate's Vessel, to which he was glad to commit himself in so great a danger, and at length, after many difficulties, got into his own Kingdom, whither now *Lucullus* pursued him, having in his way taken in *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*. He made all possible preparations for resistance, sending for aid to *Tigranes* his Son-in-law, and to his own son reigning in *Bosphorus*; and he sent *Diocles* with great gifts to the *Scythians*; but he ran away to *Lucullus*. In the space of a year he got together forty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse, with which force he once or twice repelled the *Romans*, and struck some terror into them. But *Lucullus* sending out some Horse for provisions, he also sent a party to interrupt them, which fighting in a disadvantageous place was worsted. Being now destitute of Horse, he thought of removing from *Cabira*, where he had wintered; and communicated his intention to his friends. They not expecting the sign began to pack up, and send their baggage out of the Camp before day, which the Army taking notice of, thought much they should fly without any warning given, and in great fear and disorder breaking out of the Trenches ran away. The King went about to hinder them, but not taking notice of him, he was born down in the crowd, and being got on Horseback betook himself also to flight, and might have been taken, but that the *Romans* were too busy in plundering the Camp, though warned by their General to forbear.

25. *Mithridates* first fled to *Comana*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, who admitted him not to his preference, but caused him to be entertained like a King, though in fenny and unwholesome places. All *Pontus*, except a few places, yielded to *Lucullus*, to whom also *Maechares* King of *Bosphorus* sent a Crown of Gold, and purchased the Title of his Friend and Ally. After this *Lucullus* pursued *Mithridates* into *Armenia*, intending to fall on *Tigranes* King thereof, if he gave him

Aspian at *Plat.* in *Lic.* *Calo.*

A. M. 3325. P. C. 680.

him occasion by defending his Enemy. *Tigranes* at this time was a very potent Prince, having conquered several Nations. He wrested *Asia* from the *Parthians*, transported many thousands of *Greeks* out of *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, into a City built by him near *Euphrates*, and called *Tigranocerta*; he obtained *Syria* and *Palestine*, displacing the Kings thereof, as was acknowledged by *Lucullus*. This made him intolerably proud, so that when he rode, he would have four of those Kings he had subdued to run beside him like Lackies, and stand before him with their hands folded in token of subjection, when he sat on his Throne. *Lucullus* sent to him *Appius Claudius* his Wives Brother, to demand *Mithridates*; but he was then busied in *Phenicia*, in reducing some places, which the Messenger made an opportunity in his absence, secretly to withdraw from him many, whom his intolerable pride had rendered impatient. At his return he gave a negative answer, and therefore *Lucullus* with two Legions and scarcely three thousand Horse, passed over *Euphrates*, being not acknowledged a General, because he had not given him the Title of King of Kings.

26. *Tigranes* had no good intelligence of his coming, for he hanged him that first brought the news, as a disturber of the Peace; but when he perceived it was so indeed, he sent *Mithrobarzanes* with two thousand Horse to interrupt his passage, left *Manaces* to guard *Tigranocerta*, and went himself up and down levying Forces. Whist he was bringing two hundred and fifty thousand Foot, and fifty thousand Horse, the former was beaten back, and the later could not defend the City. *Mithridates* advised him not to hazard all in a battle, but rather starve the *Romans*, as they had done him at *Cyzicus*, but he slighted the motion, and jeered at the smallness of their number, laying, that if they were Ambassadors they were very many, and if Soldiers, very few. But *Lucullus* pitching upon an Hill, sent his Horse to provoke and draw out the Enemy, that he might break his ranks, and then setting upon the carriage beasts, caused them to drive the Foot amongst the Horse, whereby a great confusion was made, and great execution continued all the day. *Tigranocerta* was taken by the means of certain *Greeks*, who being out of jealousy disarmed by *Manaces*, took Clubs, and setting upon him and his men, got the better, and received the *Romans* within the Walls. After this, another great Army was raised, and committed to the conduct of *Mithridates*. They then endeavoured to encompass *Lucullus*, but were crossed in their expectation, and both parties continued without any great matter performed, till want of victuals forced them to depart. Then went *Tigranes* further into his Kingdom, and *Mithridates* marched away into his own, being pursued by *Lucullus*.

27. *Mithridates* overthrew *Fabius*, who had been left in *Pontus* by *Lucullus*, and after him *Triarius*, who being sent with a new supply, out of a desire of glory ventured to fight ere the General came. He lost in one engagement twenty four Tribunes, and one hundred and fifty Centurions (which numbers were seldom heard of in an overthrow of the *Roman* Armies) and seven thousand in all were slain near the Mountain *Scotus*, about three miles distant from *Zela* a City of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* having heard of the Kings intention to set upon *Triarius*, procured the Soldiers of *Fimbria* to march, who through the procurement of *P. Clodius* mutined against him, as formerly against *Flaccus* by the means of *Fimbria*. But *Mithridates* taking away all the necessities he could carry, and destroying the rest, departed in an end to the War, but that now by the procurement of *A. Gabinus* the Tribune, made for disbanding of *Fimbria's* Soldiers. This being known, *Lucullus* was slighted by his Army so much, that hardly could his men be drawn to stay, though they and *Tigranes* waited *Cappadocia*. Shortly after, *Gladius* arrived in his Province, and sent about to give notice, that the Senate was displeased with *Lucullus* for prolonging the War, disbanded his Army, and would confiscate the estates of such as should disobey its order. Hereupon all the Army footed him, except some few poor men, who had no cause to regard the threatenings; and *Lucullus* being out of his command, *Mithridates* recovered almost his whole Kingdom, and did much hurt to *Cappadocia*; *Gladius* not as much as coming to the Army, but loitering in *Bithynia*. This happened in the eighth year after *Lucullus* had undertaken the War; the six hundred and eighty seventh of the City, *C. Calpurnius Piso* and the laid *M. C. Cilius Gladius* being Consuls. The year following the War was committed to *Cneius Pompey* (afterward surnamed the Great) by means of *C. Manilius* the Tribune, who

Where the venturoth in battle *Tigranes* the King, who protected him.

Exceller being in a way to finish the War, is interrupted by the coming of *Gladius*.

Seet. 5.

A. M. 3325. Ol. 177. an. 4. P. C. 685. *St. Hieron.* *Q. Caelius* *M. Tello* *Calli.*

Dion. Cassius. *Hieronymus de bello Alexandrino.*

Plin. l. 25. *Plutarchus in Lic.*

Sect. 5.

The War committed afterwards to Pompey.

having offended the Senate by a Law, which gave the same right of suffrages to *Liberti* or *Freemen* (once slaves) as to their Patrons, or such as manumitted them, procured this Law also to pass to curry favour with him, who now had a very great name and power, having scarcely finished the *Piratic War*, which for his famous and speedy Expedition, must be described, after we have first spoken something of the War with *Spartacus*, that was managed whilst *Lucullus* was busy in *Pontus*.

The War with Spartacus.

28. *Spartacus* a *Thracian* born, was a *Fencer* in the house of *Lentulus* at *Capua*, where he perfwading about seventy of his condition, rather to fight for their own liberty than the pleasure of spectators, they broke the house and fled to *Sejunctum* the hill in *Campania*, where receiving to them all fugitives, they fell down upon the hills part adjacent, and robbed them. By making equal division of the booty, he the parts adjacent, and robbed them. By making equal division of the booty, he got together a great power of men, over whom he set as Captains two Fencers that were *Galls* by birth, called *Oenomaus* and *Crixus*. *Clodius* the *Prætor*, who was sent against them from the City, they routed and put to flight, as also *P. Varinus*, whose *Lictors* and Horse they took. *Spartacus* now having got together seventy thousand men, and making great preparations, began to be formidable to the *Romans*, who therefore sent against him *L. Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* the *Consuls* with two Legions. *Crixus* was at the Hill *Garganus* defeated and slain. *Spartacus* making for *Gallia* was beset before and behind by the *Consuls*; but one after the other he overthrew, and putting them both to flight, killed three hundred Prisoners to appease the Ghost of *Crixus*. Marching then towards the *Alps* he was opposed by *Cassius* the *Prætor*, whom he also overthrew, and who hardly escaped from the engagement.

He is defeated and slain by Crixus.

29. *Spartacus* puffed up by such success, now consulted of no less than setting upon *Rome* it self. At the *Comitia* for *Prætors*, when the Candidates appeared, *M. Licinius Crassus*, a person of great Nobility, and exceeding rich, undertook the Office, and was sent against *Spartacus* with six Legions. He ordered *Mummus* his Lieutenant with two Legions to attend the Enemies motions, but not to fight, which doing, he was worsted, and many being taken, many also cast away their Arms and fled. *Crassus* to terrify others, used great severity against such as forsook their Colours, decimating five hundred who had first begun to fly; which ancient kind of Discipline being of a long time disused, he hereby revived. *Spartacus* having by this time passed to the Sea, thought of going over into *Sicily*; but failing of his design upon some *Cicilian* Rovers, he late down in the *Peninsula* of *Rhegium*, where *Crassus* as it were besieged him, having drawn a line through the *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, to cut off all Provisions. *Spartacus* in a tempestuous night made a shift to fill up the Ditch, and get over the third part of his Army, then engaging with *Crassus* lost twelve thousand men. After this defeat he went toward the *Petiline* Mountains, and the Lieutenant and *Quæstor* of *Crassus* pursuing him, he faced about and put them to flight, whereby his men being encouraged, refused not to give the *Romans* battel. *Crassus* now desired also to fight, because *Pompey*, who was lately returned out of *Spain* was reported as coming to end this War. Pitching then one against another, *Spartacus* engaged with all his forces, and made at *Crassus* through the midst of Weapons and Wounds, whom yet he missed, but killed two of his Centurions. At length such as stood near him running away, whilst he stood his ground manfully, he was slain, and the rest were disordered and put to flight. Some that escaped from the battel, and made head again *Pompey* suppressed, three years before he undertook the War against the Pirates.

The infolence of Pirates.

30. The Pirates who had been a little repressed by *Servilius Iauricus* (as we said before) were now grown so numerous and powerful, that there was no passing of the Seas, nor any dwelling upon the Coasts; for they not onely took and robbed Ships on the Sea, but also whole Provinces on the Land; the chief place of their Rendezvous being *Cilicia* the *Rough*. *Mithridates* first set them on work, which finding profitable they ceased not when he left off, but continued their Robs, and the beries; many thousands of several Nations, as *Syrians*, *Cypriots*, *Pamphylians*, the Natives of *Pontus*, and almost all others of that part of the World journeying together. For, seeing that the War continued, they thought it more wisdom to damage their neighbors, than lose their own Estates. Because they made choice of *Cilicia*, as most commodious in the Mountainy and Craggy places thereof to secure themselves, they all went under the name of *Cilices*. They had defeated several *Roman* *Prætors*. *Murena* did little good against them, and *Servilius* but a little repressed their violence; for so impudent were they now grown, that besides their incursions into

Dio. lib. 36. Livii Epitome. l. 100. Plutarch in Pompeio.

Consulte Apian in his Hist. Plut. in Crasso. Florus l. 3. c. 20. Estrup. lib. 61. Crassus lib. c. 24.

Sect. 4.

Sicily and other places, which made the Inhabitants of the Coasts forsake their habitations, they landed in *Italy* near *Brundisium*, whence they took away several women of quality; and more than that, two Armies with their Ensigns.

Pompey the people of Rome.

31. The People of *Rome* being very sensible of these disgraceful losses, a Law was preferred by *A. Gabinius* the *Tribune*, (his uncertain whether at the motion of *Pompey*, or from his own desire to ingratiate himself with him; for being none of the best men, he little valued the good of the Commonwealth) that some one from amongst those of *Consular* dignity should be Created General with full power for three years against the Pirates, to whom also should be granted large forces, or many Lieutenants for carrying on the War. This Law little pleased the *Fa-*thers, who now began to be jealous of *Pompey's* power; but to him was business committed, having equal authority with *Proconsuls* any where within fifty miles distance from the Sea, and full power over all persons within that compass; whether Kings or others, that they might assist him in the work. The Senate permitted him to chuse out of their body fifteen Lieutenants, to whom he might commit several Provinces to take up as much money out of the Treasury and from the Publicans as he pleased; to raise what force he would, and take two hundred Ships. But he obtained greater things of the People, and doubled his preparations, getting five hundred Ships, one hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and some five thousand Horse. He had also out of the Senate about twenty five *Vicegerents*, two *Quæstors*, and took up six thousand *Attick* Talents; so difficult a thing it seem'd to destroy so many Fleets as the Pirates had, in such a Sea, where there was so many places of retreat and refuge.

Which enabled Pompey to gainst them.

32. He distributed to his Lieutenants the *Mediterranean* Sea, including all the Bayes, Havens, Promontories, Straights, Peninsulas, and windings whatsoever, furnishing them with convenient Shipping, forces, and authority; so that the Pirates, being rouzed out of their lurking holes by some, might be received by the next, and chased by others, and none might think to say too far. He himself like a King, of so many Kings layd up and down, and visiting, giving directions, and overseeing, took care that not one Pirate escaped. By this course prosecuted with singular industry, in forty dayes he scoured all the Seas about *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and *Sicily*; and the Pirates that escaped flock'd into *Cilicia*, as the common receptacle. He coming to *Rome* about some necessary occasions, quickly after followed them with sixty Gallies; but though they prepared to give him battel at Sea, yet when they saw his Fleet at hand, submitted to mercy. Then in the space of forty dayes he reduced *Cilicia* unto *Roman* obedience; for though he had provided Engines of all sorts to batter their Walls, it need not, the greatness of his name, and preparation for the War had so terrified them, that one after another they all yielded themselves with the furniture for their trade. Such as remained of them being above twenty thousand he was unwilling to kill, and to let them return to their old habitations was not safe: therefore he removed them into another place at a good distance from the Sea, where he gave them Houses and Land; and furnished their Seats with new habitations. Thus having taken well nigh four hundred Ships, killed ten thousand men, and taken one hundred and twenty Forts, he finished this War in three Months, using the Conquered with more clemency than did *Q. Metellus* in *Crete*, which being the other nest of these Pirates, and glorying that it never underwent the yoke of any, he subdued, and obtained with a Triumph the surname of *Creticus*. Having succeeded *Antonius* (who died in the action, and as large authority there as *Pompey*) he used the Pirates very roughly, and so much the more, because hearing of *Pompey's* mercy, they had by a Medlage given up themselves into his hands.

With wonderful expedition in three months he finished the War.

The Lex Mestelliana. Whereby the War against Mithridates with vast power is committed to Pompey.

33. Whilst he was putting an end to this *Piratic War*, did *Manilius* prefer a Law as we said before, that all the Armies the Romans had any where, with the Government of all Asia, and the War against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, might be committed to him. The Nobility conceived great indignation against this Law, as which did manifest injury to *Lucullus*, *Glabrio*, and *Marcus*; but especially out of an high jealousy of *Pompey's* greatness, to whom now even all the *Roman* Empire was subject, having these Provinces laid to his former, with the same power of Peace and War, and making what friends and enemies he pleased, and chiefly for that he had Jurisdiction over all Armies whatsoever, which things had never before been conferred upon any single person. But the Commons with great alacrity embraced the Law; *Cicero* the *Prætor* pressing it exceedingly, who having formerly set himself to defend the Nobility, now had betaken himself to

Florus lib. 3. cap. 6.

A plan at Sicily. Plutarch. Dio. Cicero pro leg. Manilia.

A. M. 5938. 61. 175. an. 21. P. C. 6871.

Dio lib. 36.

Sect. 5. the vulgar sort. And C. *Julius Caesar* (who of late had been *Quæstor*) is said to have favoured it, that he might have the people more inclined afterwards to commit extraordinary commands to himself.

34. It being now the 688 year of the City, the sixty fourth before the birth of Christ, the fourth of *Antiochus* King of *Judea*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus* being Consuls, *Pompey* undertook the expedition. He first sent to *Mithridates*, offering him good terms; but he slighted them, because he hoped to have *Phraates* the *Parthian* on his side; yet when he heard that he had first made a League with him, on the same conditions as were offered to *Sylla* and *Lucullus*, he himself then sent and asked peace. *Pompey* commanded him to lay down Arms, and deliver up all Fugitives; who fearing they should be given up, and the other Soldiers mutining for being about to be deprived of their help, a great trouble infused, which he evaded, by saying that he only sent to make an appeal, and by swearing that he would never be reconciled to the *Romans*, because of their insatiable avarice. Then marched *Pompey* into *Galatia*, where meeting with *Lucullus*, much ado there was betwixt them. *Lucullus* said the War was finished, and that the Commissioners sent from *Rome* were to decide the business, and when *Pompey* would not hear of this, he reviled him with an immoderate thirst after power; *Pompey* again objecting covetousness to him, so that the accusations could on neither side be denied. *Lucullus* gave out commands as yet in power, but *Pompey* by his Edicts forbade them, nullified all his Acts, and at length drew away most of his men. But at his return he was received with great honour by the Senate, carrying with him amongst his booty gotten in *Pontus*, many * books, * where with he furnished his Library, which ever stood open to *Greeks* especially. He also first brought * the Cherry-Tree out of *Pontus* (from a City of which Religion it was called *Cerasus*) into *Italy*.

35. *Mithridates* had now got together a considerable Army; but coming to engage with *Pompey* was inferior to him in all skirmishes. *Pompey* considering how the King had waited all the Country on purpose to straighten him for Provisions, went into *Armenia* the less, subject to *Mithridates*, who fearing he might get that Country into his hands, followed him thither. First here *Mithridates* had hopes to starve him; but was disappointed with considerable loss, and was himself encompassed with a Trench one hundred and fifty furlongs about. Hearing that *Marcius* was joyned to *Pompey*, who had Provisions at will, he fled away, having first killed all such as were sick, and useless, about him. But *Pompey* pursued, and prevented him from passing over *Euphrates*; then forced him to fight in the night, being surprized, and at unawares. The Moon being low, and on the backs of the *Romans*, lengthened their shadows, that his Soldiers thinking him nearer than they were, shot most of their Arrows without doing any execution. He lost many thousands; but he himself brake out with eight hundred Horse, whereof but three hundred stayed with him. Then wandering through the Woods with his Horse in his hand, he lighted of some Mercenaries, and about three thousand Foot, by which he was conveyed into a Castle where he had laid up much Treasure. Hence he sent to *Tigranes*, who refused to receive him, laying to his charge, that by his means *Tigranes* his son (by the daughter of *Mithridates*) had rebelled against him, and offered one hundred Talents for his head. He fled therefore to *Cholcois*, which formerly he had subdued.

36. *Pompey* followed him to *Cholcois*, thinking he would not have stirred thence; but he passed into *Scythia*, where partly by force, and partly by persuasion, he made the Princes thereof of his party, bestowing his daughters in marriage upon them. For he had now vast designs in his head, though out of his Kingdom, even no less than of passing through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Pannonia*, and so over the *Alpes* into *Italy*. *Pompey* departing from *Cholcois*, and escaping the ambushes laid for him by the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, marched into *Armenia* against *Tigranes*, who was resolved now not to fight, for that having had three sons by *Mithridates*, his daughter, two of them upon provocation he had already killed, and he that remained rebelling also, * was now after an overthrow, received from his Father, fled to *Pompey*. This son prevailed that his Ambassadors were not heard, who came to ask Peace. But *Pompey* marching against the City *Artaxa*, *Tigranes* yielded it up him, and afterwards, without tending any before hand, came into his Camp, offering up himself with all he had into his hand, * while him unpurged he kept him and his son, who would not so much as rise up to him, * when any reproach was put upon him; very civilly. *Pompey* left him his inheritance of *Armenia*, and his great part also

also of *Mesopotamia* (allowing the Son to reign in *Gordana* and *Sophena*, and expect the rest after his Father's death) but deprived him of all the Provinces he had subdued, and fined him fix thousand Talents of Silver for the charge he had put the People of *Rome* to in the War. So, he not only quitted part of *Cappadocia* and *Gilicia*, but also all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* from *Euphrates* to the Sea, which he had got into his hands, with part of *Gilicia*, after he had ejected *Antiochus Pine*, as it is said before in the reign of this unfortunate King. *Tigranes* the Son was very refractory, unwilling his Father should have the treasure adjudged to him by *Pompey*, that he might be able to pay his fine. Being minded to make away his Father, and for that cast into Prison; where therein also he solicited the *Parthians* against the *Romans*, he was reserved for a Triumph, and after that killed in Prison. The old King payed more than his fine, and gave something to every Officer and Soldier, after which he was accounted a Friend and Allie of the People of *Rome*.

37. *Pompey* restored *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, gave him also *Sophena* and *Gordene*, with *Cabala* a City of *Gilicia*, and others. After this with some adoe he forced the *Albanians* and *Iberians* to beg Peace, and then passing over the Mountain *Taurus*, made War upon *Antiochus Comagenus*, and also *Darius the Median*, either for that he had helped *Antiochus*, or made War against *Tigranes*, or *Aretas* King of the *Nabathean Arabs*. Then *Phraates* the *Parthian* affrighted at this great achievements begged Peace, which he granted not, but sent *Afranius* into *Gordene*, to drive out his forces, and restore it to *Tigranes*, who about it had warred with the *Persians*. *Phraates* hereupon invaded *Armenia*, and *Tigranes* sent to *Pompey* for aid, who being unwilling to begin a War with *Phraates* without an order from *Rome*, sent three Commissioners to agree them. *Antiochus* son of *Antiochus Pine*, to whom *Lucullus* granted *Syria* his inheritance, thought first of betaking himself to the *Parthians*; yet upon second thoughts, resolved to cast himself upon the good nature of *Pompey*. But he having obtained it without a stroke, put him beside it, commanding him to content himself with *Comagena*, though he had never ill deserved of the People of *Rome*: for knowing he was not able to right himself, he excused the matter, saying, it was not fit that *Syria*, whence *Tigranes* had banished the posterity of *Selencus*, should now rather fall to being conquered, than to the *Romans*, who were *Conquerors*. He refused it also to give *Antiochus* what before he could not keep (for he had lay in a corner of *Gilicia* fourteen years, all the time that *Tigranes* enjoyed it) lest he should again render it lyable to the incursions of the *Jens* and *Arabians*. Therefore having overcome the *Insarans* and *Arabians*, he reduced *Syria* into the form of a Province.

38. *Mithridates*, in the mean time had sent to *Pompey* to ask Peace, offering to pay tribute; but being willing to come to him, he flatly refused, and made great preparations to renew the War. After this *Caïor* his Governour of *Phanagoria* a Port Town of *Pontus* revolted, and calling the People to their liberty, took the Castle held by *Mithridates* his Sons, whereof four he sent to *Roman* Garrisons. Hereupon several places fell off, which made him put many persons to death, amongst whom were divers of his own friends, and one of his Sons. Seeing also that many revolted, and his new Army had no heart to the service, he sent to the Princes of *Scythia* to hasten their supplies, sending his daughters to them with a convoy of five hundred Horse; but these men killing the Eunuchs who had molested them about the King, carried away the Women unto *Pompey*. Yet such a courage still he had, as to think of passing through *Scythia* and *Istria*, and joyning with the *Galls* of *Europe* to invade *Italy*, hoping there to find many enemies of the *Romans*; though *Pompey* coming out of *Syria* had through ambition done what he condemned in *Lucullus*, having reduced his Kingdom into the form of a Province, whilst he was yet alive, and provided for new opposition. But his Army was startled at the news of his intentions, hating the tediousness of the journey, and having small hope to conquer those in *Italy*, whom at their own doors they could not withstand. Yet such was his authority, as for a while they were quiet, till his own Son whom he had most loved, and destined his successor, became the procurer of their defection and his death.

39. This was *Pharnaces*, who either out of apprehension that this attempt upon *Italy* would cut off all pardon from his Family, or upon other grounds, conspired against him. The Plot was discovered, and though his Complices were tortured and put to death, yet was he pardoned, and betook himself to the fugitive *Romans*, shewing them their danger in case *Italy* were invaded, and then to the Army, which with small trouble he drew to his party. *Mithridates* coming to speak to them,

Sept. 5. his own guard forsook him, his Horse as he fled was killed under him, and Pharnaces saluted King, having a piece of Parchment put about his head in form of a Diadem. Mithridates seeing this from a high room, sent divers to ask leave to depart, who not returning, he himself often desired it of his son, but in vain, who bidding him dye, he cried out, and prayed, that he might hear one day the same words from his own Children. Then came he down to his Wives, Daughters, and Concubines, to whom when he had given poison, fearing he should be delivered up to the Romans, he took some himself; but having used much his body to Antidotes (such as yet are named from him) it would not work, though he walked much for that purpose, whereupon he wounded himself, but this not dispatching him (soon enough, he called one *Bittus* (or *Bithocus*) a Gall, who, the wall being broken, had got in, by whose hand partly; and partly by his own, he dispatched himself. A man, as one faith, neither, without good heed, to be omitted nor spoken of; in War most eager and fierce, and always of notable valour. Sometimes in fortune, all times in courage of highest rank; in direction a good Captain, in execution a good Soldier, in hatred to the Romans another Hannibal; finally, the greatest King after Alexander in the judgment of Cicero. This end came he to, after the War had first commenced just twenty years; for it began when *Cn. Pompeius Strabo*, and *L. Porcius Cato*, and ended now when *M. Tullius Cicero* the Orator, and *C. Antonius Nepos* were Consuls, in the 691 year of the City, the second of the 179 Olympiad, and the first of the reign of *Hyrcanus*, 61 years before the birth of Christ. A. M. 3942.

He killed himself.

A. M. 3942.
Patruell. 2.
c. 18.

Pompey invaded Judea, where he fought Mithridates the two brothers.

40. Pompey, when the first tidings of his death came to him, was near *Jericho*, marching towards *Jerusalem* against *Aristobolus* King of *Judea*, who had displaced his elder Brother *Hyrcanus* and usurped the Kingdom. *Hyrcanus* complained of his Brother to Pompey at *Damascus*, who came thither to answer for himself. Pompey used them both kindly, telling them, that as soon as he had dispatched some affairs he would come into their Country, which after he had settled *Syria*, subdued the *Arabians* with the *Itureans*, and reduced *Pontus* into a Province, (all in a short time) he now performed, being much incensed by *Hyrcanus* against the other. He sent to *Aristobolus* to come to him, and deliver up all his Holds, which he did with much regret, and afterwards withdrew himself to *Jerusalem* to prepare for War. Pompey suspecting some such matter, delayed not to follow him, who then came out to meet him; but though the City was entered without opposition, his Soldiers fortified the Temple and stood out, which made him be delivered into custody. The Temple being very strong by it's situation, was after much labour taken in the third month, *Faustus* the Son of *Sylla* having first mounted the Walls. Twelve thousand Jews were slain, of the Romans very few. Pompey entered the Holy of Holies, but meddled with nothing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Priesthood and Government (yet with command not to wear a Diadem) and took *Aristobolus* along with him, making *Judea* tributary to *Rome*, as is more largely related in it's proper place. After this, leaving *Syria* with two Legions to *Scaurus* his Quæstor, he fully subdued *Cilicia*, and thence returning into *Pontus*, settled things there, bestowing the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* upon *Pharnaces*. At his return he wintered at *Ephesus*, having subdued many Princes, and joyed others as Allies to the State of *Rome*, having taken one thousand Castles, nine hundred Cities, and restored thirty nine; having planted Colonies in eight Cities and Countries, and ordered the policy of such as through the Continent of *Asia* belonged to the Romans; and having magnificently rewarded his Soldiers he returned into *Italy*, and at *Rome* triumphed twenty days together very gloriously, leading amongst other Captives *Aristobolus* King of *Judea*, after he had spent five years in his Eastern Expedition. A. M. 3444.

A. M. 3444.
C. 693.

The conspiracy of Catalina.

41. The same year wherein *Mithridates* died, and the Temple of *Jerusalem* was taken, happened a most dangerous conspiracy at *Rome*, by the means of *L. Sergius Catalina*, a Patrician by degree, but one of a debauch and infamous life. Some years before he had been accused of incest with *Fabia Vestal Nun*; but by the means of *Catulus* was acquitted; suspected also to have murdered his Son for the love of *Aurelia*, who would not marry one that had Children. Having contracted by this looseness of life a vast debt, he grew desperate, and fought for power and command, that he might if possible obtain the Sovereignty over all; but being also suspected hereof, he twice received a repulse in standing for the Consulship. The latter time it was carried from him by *Cicero*, whom he would have killed in the *Comitia*, and raised at as a forerunner and upstart, because he was born but of an Equestrian family at *Arpinum*.

L. Sergii Catalinae
conspiratio.
Oratorum l. 6.
c. 39. & 40.
Appian de bella civil. lib. 2.
Dionem l. 37.
p. 42. E.

Arpinum a Town in *Puglia*, a Province (now) of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Hereby driven into extreme disdain and rage, he fell into that course wherein formerly he had been engaged with *Piso* for the destruction of his Country, to whom also *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *L. Manlius Torquatus* (being denied the Consulship which they had fought by indirect means two years before) joyned themselves, and anew plotted the destruction of the Consuls and Senate, the burning of the City, and overthrowing of the Commonwealth, with *Lentulus*, *C. Cethegus*, and others. This *Lentulus* had been Consul seven years before, and now was *Pretor* (as also *Cethegus*) being driven on by a vain confidence he had in the Books of *Sibylla*, which he would often say did portend that the Sovereign power, should be in the hands of three *Cornelii*, viz. *Sylla*, *Cinna*, and himself.

Discovered by the means of *Fabius*.

42. The plot was discovered by *Fabius* a Courtisan, to whom *Q. Curius* one of the Conspirators (a man that for his debaucheries had by the *Centors* been removed out of the Senate) blabbed it out, while he boasted to her, that shortly he should be a very considerable man. She gave intelligence to *Cicero*, who out of them two got the whole matter, how, and where they had met, and what designs they had in hand, particularly for his own destruction to be brought about by *L. Volumnius* a Senator, and *C. Cornelius* of Equestrian rank, under pretence of a kind visit. He appointed guards to the several parts of the City, and on the eighth of *November* (as the year then went) called the Senate together, whither came *Catalina* amongst the rest; but none of the Senators would come near him, so as that part of the bench whereon he fate, was wholly void. *Cicero*, whether fearing him, or angry to see him there, made his first Oration against him, wherein he commanded him to depart the City. He went away late in the night with three hundred Armed men, and Licitors carrying Axes and Rods before him as a Magistrate, into *Etruria*, gathering Soldiers all along, intending to return and make prey of the City, which upon his departure he had given order to burn, as also to kill *Cicero*, which *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* took upon them to do, as soon as he should come to *Fesula*. In the mean time the Ambassadors of the *Allobroges*, who were come to Town to accuse their Magistrates, were also drawn in, to stir up the *Galls* against the Commonwealth; but declaring it to *Fabius Sanga* their Patron (it was the custom for each Nation or State to have one in the City) it came to *Tullius*' ear, and so was prevented.

Cicero made his first Oration against him.

His second.

Third.

43. The day after *Catalina*'s departure, the Consul made his second Oration, wherein he congratulates the People, and Commonwealth, concerning his absence. The Senate judged *Catalina* an Enemy, and *Manlius*, with whom in *Etruria* he had joyned; they deprived *Lentulus* of his Office, by whom the Ambassadors had been drawn in, who confessed they had often heard from him what he idly conjectured out of *Sibylla*'s Books. *Cicero*'s third Oration declareth what was done in the Senate. The times being very dangerous, he propounded to the *Fathers* to consider what course was to be taken with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Stellus*, and *Cassius*, all whom he having secured, this bred a great disturbance; for the Slaves and Dependents of the two former got together a great company of Artificers, and endeavoured to break in upon the back-side of the *Pretors*' house, and rescue their Lords. This being known, the Consul halted out of the Senate-house, and appointed a watch to be set, then returning, asked the opinions of the Senators. *Silvanus* designed Consul for the ensuing year, being first asked his opinion, according to the custom, was for putting them to death, and so were divers others, till *Nero* dissuaded it, judging it better to secure them till *Catalina* were suppressed, and the thing better fitted out. Of this opinion was *C. Julius Cæsar*, something suspected to be privy to the design. He would have them dispersed in several Towns in *Italy* by the Consuls appointment, afterwards to be tried, and not put to death altogether unheard. This seemed very plausible, till *Cato* (great Grand-Son to *M. Porcius Cato* the *Centor*) very earnestly pressed the contrary, falling foul upon *Cæsar* as a suspicious person. Then the Consul made his fourth Oration, wherein he so dispatch of the two contrary opinions, as he evidently inclineth to severity, as fearing what the guilty party might do the night following out of necessity and desperation. Hereby the Senate was induced to put them to death as surprized in the fact, which *Cicero* saw done accordingly ere the house arose. After this *Catalina* was overtaken by *C. Antonius*, the other Consul, near the *Alps*, as he was going into *Gall* to perfect his Levies, and there fighting most valiantly was slain. His men also fought it out to the last, scarcely one being taken. So was quashed this most dangerous conspiracy, by the vigilancy

Fourth.

Catalinae consilio put to death.

And he himself slain.

C c c c c

Sept. 5.

Pellam Patruell. l. 2. c. 34.
35.
Livii Epitom. lib. 103.

Sec. 5. especially of *Cicero* the Consul, who wrote an History thereof which is lost. Publick thanks for his great care and pains were given to him, and, at the instance of *Cato*, with divers acclamations of the people, he was first of all others titled *Father of his Country*.

44. Now began *C. Julius Caesar* to be very eminent, two and was years after these flurs sent as *Pretor* into the further *Spain*. He was born in the fix hundred and fifty fourth year of the City, *C. Marius* the sixth time, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* being Consuls, the same that the Sedition about *Saturninus* hapned, on the twelfth day of the Month *Quindilis*, afterward from him named *July* by *Antonius* his Law. His Father was *C. Julius Caesar*, who never arose higher than the *Pretorship*, and dyed suddenly at *Pise*, as his shoocs were drawing on in the morning: his Mother was *Aurelia*, the Daughter of *C. Cotta*; and *Julia* the Wife of *Marius* was his Aunt. In his youth having Married *Cinna's* Daughter (by which he had *Julia*) refusing to put her away, he was in great danger, being with much adde inspired by *Sylla*, who as it were foretelling what trouble he would bring to the State, said, that in *Caesar* were many *Marii*. The foundation of his Military skill he laid in *Asia*, under *M. Thermus* the *Pretor*, by whom being sent into *Bithynia* to kitch away the Navy, he stayed with *Nicomedes* the King, to whom it was suspected that he prostituted himself. Afterwards in the taking of *Mitylene* he deserved well, and served under *Servilius Isauricus* in *Cilicia*; but not long. For, hearing of *Sylla's* death, and hoping to make his fortune out of the dissensions raised by *Lepidus*, home he came; but not finding a convenient opportunity, and having to no purpose accused *Dolobella*, to flun the Envy thereby contracted, he went to *Rhodes* to hear *Apollonius*, whence saying in Winter; he fell into the hands of Pirates, and was forced to purchase his freedom with fifty Talents; to revenge which, he procured some ships, and took some of them, whom he mailed to Crosses, though without leave from the *Pretor*, who would have sold them. After this he gave a stop to *Mithridates* his Lieutenant, and saved divers Cities in *Asia*. He assisted *Pompey* the Consul, and others, in restoring the *Tribuneship* which *Sylla* had broken. Shortly after he was made *Questor*, and sent into further *Spain*, where going about to administer Justice, he came to *Gades*, and saw *Alexanders* image in the Temple of *Hercules*. It troubled him exceedingly, to consider that he himself had done no memorable thing at that age where *Alexander* had conquered the World, and thereupon he earnestly desired to be recalled, that being in the City, he might catch at some opportunity for his own advancement.

45. Having got leave to return ere his time was out, he joyned presently with the *Latine* Colonies in demanding the freedom of the City, and had incited them to some desperate design, but that the Senate for fear of the worst, retained the Legions some time, which were raised for *Cilicia*. He was suspected to have been of the party of *M. Crassus*, of *P. Sulla* also, and *Antonius* (who having been designed Consuls, were found to have indirectly fought for the Office, and so according to Law forfeited their places to the discoverers) in the beginning of the year to set upon the Senate, and kill whom they pleased. *Crassus* being made *Dictator*, he was to have been Master of the Horse-men under him, and all things being ordered according to their pleasure, the Consulship was to have been restored to the other two. Some have affirmed (whom *Suetonius* citeth) that he also conspired with *Cn. Piso*, that the one in the City, and the other abroad, should still be prevented by *Piso's* death. Being after this *Ædilis*, he so managed the business of publick buildings, and shews, that all was ascribed to him, and nothing to his Collegue; by which means, and others, he procured the favour of the People, and essayed by the Tribunes to get *Ægypt* assigned to him, which, now having expelled the King, he thought would afford him an opportunity of an extraordinary command. But he was crossed by the great ones, whom that he might vex, he restored the Trophies erected by *Marius* over the *Cimbri*, which *Sulla* had caused to be pulled down, and suborned those who accused *Rabirius*. By his means especially the Senate had suppressed *Saturninus* the seditious Tribune, and now being brought before *Caesar* as his Judge, he was so severe against him, that nothing so much helped the man in his appeal from him to the People.

46. After his repulse as to *Ægypt* he stood for the High-Priesthood, and by large sums (such corruption were those times arrived at) bought so many voices as he carried it from two most powerful men and his Seniors, having more suffrages out

out of their two Tribes, than they had out of all the rest besides. Then being *Pretor*, he stood for the complices of *Cataline* so earnestly, as he drew to his party the Brother of *Cicero* the Consul, and divers others. After this he assisted *Cæcilius Metellus* the Tribune in preferring turbulent Laws, till both of them by a decree of the Senate were displaced, and yet then would he fir, and execute his Office still, till forced to withdraw: then, out of policy he restrained the multitude which flocked to him, and offered to restore him by strong hand, of which the Senate taking notice, gave him thanks with great commendations, and re-invested him in his Office. After this, he fell into another danger, being accused by *Pettius* and *Cornius*, as a partner of *Cataline*; yet, appealing to *Cicero* that he had discovered something to him, he came off, and revenged himself upon his accusers. Then obtained he by lot, as we said, the Government of *Spain*, and having contracted a vast debt, put off his Creditors for that time, by the interposition of sureties. Coming into his Province he spent not his time in administering Justice, but pierced farther into the Country, and subdued certain people before this untouched, and seeking matter for a Triumph, which then to obtain he hasted to *Rome*. But it being now the time for the *Confular Comitias*, he had an extraordinary desire to that Office, and begged of the Senate, that he might stand for it by proxy, for that he could not himself be present, it being against the custom for any that was to Triumph to enter the City ere that day came; for which as yet he was not provided. This, though against the Laws, was not without precedent, but could not now be granted. Therefore he resolved rather to lose his Triumph than miss of the Consulship, and coming to Town, stood for it himself.

49. Great contentments hapned about this Office, and he had not carryed it, but that *Pompey* at this time stood in need of it. For, the great ones envying his fame, refused to confirm those conditions which he had granted to the Kings, Governors, and Cities of *Asia*. *Lucullus* his Predecessor in the War with *Mithridates*, who since his return had given up himself wholly to idleness and luxury (for he first brought into *Rome* the extravagancy of buildings and feasting) they stirred up, by his authority to promote their opposition, and he presently fell upon him, together with *Metellus Creticus*, who bore him malice also ever since the *Piratic* War. *Lucullus* bade him report his matters singly, and not as a Sovereign Lord expect they should all be confirmed without any consideration: and whereas he had relinced several of *Lucullus's* acts, he desired of the Senate that this might be considered of, whether justly done or otherwise. *Cato*, *Metellus Celer*, the Consul, and *Crassus*, defended *Lucullus*, who boasted that the victory over *Mithridates* was his own; and he obtained that his decrees which *Pompey* had repealed might be in force, and those that *Pompey* made in reference to the Conquered Kings should be null: and he hindred, by the help of *Cato*, a Law which he would have preferred about dividing grounds to his Souldiers. *Pompey* being thus used in the Senate, betook himself to the Tribunes, one whereof (*L. Flavius*) that the Law for the grounds might more easily pass, would have given the suffrage to all Citizens, but *Metellus* the Consul so earnestly opposed it, that though the Tribunes cast him in prison, yet would he not depart from his former fence, which pertinaciousness of him and others, when *Pompey* saw, he desisted, repenting too late that he had disbanded his Armies, and exposed himself thus to the malice of his Enemies.

48. At this time came *C. Julius Caesar* to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *Pompey* joynd with him, upon condition that he procuring the Consulship for him, he would confirm his acts. And whereas *Pompey* and *M. Crassus* had formerly been at odds ever since their joynt Consulship which they executed with great discord; *Caesar* now made them friends, and not only so, but they all three conspired together, that nothing should be done in the Commonwealth which displeased any one of them; which conspiracy, say Writers, was pernicious to the City, the World, and at length to themselves. This conspiracy of these three principal persons, *Varro* (who wrote four hundred and ninety Books) described in one Book, and called it *triumviratus*, *Triumviratus*, or *Three headed*. *Dionorius Siculus* fetcheth the Original of *Caesars* matters from this year, wherein he travelled into *Ægypt*, when young *Ptolemy Dionysius* was King. With this conspiracy also *Asinius Pollio* began his History of the Civil War. For the falling out of *Caesar* and *Pompey*, did not, as most have thought, procure the Civil Wars; but rather their Conjunction, which was designed to break in pieces the power of the Nobility, as *Plutarch* observeth in the life of *Caesar*. This was the fix

Sec. 5
A. M. 3944.
P. C. 693.

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Sect. 6. hundred and ninety fourth year of the City, the first of the one hundred and eightieth Olympiad, Herodes being Archon at Athens, the fifty and eighth year before the birth of Christ, A. M. 3945. Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, and L. *Afranius* being Consuls.

S E C T. VI.

From the beginning of the Triumvirate, to the absolute reign of Julius Cæsar.

Containing the space of sixteen years.

1. *CÆSAR* by the help of *Pompey* obtained the Consulship; but not without the assistance of money also. There were two other Competitors, L. *Lucius* and M. *Bibulus*, whereof he was much for the former, having agreed with him, that because he was less in favour, but very rich, he should give money for them both through the Centuries. But the Grandees understanding this, and fearing if he had him for his Collegue he might do what he listed, they caused *Bibulus* to offer more, they themselves contributing to the expence, which corrupted *Cato* denied not to be for the good of the Commonwealth, now brought by the means of such evil members into absolute danger and necessity. *Cæsar* confirmed *Pompey's* acts according to agreement, neither *Lucullus* nor any other opposing it, and *Pompey* procured, that what honour *Lucullus* had promised to certain men of *Pontus*, should not be confirmed by the Senate, filling the City with Soldiers, and by force casting him and *Cato* out of the Forum. In this his first Consulship he sold alliances with Rome, and also Kingdoms; and, to procure the favour of the Commons, preferred a Law for dividing certain grounds in *Campania* (which had been preserved to defray publick charges) to such Citizens as had three children or more. This he caused to pass by force, and compelled all *Plebeians* to swear to observe the Law, and the Senators also, though *Cato* urged them to refuse; for they did it to save their lives, he having caused the People to decree, that it should be capital for any to deny it. He had recourse to the People in all cases, making little use of the Senate, which he seldom called together. *Bibulus* his Collegue having opposed his actions for some time to no purpose, kept himself at home, and stirred not for the remaining part of the year. *Cæsar* then governed alone, and was much courted by the *Equites* or *Knights*, who having farm'd the custom, desired an abatement of the rent. The Senate refused to remit any thing, but he did their business for them, procuring the People to abate a third part. By this and other ways of shews and largesses, he fo inveigled the multitude, that he got *Gall* to be decreed to him for five years, with four Legions, and for the remaining part of the year, spent it in seeking how to establish himself for the time to come.

2. Knowing how considerable a man *Pompey* was, to bind him faster to him, he gave him in marriage his Daughter *Julia*. He procured two of his own creatures, A. *Gabinus* and L. *Calpurnius Piso* (whose Daughter he had Married after *Cornelia's* death) to be designed Consuls for the following year, as also *Vatinius* and *Clodius* Tribunes, though the later had abused his Wife (for he was a person exceedingly loose that way) having in womens clothes crept into the meetings proper only to that Sex, for which he was accused as a breaker of the sacred customs by *Cicero*. He appeared not against him though he put away his Wife, nay he helped him to his place, as it's thought, out of opposition to the Orator (who was wont to declaim against the combination of the three great ones, as pernicious to the Commonwealth) and in way of requital for the help he had afforded him in the procurement of *Gall*, whither, when the time of his Consulship was expired, he departed. This year was *Titus Livius* the Historiographer born at *Padua*.

3. *Clodius* out of malice to *Cicero* seeking for the Tribuneship, whereas he was a *Patrician*, thereby incapable of the place, he procured himself to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, and so with the loss of his former dignity obtained it. Then did he prefer a Law, that whoever had put to death any Roman Citizen unheard, water

and fire should be forbidden him, which amounted to as much as banishment; and set *Cicero* his day of appearance, for putting to death *Cæcilius*, *Lentulus*, and others of *Catalines* conspiracy unheard. *Pompey* at first stood stilly for the accused, saying, he would rather dye himself than *Tully* should be hurt; but *Cæsar* took him off, because *Cicero* having desired to go his Lieutenant into *Gall*, upon *Clodius* his seeming willing to be reconciled, had changed his resolution, and hereby displeased him. This is certain, that he who was wont to defend others so earnestly, was very timorous in his own cause (which hapned also to *Demiſthenes*) and chose rather to depart the City, and late at night, than undergo his trial, after that *Pompey* had forsaken him, and the Consuls would give him little hopes. After his departure *Clodius* banished him by decree of the People four hundred miles from *Italy*, demolished his Villages and his House, on the plot whereof he built a Temple to *Liberty*, and set his goods to sale. He went to *Thessalonica* a City of *Macedonia*, being by Letters of the Senate commended to such Kings, or Governours, as into the Dominions of whom he might have occasion to come.

4. *Clodius* having thus rid himself of *Cicero*, for that *Cato's* presence was very troublesome to him, sent him also out of the way, under colour of doing him honour. He preferred a Law against *Prothomy* King of *Cyprus* (Brother to *Auletes* of *Egypt*) for the spoiling him of all his estates, and reducing that Island into the form of a Province, though this man had nothing ill deserved. He was indeed, very vicious, if that could have given them any right to what he had; but the truth was, *Clodius* had been taken by the Pirates, and sending to him for money to redeem him, he would part but with two Talents, and therefore he took this occasion to be revenged on him and *Cato* both together. The King hearing of *Cato's* coming, killed himself, and some said that he cast his treasures into the Sea. *Cato* sold his goods, and brought a great sum of money into the treasury. But, by this time *Pompey* repented that he had forsaken *Cicero*; for, *Clodius* wanting other matter now to work on, vexed all the great ones, and repealed some things which he had done, so that now he set himself to have him recalled. *Clodius* withstood it, but thereupon the Senate passed a Decree, that nothing should be heard before his restitution was propounded. *Lentulus* the Consul propounded it on the Calends of *January*; but the matter being hindred, several wayes, was brought down to the People on the eighth before the Calends of *February*, where was great endeavour used by T. *Annius Milo* and P. *Sextius* two other Tribunes for his restitution. *Clodius* their Collegue taking some Fencers belonging to his Brother *Appius*, fell upon the multitude and killed many: The Tribunes were wounded, and Q. *Cicero* Brother of the banished (newly returned from *Aſia*, which he had governed three years) lay for dead amongst the slain. Now the People began seriously to bethink themselves. *Milo* ventured to draw *Clodius* by force to judgment, and *Pompey* posſessing himself of the Forum, put the People to their suffrages, who with universal consent voted his restitution. The Senate decreed honour to such Cities as had entertained him, and that his House and Villages should be re-edified at the publick charge. So *Cicero* who had been banished the year before about the Calends of *April*, returned this year in the month *Septilis*, or, the day before the Notices of *September*, and therefore was absent about sixteen months. As *Plutarch* more rightly computeth than * *Simpſon*, who strangely forgetting himself blaming him, for saying he returned in the sixteenth month, contended that from the first of *April* to the month *Septilis* or *August* of the following year, intervene but fourteen months. Now P. *Cornelius Lentulus* and Q. *Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls.

5. But *Cæsar*, as we said, obtained of the People *Gall* within the *Alpes* and *Illyricum* with three Legions; and the Senate added *Gall* without the *Alpes* (which in part we now call *France*) with another Legion. This gave occasion to a War of such consequence as none at this time was greater, and being described by the Captain himself in his celebrated Commentaries, we shall be more particular and large in the Account we are obliged to give of it. His first work was to repel the *Helvetii* (les *Helvètes* & *Suisse*) who having burnt their Houſes and resolved to seek out more convenient Habitations, intended to pass over the *Rhone*, and so through his Province. But before he came to shew how this was done, at the entrance of his work he gives his Reader a short description of *Gall* in this manner.

Sect. 6.

His Geogra-
phy of Gall.

6. All *Gall* is divided into three parts; whereof the *Belge* inhabit one, the *Aquitani* another, and those which they call *Celtes*, and we (*Romans*) call *Galli* a third, all which, differ each from other in Manners, Language and Laws. The River *Garunna* or *Garonne* separates the *Galli* from the *Aquitani* and *Matrona*, and *Sequana* (*Marne* and *Seine*) bound them from the *Belge*. The *Belge* are most Warlike as being at most distance from the Civility and Politure of the Province, and less frequented with Merchants or acquainted with such things as are imported to render effeminate mens minds, as also being seated next to the *Germani* beyond the *Rhine*, with whom they have continual Wars. For which cause also the *Helvetians* excel the rest of the *Galli* in valour, being in daily conflicts with the *Germani*, for defence of their own territories, or by invading theirs. The part inhabited by the *Galli*, begins at the River *Rhone*, and is bounded with the *Garonne*, the *Ocean* and the Confines of the *Belge*; and reaching also to the *Rhine* as a limit from the *Sequani*, it stretcheth Northward. The *Belge* take their beginning at the extreme Confines of *Gall*, and inhabit the Country which lyeth along the lower part of the *Rhine*, inclining to the North and the rising Sun. *Aquitani* spreadeth it self betwixt the River *Garonne* and the *Pyrenean Hills*, as far as the *Ocean* which lyeth toward *Spain*, between the *West* and *North*.

Mistaken by
Monetus.

7. This division of *Gall* hath by reason of the Authority of the Author, been esteemed a Rule for the Geography of that Country; and yet a late accurate Surveyor of it thinks himself obliged to hint several either faults in it, or mistakes of those that ordinarily read it. For, he contends that by all these words laid together it is not to be understood that *Cesar* makes a threefold division of *Gall*, but that the *Celtick* was twofold as including *Gallia Narbonensis*, though not expressed. And he accuseth *Cesar* of want of diligence in affixing the Borders of *Gallia Celtica* towards the East, where he writes that *By*, the *Sequani* and *Helvetii* it reaches to the *Rhine*, as if the *Sequani* in any part bordered upon the *Rhine*, or the *Helvetii*, at a further distance, were seated on that River. And as improperly he writes that the *Celtick Gall* took its beginning from the River *Rhone*. For the *Rhone* except in a very little tract at the Lake *Lemanus* gives no limit or bound to *Gall*, but perpetually cuts through it, from *Geneva* to the Sea of *Marsilles*. Such faults *Monetus* finds with *Cesar's* beginning of his Commentaries, as to his Geography. And we shall see he makes other Exceptions to his Narratives, both as to Countries, Nations, and his very own Acts. Let us first hear as compendiously as we can what *Cesar* saith.

Monetus Testi-
ficat in Geog-
raphia Gallie
veteris Rectissimè
significat Celticis
Gallie locum
terrestre 3.Orgetorix fir-
mesth upon the
Helvetians.

8. Amongst the *Helvetians* *Orgetorix* was most Eminent both for the Nobility of his Descent and Riches, and in the year when *M. Messala* and *M. Piso* were Consuls, out of ambition to reign, moved the Nobility to a Commotion, and persuaded the State as an easy matter for them, who in valour excelled all other Nations, to invade their Neighbours with their whole power, and make themselves Masters of all *Gall*. He did the more easily persuade them because the *Helvetians* were shut up on every side, by the strength and Nature of the place they inhabited. On the one side with the depth and breadth of the River *Rhine*, which divides their Country from *Germany*; on the other side with the high ridge of the Mountain *Jura* which runs betwixt them and the *Sequani*; and on the third part they were flanked with the Lake *Lemanus*, and the River *Rhone* parting their Territories from the Roman Province. Being thus frightened they could not easily enlarge themselves, or make War upon the bordering Countries; and thereupon being men wholly bent to Arms, and War, were discontented as having too little room for their multitude of People, and the fame they had obtained for their valour; their Country containing two hundred and forty miles in length, and in breadth one hundred and eighty. They resolved to make preparation for an Expedition, for which purpose they bought a great number of Carts and Horses for Carriages, sowed much Corn that they might have plenty in their Journey, and made peace with the confining Countries. For this they thought two years would be sufficient, and in the third inforced their setting forward by a solemn Law, appointing *Orgetorix* to give order for what remained.

9. Here we see that the straitness of their Country, and its inability to nourish and sustain their Multitudes, was the great motive of this design of the *Helvetians*, as the like hath been to most other Nations for transmigration; and if *Monetus* be heard, they had much more reason afforded from that inconvenience than *Cesar* imagined. For, whereas he here writes that their Country contained two hundred

Sect. 6.

* Propriè de
l'Etat de l'Etat.

dred and forty miles in length, and one hundred and eighty in breadth, he affirms him to make it bigger by two thirds than it really was. Indeed the *Helvetians* themselves in their Geographical Carts give out that from the Town of *Geneva* to the *Aceroniam*, or Lake of *Constance*, may be found the length assigned by *Cesar*, and from *Jura* and the *Rhine* to the Alps that border upon them, the breadth of eighty miles; but he affirms they will never prove it to any Foreigner that knows the ways, but that their first assertion exceeds all belief. Then they challenge that Country lying at the roots of the Alps which the *Rheti* (*Grisons*) the *Nannates* and *Leptontii* will not yield them, as neither will the *Latobrigi* (* *Vaudois* or *Vauquois*) that are adjacent to the Lake *Lemanus*, the Confederates indeed of the *Helvetians*, but not of their Body or Nation. To the *Latobrigi* he saith, of right belongeth as far as from the Mountain *Jura* and the West, to the *Veragri* and the East, whatsoever ground lyeth upon the Lake, as far as the Region of *Berne* toward the North; although *Cesar* in his running discourse, and intent upon something else, assigns it all to the *Helvetians*. But he either having seen these places but once, and but for a few days, or disturbed with the noise and cares of the *Helvetian* War, or for that, after the *Gallick* and *Civil* Wars were over, he published his Commentaries at a long distance, speaks little considerately and accurately of this Country and many others.

And they
other people.

10. But *Orgetorix*, still acted by his ambitious design, communicated it to two of his Neighbours, and persuaded *Casticus* one of the *Sequani*, and *Dumnorix* one of the *Aedui*, to set up also for themselves, and get the Sovereignty of their Countries. But his practices were discovered, and when he should have been called to account he was found dead, not without suspicion that he killed himself. However the *Helvetians* pursued their former design of leaving their Country; and when they thought themselves prepared, set fire to all their Towns, in number twelve, and four hundred Villages, besides private Buildings, and burnt all the Corn but what they carried along with them, that all hope of return being taken away, they might the more readily undergo all hazards; and order was given that every man should carry with him so much meal as would furnish him for three months. They persuaded the *Rauraci*, *Tulingi*, and *Latobrigi* to do the like and go along with them; as also the *Boii*, who once dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, but were now seated in the Territories of the *Norici*, and had taken the Capital Town of that Country. There were only two ways which gave them passage out of their Country, the one through the *Sequani* very narrow and difficult, between the Hill *Jura* and the River *Rhone*, through which a single Cart could hardly pass, and having an high Mountain hanging over, so that a small force might easily hinder them; the other was through the Roman Province far easier and readier, the River *Rhone* running betwixt the *Helvetians* and the *Allobroges* (who lately had been brought into obedience to the People of *Rome*) giving passage in divers places by Fords. Now the utmost Town belonging to the *Allobroges*, and bordering upon the *Helvetians* was *Geneva*, where there was a Bridge leading to the *Helvetians*. They doubted not to persuade the *Allobroges* (who seemed yet but little affected to the people of *Rome*) or at least to force them to give them passage. Being now ready for a march, they appointed a day whereon to meet on the Banks of *Rhone*, which was on the twenty fifth of *March*, *L. Piso* and *A. Gabinius* being Consuls.

11. Here *Monetus* again reprehends this great Man as unskillfully delivering that there were only two ways through which the *Helvetians* could pass to their Neighbour Nations, so as to come to the Country of the *Santones*, on which they intended to seize. It's certain, saith he, that the *Allobroges* both then and now were passable by two ways, as well by the *Helvetians* as other Nations, and those leading through the Borders of the *Latobrigi*; and that the *Sequani* were passable by as many; of which certainly the *Helvetians* would have chosen the most commodious. Of the two ways leading from the *Latobrigi* to the *Allobroges*, one lies beneath the Western Head of the Lake *Lemanus* and *Geneva*, through which the *Helvetians* attempted to pass, as shorter; where yet the *Rhone* is seldom fordable, as always swelling with the waters flowing out of the Lake; and the other lies above the Eastern Head of the Lake in the Territories of the *Veragri*, where the *Rhone* is not deep, but easily fordable. From the *Latobrigi* also to the *Sequani* lies two ways. That of which *Cesar* speaks at the root of the Mountain *Jura* and the right hand Bank of the River *Rhone*; and another almost fix leagues distant from it, toward the West, in the Straits of *Jura*, leading to *Pons Helius*, now *Pontarlier* and

Sect. 6. and *Vesontio*, or *Bezanzon*. And besides there was still another leading from the *Helvetians* to the *Segunani*, and that was through the Territories of the *Tulingi* their Confederates, the most large and even, but longer and more turning than the rest, by the Confines of the *Lingones* and *Aedui*. And so there were not only two, but five ways, by which the *Helvetians* might have passed out of their own Bounds, as well by the *Segunani* as *Allobroges* contrary to what *Cæsar* delivers, who is neither more to be believed when he writes that the *Rhone* runs between the Borders of the *Helvetians* and *Allobroges*, giving passage in certain places by Fords. For the *Rhone* doth not touch the *Helvetians* but the *Latobrigi*; as also doth the Lake *Lemanus*: and as for the *Latobrigi*, though in this Expedition and War they were associate to the *Helvetians*, yet were they no portion of their Nation, *Cæsar* himself being witness where he delivers, that the *Helvetians* persuaded them, as also the *Rauraci* and *Tulingi* their Neighbours to join with them in the Expedition. Moreover what he writes concerning the *Rhone* being fordable near to its passage out of the Lake *Lemans*, will not easily go down with any that are acquainted with those places. But to proceed.

12. *Cæsar* having notice of the design of the *Helvetians* posted from *Rome* into *Gall*, and came to *Genève*, where he brake down the Bridge, and raised Fords throughout the Province, there being but one Legion in those parts. They having intelligence of his Arrival sent their Ambassadors, the choicest of their Nobility, to desire his permission to pass peaceably through the Province, having no other way to go. But he remembering how *L. Cassius* the Consul was slain, his Army defeated, and his Soldiers put under the Yoke, thought it not fit to grant their request; for he did not think that men so ill affected would forbear to offer wrongs and injuries, if permitted. However for the better gaining of time, and raising sufficient Forces, he took space so deliberate till the Ides of *April*. And in the mean time with that Legion he had ready, and the Soldiers that came out of the Province, he made a Ditch and a Wall of sixteen foot in height from the Lake *Lemans* that runneth into the *Rhone*, to the Hill *Jura*, which divideth the *Segunani* from the *Helvetians*, being in length nineteen miles. The work being perfected, he disposed Garrisons, and fortified Castles to hinder them if they went about to break out by force. At the day appointed for return of the Ambassadors he utterly denied to give any leave to pass through the Province, as having neither Custom nor Precedent from the People of *Rome* to warrant him in that kind. And if by force of Arms they would endeavour it, he said he should use his endeavour to oppose them. Here again *Monetus* asks the question what need there was of so long a Wall and Ditch, seeing that *Cæsar* a little before had said, that this Passage was so straight that a single Cart could scarcely get through it? Was it for that he would draw this Fortification from the Bank of the Lake toward the inward Champion of the *Latobrigi*, the better to keep off the *Helvetians* from passing the Fords of the *Rhone*, and from the Town of *Genève*? But a little after *Cæsar* shall confess openly that the *Helvetians* entered these Fords, and yet broke not through his Fortifications; and when he so writes will manifestly contradict himself. Let us hear it as it comes in order.

13. The *Helvetians* frustrated of their former hope, went about, some with Boats joyned together, others with Flats whereof they made store, and the rest by Fords where the River was shallow, sometimes in the day and oftentimes by night, to break out; but being beaten back by the help of the Fortification, the concourse of Soldiers and multitude of Weapons, desisted from that attempt. Now, saith *Monetus*, the Northern Bank of the Lake *Lemans*, and the declining Horn of the Mountain *Jura*, by this their vicinity make that Region of the *Latobrigi*, whom *Cæsar* not rightly calleth *Helvetians*, of the form of a Wedge, through which the Wall that was nineteen miles in length must be drawn in a transverse line, at distance from the straights of the said Wedge, and the *Rhone* at that place issuing out of the Lake *Lemans*, from the Mountain *Jura* to *Lemans*, towards the inward Regions of the *Latobrigi*; that by that Fortification the *Helvetians* might be excluded from that other way that lay to the *Segunani*, more remote from the straights of that way. But beyond that Wall fortified with a Ditch on this side at a longer distance the Western Head of *Lemans* was left, and from that Head the *Rhone* issueth forth, which being so, let us see, faith he, how little consistent *Cæsar* is with himself, who must necessarily be said to have spoken contradictions, or else at that time the site of *Jura*, *Lemans* and the *Rhone* were otherwise than now, although he represents it the same as at this day is found. For, if when the *Hel-*

vetians endeavoured to gain the Bank of the *Rhone*, they were prevented by a Ditch and a Wall lying so far before it, and yet this Fortification was not broken thorough by them, (the Legions driving them back from it.) then must the *Helvetians* by flying in the Air or by passages under ground, have got to the *Rhone* so fortified, and attempted their passage by Boats joyned together, the *Romans* being utterly ignorant which way they came. But if that Fortification of *Cæsar* was on this side the Passage of the *Rhone*, from the Lake, and consequently on this side the whole Bank of that Lake, why is it said that a Wall was raised from *Lemans* as far as the Mountain *Jura*? And why so long a Wall in so straight a Passage, that a single Cart could scarcely pass through it? Then with what prudence could *Cæsar* raise a Wall of Stone on this side, and not beyond the River, of which he desired to have the Command, and so might, his design being assisted by the great convenience of the soil?

14. There was only another way left (*Cæsar* proceedeth) through the *Segunani*, which they could not pass, it was so narrow, but by the favour of the Country. They themselves could little prevail as to that matter, and therefore they sent to *Dumnorix* an *Aeduan* to desire his mediation, who having married the Daughter of *Orgetorix* an *Helvetian*, being of good authority in his Country, and ambitious of Dominion, undertook the business and procured them leave to pass, each Nation giving the other pledges, that the *Segunani* should not interrupt the *Helvetians* in their Journey, nor they offer any injury to the Country. *Cæsar* now having intelligence that they would pass through the Territories of the *Segunani* and *Aedui* into the Confines of the *Santones*, who were not far distant from the borders of the *Tholians*, a People of the Province, and knowing how ill the consequences might be, left *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant to defend the Fortifications and posted into *Italy*, where he raised two Legions and took three more out of their Winter quarters, near to *Apuleia*, with which five Legions he halted back again into *Gall*, and though opposed in his return by certain Nations, got into the Country of the *Allobroges*, and so into that of the *Sabaudians* that were the first beyond the *Rhone*, bordering upon the Province. By this time the *Helvetians* having passed the Straights and Frontiers of the *Segunani*, waited the Country of the *Aedui*, who thereupon sent, and complained to *Cæsar*, as also did the *Arabarri*, who had alliance and dependency with the *Aedui*. In like manner did the *Allobroges* quit their farms and possessions beyond the *Rhone*, and fled to him, complaining they had nothing left but the soil of the Country. *Cæsar* therefore seeing it was not convenient to linger any further, till the Allies of *Rome* were spoiled of their fortunes and strength, and the *Helvetians* were come to the *Santones*, when he heard that they were to pass the *Arar* (*Soane*) running through the Confines of the *Aedui* and *Segunani*, about the third Watch of the Night he fell upon them with three Legions, and surprized part of them, which had by the assistance of Flats and bridges made of Boats got over; slew many of them, and the rest escaped to the woods.

Of the four Cantons into which the *Helvetians* were distinguished, this was the *Tigurine* (of *Zurich*) which Canton alone had formerly slain *L. Cassius* the Consul, and put his Army under the yoke. But now *Cæsar* took revenge not only for the publick, but his particular loss, for in that battle with *Cassius* they slew also *L. Piso* the Grand-Father of *L. Piso* his Father in Law.

15. Now as *Cæsar* pursued the *Helvetians*, so *Monetus* pursues him. Here he saith he lays down two things that look little like truth, whereof one is that leave was obtained for the *Helvetians* to pass through the Country of the *Segunani* by the mediation of *Dumnorix* the *Aeduan*; the other is the story of their passage through the inward Territories of the *Segunani*; not by the outward straights of the Mountain *Jura*, and the *Rhone* which they neither passed by Fords nor Boats. The first he saith, he shall never persuade a prudent man to believe. For it was not in the power of the *Segunani* to grant them leave, who were then after a servile manner oppressed by *Arviostus*, a most proud German King, who would never have suffered the Armed *Helvetians*, a most numerous and fierce People to have passage through his Dominions. To obtain this leave, the Address was not to be made to the *Segunani*, who had no power over their Countries, or themselves in their own hands, but to *Arviostus*, from whom there could be no hope, that leave should be obtained. But of this fiction convenient for the time, *Cæsar* served himself, to prevent the disgrace that must fall upon him and his men, the *Helvetians* having broken through his fortifications, during his absence in *Italy*. For its both

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false

Sect. 6. false and fabulous to believe that they passed through the Straits of *Fura* to *Pons Ælius*, and *Vesontio*, without acquainting *Ariovistus*, and that the *Sequani* durst attempt it, or could obtain leave. But *Cæsar* was ashamed to acknowledge that the *Helvetians* in his absence broke through his Trenches, and thence conceived great hatred against them, and to be revenged, obstinately pursued them which way soever they turned from him, and the *Roman* Province through the Territories of the *Ædui*. Two things persuade that, they passed between *Jura* and the *Rhone*. They would not venture to provoke *Ariovistus*, nor endanger being stopped by him in their Journey. And the way by the *Rhone* was better and shorter, and one only Legion at the Wall, especially in the absence of *Cæsar*, could not hinder their passage. Their passage through these Straits is attested by their waiving of the Territories of the *Sebutiani*, *Ambarri*, *Ædui*, and the complaints thereof made to *Cæsar*, but no devastation made in the borders of the *Sequani*. But for certain Reasons he adds most things are otherwise written by *Cæsar* than indeed they were, of which we shall admonish the Reader in our Commentations, as fit occasion presents it self. So bold is *Mometus*, and bold he is indeed as well in his own assertions as refuting what hath been written by others. It were well if he were as perspicuous.

16. *Cæsar* after this overthrow, passed the River *Arar* and carried over his Army, to pursue the rest of the *Helvetian* Army. They much daunted at his sudden coming, sent their Ambassadors (for he had got over the River in one day which they could scarcely pass in twenty) who yet, as the custom is, were not wanting to urge all the Conveniences on theirs, and all the inconveniences on the other side. *Cæsar* made answer suitable to the state of his Affairs, and *Divico* chief of the Ambassadors replied with so little satisfaction, that the next day they removed their Camp, and so also did *Cæsar*. But he sent all his Horse before, to the number of four thousand, which he had raised in the Province, and drawn from the *Ædui* and their Associates. This was to spy which way the Enemy took, and they falling in upon the Reere, were forced to engage with the Cavalry of the *Helvetians* in a disadvantageous place, and thereby lost some few of their Company. With this success they were elevated, and thereupon several times made Salles. But *Cæsar* kept back his men, judging it enough for the present to keep the Enemy from harrying and spoiling the Country, and for fifteen days ordered his march in such a manner, that there were not above five or six miles betwixt his Army and the Reere of theirs. In the mean time *Cæsar* finding no forage, pressed the *Ædui* daily to bring in Corn, according to their promise, for, the River *Arar* stood him in small stead at that time, by reason that the *Helvetians* had taken their Journey, clear from the River, and he would by no means forsake them. But the *Ædui* delayed to bring any in, and thereupon *Cæsar* called to him besides others, their chief Magistrates (who had the Name of *Vergobret* and power of life and death over their Subjects) for this year *Divitiacus* and *Lisius*, whom he blamed exceedingly for not supplying him in such a place and condition, where he could have none else, and when for their sake, and at their request he had undertaken the War.

17. *Lisius* gave out such words as hinted that *Dumovix* the Brother of *Divitiacus*, though a private person, had more Authority with the People, than they the Magistrates, and having ambitious designs was a great Enemy to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* in the Assembly would not make any inquiry, but privately got the whole matter out of him; how by keeping Taxes low he had obtained his wealth and Authority at home, and by Marriages Contracted friendship with other Nations. How he wished well to the *Helvetians*, but hated the *Romans*, and especially *Cæsar*, because that by their coming into *Gall*, his power was weakened, and *Divitiacus* his Brother restored to his ancient Honour and Dignity. Besides this it was found that the route of *Cæsar's* Horse came by his means, for he commanded the Troops which the *Ædui* sent to his Assistance, and from their disorder the rest of the Cavalry took the flight. He had a great mind to punish him, but durst not do it without acquainting his Brother, who upon breaking it to him, burst out into tears, embraced *Cæsar*, and though he had devised the ruine of him as well as of the *Romans*, yet he obtained that he should be spared as well for Brotherly affection, as for avoiding a general alienation and distast of *Gall*. *Cæsar* now having intelligence that the *Helvetians* were lodged under an Hill, sent a party to get possession of the Top; but by the Cowardice of *P. Caucidius*, one who had been counted a great Soldier in the Army of *L. Sylla*, and afterwards with *M. Crassus*, was prevented of his purpose. He commanding the Discoverers his fear caused him to

to imagine that the *Helvetians* were possessed of the Top, and so acquainted *Cæsar*; whereas *Labinus* who was sent for that purpose, had gained it, and in vain expected *Cæsar* to come and assist him, according as they had agreed. The Enemy being dilodged, *Cæsar* followed and incamped within three miles of him; the day following the Army being to be paid in Corn. Two days after being but eighteen miles distant from *Bibracte* (the same with *Augustodunum*, *A. gesia Julia* *Aedunum*, *Flavia*, *Florentia* and *Politia*, now *Autun* in the Duchy of *Burgundy*) a great and opulent City of the *Ædui*, he turned aside from the *Helvetians* and made towards it.

Cæsar marches toward *Bibracte*.

18. Hereupon the *Helvetians* turned back, and fell upon the *Romans* in their Reer, which *Cæsar* perceiving, drew his Forces to the next Hill, and sent his Horse to sustain the charge of the Enemy. In the middle of the Hill he made a triple Battel of four Legions of old Souldiers. Upon the highest ridge he placed two other Legions newly raised, together with the Associate Forces. The whole Front of the Hill he filled with men, and bestowed the Carriages so as to be guarded by the uppermost Battalions. The *Helvetians* also placed their Carriages for best security, and having beaten back *Cæsar's* Horse with a thick thronged Squadron, sent themselves into a *Phalanx*, and pressed under the first Battel of the Legions. To take away all hope of flight, he sent away first his own Horse and then the rest, and after some encouraging words, began the Battel. His Souldiers with the advantage of the Hill, by their Piles, easily brake the *Phalanx*, and then with their Swords came to a furious close. The Piles of the *Romans* falling on the Targets of the *Galls*, struck them through and joyned them together, so that they were glad to cast them away, and retreat to an Hill a mile off. Thither they were pursued, and a furious charge was made on both sides, not one man being found to have turned his Back, although the fight continued from one o'clock, till the evening. And it was kept still on Foot, at the Carriages of the *Helvetians*, till it was far in the Night, and then after a long Conflict the Baggage was taken together with their Camp, and therein a Son and a Daughter of *Orgovix*. About one hundred and thirty thousand persons were saved out of the Battel, who, marching all the Night, came the fourth day into the Confinnes of the *Lingones*; there being no pursuit made after them, by reason of the wounds of the Souldiers, and the burial of the slain wherein three days were spent.

Gives the *Helvetians* a great Overthrow.

Who yield themselves.

19. *Cæsar* sent to the *Lingones* (*les Lingons*) forbidding they should supply them with any sort of necessaries, or he would esteem of them as of the *Helvetians* themselves, and after three days followed with all his Forces. The *Helvetians* seeing in what condition they were, went to treat of their rendition, and then were commanded to come up to that place, and there attend his pleasure. He required their Arms, their Servants, and Hostages to be delivered up, as also the fugitives. But while these things were performing, about six thousand men of the Canton called *Verbigene*, either out of despair of Life, or hoping to escape in such a multitude, in the beginning of the Night, left the *Helvetian* Camp, and made towards the *Rhine*, and the *German* Confinnes. *Cæsar* commanded those through whose Territories they passed to bring them out, as they also tendered his displeasure, and being brought back, dealt with them as Enemies. All the rest, the conditions performed, he received to mercy, and commanded them the *Tulingi* and *Latobrigi* to return into their Countries. He ordered the *Allobroges* to supply them with Corn, and willed the *Helvetians* to redress their Cities and Towns, that the *Germani*, invited by the richness of the soil, might not remove thither and become near Neighbours to the Province of *Gall* and the *Allobroges*. The *Ædui* desired that they might take the *Boji*, knowing them to be men of great Valour, to dwell in their Country, and he permitting it, they gave them lands, and the same liberties and privileges as they themselves enjoyed.

20. In the *Helvetian* Camp was found a List or Register written in *Greek*, Containing by Pole the whole Number that left their Country; how many of them were able to bear Arms, and the Boyes, Old Men and Women were also inrolled by themselves. The Summary whereof was, that the whole Number of the *Helvetians* amounted to two hundred sixty and three thousand; of the *Tulingi* to thirty six thousand, the *Latobrigi* to fourteen; the *Rauraci* to twenty three, and the *Boji* to thirty two. Of these there were that bare Arms ninety two thousand, and the Total of all was three hundred and sixty eight thousand. A view being taken by *Cæsar's* appointment of those that returned home, there were found one hundred and ten thousand persons. So many *Cæsar* faith he found, which if to

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Mometus

Señ. 6. *Monctus* finds fault both with his Narrative and his Cruelty. Its certain, he writes, both from *Cesar* and others, that from the Mountain *Jura* to the *Rauraci* on this side the *Rhine*, is the longest extent of the *Helvetian* Borders, which yet is not an Interval of thirty *French* Leagues, or sixty *Roman* Miles; and as for the breadth, their Territories were much more Contracted where most large. Whence necessarily either *Cesar* or his Books have been abused, and whence also it may be gathered, that two hundred and sixty thousand Souls could hardly proceed out of so small a Country. And whereas he writes that after the Battel of the three hundred and sixty thousand *Helvetians* and Associates, only one hundred and thirty thousand persons remained, it follows that the Number of the Armed men being but ninety two thousand, there must have been killed by him almost two hundred thousand persons that were weak, helpless or unfit for War. By this he must have procured great Infamy for his Cruelty, or else there is a great mistake and error Committed by him in his Account, or by the Transcribers of his Copies.

The Estates of Gall open to him the condition thereof.

21. But the Estates of *Gall*, he saith, Congratulated his victory, and procuring leave to call an Assembly, after they had consulted together desired secrecy, and by their Deputies revealed to him their grief. *Droitacius* the *Æduan* told him, that *Gall* was divided into two Factions; that the *Ædus* were the Head of the one, and the *Arverni* of the other, each contending many years for the Principality. The *Arverni* with the *Seguni* their Clients hired the *Germans* to take their Part, of whom one hundred and twenty thousand had passed the *Rhine*, with that success that the *Ædus* opposing them received an utter overthrow, both of Nobility and Senate. With these losses they were so broken, that having formerly struck a great stroke throughout *Gall*, they were now forced to deliver up the chieftest of their State to the *Seguni*, and to bind themselves by Oath never to seek their release or freedom, nor the aid of the People of *Rome*, nor use means to free themselves from their Sovereignty. Only he himself refused to take the Oath, and give up his Children, but fled to *Rome* and craved aid of the Senate. Yet for all this, the victory became more grievous to the *Seguni* than to the *Ædus*; for *Arviostus* King of the *Germans* was planted in their Territories, and being already possessed of a third part of their Country (the best part of *Gall*) now required them to forgoe another third part, for twenty four thousand *Harudes*, who being lately come over to him, Lands and Possessions were now to be allotted them. By this means it would come to pass in short time that all the *Galls* would be driven out by the *Germans*, who were allured by the goodness of the Country, betwixt which and theirs there was no comparison. *Arviostus* having once defeated the *Galls*, in Battel proved a cruel Tyrant, whom they could not bear, but must forsake their Habitations, as the *Helvetians* did, if *Cesar* and the People of *Rome* by their Authority or Arms afforded them no relief, and hindered not the *Germans* from transporting any more Colonies into *Gall*. But if *Arviostus* should know any thing of this Complaint, he would rage cruelly against them, especially the *Seguni*, who were in his Power.

He undertakes their quarrel against Arviostus the German King.

22. *Cesar* dismissed them with good words, and concluding that it was neither honourable nor safe for the People of *Rome* to have such troublesome Neighbours as the *Germans*, and esteeming the infolency of *Arviostus* intolerable, resolved to prevent such mischief with all speed. He sent him to appoint some indifferent place for a Parly about some publick affairs which nearly concerned them both. To this he answered, that had his occasions required *Cesar's* assistance, he would have farthered them with his own presence, and he thought it as reasonable, that if it were in his power to pleasure the *Romans*, *Cesar* ought not to think much of the like labour. He said plainly he durst not come into those parts of *Gall* which were in *Cesar's* Hands, without an Army; and that an Army was not to be drawn up without much trouble and expence. The thing he most wondered at was, that *Cesar* had to do in that part of *Gall* which the Law of Armes had made his Inheritance. Now the Reader must know, that in *Cesar's* Consulship the People of *Rome* had vouchsafed to esteem of *Arviostus* as a King in his Dominions and as of a Friend to their Commonwealth. *Cesar* therefore returned, that for as much as he fo required the honour done to him by the State and himself, he would let him know that he required, that he should not transport any more Troops of *Germans* over the *Rhine* into *Gall*. In the next place, that he should deliver up the Hostages of the *Ædus*, and suffer the *Seguni* to do the like, and cease all Hostilities against the *Ædus*, and their Associates; if not, he would not neglect the injuries done to them, being enjoined by the Senate to take care of their Friends and

Arviostus his Answer to Cesar's demands.

and Confederates. *Arviostus* replied, that the Law of Nations allowed a Conqueror to rule a conquered Nation as he pleased. That the People of *Rome* thought fit to order their matters as they themselves pleased; and why should they direct him more than he did them. That *Cesar* had much wronged him, in that his coming thither had made the Tribute of the *Ædus* much less than formerly. That he would still retain their Hostages: That he would make no unjust War upon them of their Associates, but if they failed of their Tribute, the Society of the *Romans* would come too late. In conclusion, that no man ever contended with him but to his own destruction. And try when he would, he should find the *Germans* invincible and most exercised in Armes, having for fourteen years had no House over their Heads.

Cesar's men afflicted at the Report concerning the Germans.

23. At the same time Ambassadors from the *Ædus* complained, that the *Harudes*, lately transported into *Gall*, waited their Borders, and that though they gave up Hostages they could not buy their Peace of *Arviostus*. And others from the *Treviri* brought News of an hundred Townships of the *Suevi* that were come to the *Rhine* to seek a passage into *Gall*, under the conduct of *Nafus* and *Cimberius* two Brothers. Hereupon *Cesar* resolved to use all expedition to prevent the conjunction of the *Suevi* with *Arviostus*, who, he understood, after three days journey, was with all his Force gone to take in *Vesontia*, the strongest Town of the *Seguni*. Knowing the place to be well provided, and so fitted that he that Commanded it might prolong the War at his pleasure, he prevented him by taking the Town and therein left a Garrison. There as he rested a few days to furnish himself with Corn and other necessities, the *Romans* enquiring of the *Galls* and Merchants concerning the *Germans*, received such an account concerning their Stature, their Courage and their Experience in War, that they were seized with a wonderful fear and consternation. From the Tribunes and Commanders of Horse and such as for friendship followed him from *Rome*, and had small or no skill in War, it proceeded even to the old experienced Soldiers. And many stuck not to tell *Cesar* that whensoever he should give Command to march and advance the Standards, the Soldiers would refuse to do it.

He Reproves them as a Council of War.

24. Upon this *Cesar* called a Counsel of War, and admitting all Centurions of what degrees soever to it, exceedingly blamed them for this their fear. He shewed how vain it was from former experience, when the *Cimbri* and *Tenioni* were vanquished by *Marius*, and in the late servile Tumult in *Italy*, though then they were not a little afflicted by what they had learnt of the *Romans*; and from what had been done against them by the *Helvetians*, who had had the better of them in divers conflicts in their own Country, and at their own doors, as well as in *Gall*, though the *Helvetians* were not able to contend with the *Romans*. Indeed they had beaten the *Galls*, but these had been wearied with continual Wars, and surprized when dispersed; and *Arviostus* must not think to inflame the *Roman* Armies with the like subtilties. He told them that such as pretended the want of Corn and dangerousness of the ways, seemed arrogant and to direct their Generals; that the *Seguni* and *Lingones* had undertaken that charge, and Corn was now ripe every where in the Fields. He shewed they had no reason to disobey his Orders; for he was neither Unfortunate nor Covetous, as his success against the *Helvetians*; and the whole course of his Life could shew, and therefore he was resolved to dislodge by the fourth watch of the Night, though it were with the tenth Legion alone as a guard, of which he had no doubt or suspicion, having chiefly cherished and put most trust in it, and that deservedly for their Valour. The effect of this was, that the tenth Legion gave him thanks for his good opinion, and assured him of their readiness; and then the rest made means by the Tribunes and Centurions of the first Ranks to give him satisfaction. This being taken, and *Droitacius* having upon viewing the ways reported, that in fetching a compass of fifty miles he might carry the Army through open and Champion Countries (for the Soldiers were frightened at the Woods) in the fourth Watch of the Night, according to his former saying, he dislodged.

25. Continuing his March, the seventh day he received a Message from *Arviostus* lying but twenty four miles off the place, that now being out of danger he was content to treat, and *Cesar* refused not the offer. The fifth day following was appointed for the Parly, but *Arviostus* refused to meet if any Foot-men came, admitting only of Horse to attend each Party. *Cesar* not willing to break upon this account, resolved to set on Horse the tenth Legion which he could most trust. The Legion he placed two hundred paces from a Mount on which they were to meet, and the Horse of *Arviostus* stood at the same distance; and according

Señ. 6.

Sect. 6.

He and Ariovistus partly,

ing to his desire they brought ten Persons each along with them, and dis-
coursed on Horfe-back. *Cæsar* began, by shewing him the unusual favour conferred
on him by the *Romans* through his means. He declared how of a long time
they had had Friendship and Alliance with the *Ædii*, who long before that had
held the Principality of *Gall*. That they were kind to, and cherished their Al-
lies, and therefore could not permit that to be forced from them, which when
they entred into a League with the *Romans* they quietly possessed; and then he
required the same things he had formerly done by his Messengers. *Ariovistus*
made little answer to *Cæsar's* demands but spake much of his own virtues and
valour. He laid the blame of his Actions upon the *Galls* themselves, who had
incited him and provoked him to their own loss. He affirmed that he was fear-
ed in *Gall* before the *Romans* came thither. That that part of it was his Pro-
vince, in which they ought to give him no disturbance, no more than he gave
them in theirs. If his Tributaries would pay their Arrears they should have
Peace, if not, he regarded little that they had the *Romans* for their Friends. If
Cæsar would not be gone out of the Country, he should take him for an Enemy.
And if he killed him he should perform a very acceptable service to many great
men at *Rome*, as he well understood by Letters and Messages received from them.
If he would depart and leave him the possession of *Gall* he would well reward
him; and what War soever he would have undertaken, should be prosecuted
without either his peril or charge.

To no pur-
pose.

26. *Cæsar* replied as to many things, and shewed that he could not desist
from the course he had taken; which while he was doing, he was told that
Ariovistus his Horfe approached nearer the Mount, and assaulted his men with
stones and other weapons. Hereupon he brake off the Parly, but forbore to
charge the *Germans*, lest it should be said that under pretence of an interview he
had intrapped them: But the Army upon hearing how *Ariovistus* and his men
demeaned themselves, were more provoked to fight. *Ariovistus* two days after
sent to *Cæsar* to give him another meeting, or that he would send him Commis-
sioners to treat concerning those things that were left imperfect. This later *Cæsar*
refused not to do; but as soon as *Ariovistus* saw the Messengers, he asked
wherefore they came thither, and whether they were not sent as Spies, and he
commanded them to be put in Irons. Then did he remove and get two miles
beyond *Cæsar*, and there he incamped himself to cut off all Provisions that might
be sent to the *Romans* from the *Ædii* and *Segnani*. *Cæsar* for five days together stood
prepared to give him Battel if he should offer it. But he kept his Army within
his Camp, and daily sent out his Horfe to skirmish with the *Romans*. The *Ger-
mans* were wont to exercise themselves with this manner of fighting. They had
fix thousand Horfe-men, and as many strong and nimble Foot, whom the Horfe-men
selected out of of the whole Army, every man one for his defence; these they
had with them in Battel, and unto them they resorted for succour. If the Horfe-
men were overcharged, these ever stepped in to help them. If any was wounded or
unhorsed they came about him and relieved him. If the case required that they
should either hast forward or speedily retire, their continual exercise had brought
them to that swiftness, that hanging on the Mane they would keep pace even
with the Horfes.

27. *Cæsar* to prevent the design of *Ariovistus* of intercepting entercourse be-
tween him and his Friends, drew out his men in three Bodies and with one of them,
notwithstanding all the opposition the *Germans* could make, fortified a second
Camp about five hundred paces beyond them. *Ariovistus* attacked this second
lesser Camp to no purpose, but would not bring out his Army to a battel because
they had a custom, that the Women by casting of Lots and South-saying should
declare whether it was good for them to fight or not; and they found by their
Art that they could not get the victory, if they fought before the New-moon.
The next day *Cæsar*, to make a shew, because his Legionary Soldiers were
few in comparison of the *Germans*, placed all his Auxiliaries before the lesser
Camp, and putting his Legions in a triple Battel, marched and provoked the *Ger-
mans* to fight. They set every Tribe and People by themselves in like distance
and order of Battel. There were the *Harudes*, *Marcomanni*, *Triboci*, *Vangiones*,
Nemetes, *Sequani* and *Suevi*; and they invironed their whole Army with Carts
and Carriages, that there might be no hope of flight. And in them they placed the
Women, that by their Tears and Hands stretched out they might move the Sol-
diers so to demean themselves, that they might not be brought into the thral-
dom

Sect. 6.

dom of the *Romans*. *Cæsar* assigned to every Legion a *Legatus* and a *Questor*,
that every man might have a witness of his valour; and perceiving where the
Germans were weakest, he began the Battel from the Right Wing.

28. The *Romans* charged fiercely, and the *Germans* came on to speedily, that
the Legions had no leisure to cast their Piles, but betook themselves to their
Swords, which the *Germans* received according to their manner in the form of a
Phalanx. But many Legionary Soldiers were observed to leap upon the *Phalanx*,
to pull up the Targets that covered it, and to wound and kill those that were un-
derneath. The left Wing of the *Germans* was overthrown and put to flight;
but in the mean time the left of the *Romans* was overcharged with an unequal
number. This being perceived by *P. Crassus* a young man who commanded the
Horfe, he sent the third Battalion to relieve their fellows; by means whereof
the fight was renewed and the Enemy was put to flight, and never looked back
till they came to the *Rhine* about fifty miles off, which some passed by Swim-
ing and by Boats, and the rest were killed by the Horfemen. *Ariovistus* lighting
upon a Bark tied to the shore recovered the other side, but both his Wives peri-
shed, and of his two Daughters the one was slain and the other taken. *Cæsar*
in the pursuit recovered his two Messengers he had sent to him. The noise of
the success drove back the *Suevi* that were come to the Banks of the *Rhine*, whom
the Inhabitants of that Quarter finding terrified, straight pursued, and slew a
great number of them. *Cæsar* having thus ended two great Wars in one Sum-
mer, brought his Army into their wintering Camps in the Country of the *Segnani*
somewhat sooner than the year required, and leaving *Labienu* to command them
went into the hither *Gall* (as the *Romans* called it) to hold the publick Assem-
bly. And thus with this war he concludes the first Book of his Commentaries,
having done these things in the Consulship of his two Creatures, *Piso* and *Ca-
binus*.

The *Belge*
whence des-
cended.

29. While he was yet in his Winter Quarters, he was continually alarmed
with news of the motions of the *Belge*, who were the third part of the further
Gall. They were, he saith, descended from the *Germans*, who passing over
the *Rhine* time out of mind, and finding the Country very fertile drove away
the *Galls*, and seated themselves in their possessions. They alone kept the *Cim-
bri* and *Tentoni* from entering into their Country, and thereupon they challenged
Authority, and boasted much of their feats of Armes. Upon notice of *Cæsar's*
success they thought themselves in danger as well as their Neighbours, and being
excited and incouraged by some of them, thought themselves highly concerned
to give some stop to that progress the *Roman* power had made in *Gall*. *Cæsar*
upon notice raised two Legions, and when Summer came on sending them away
by *Q. Pedius* his Legate, followed himself as soon as there was forage for the
Army. Within fifteen days he came to the Borders of the *Belge*, which being
unexpected, the *Rhemi* who lay next to *Gall* (*Celtick* he means) submitted them-
selves and all they had to the *Roman* Empire, affirming they were innocent as to
the Conspiracy of the rest of the *Belge*. Of them the *Bellocaci* (*les Beauvais*)
exceeded all others, in power, authority and numbers, being able to make an
hundred thousand fighting men, out of which they promised fixty thousand to
this undertaking, and in that respect they demanded the Administration of the
whole War. Here again *Mometus* is difficult of belief, though a Jesuit, affirm-
ing that if *Cæsar* (or the Embassadors of the *Rhemi*, he should have said, if from
them he had his information) said true, they must have had vast Territories
which could afford an hundred thousand fighting men, and indeed far larger
than he can find in his Geography. But he saith *Cæsar* himself puts him out
of belief of it, who makes none of the neighbour States to be their Clients,
but sets them down as Clients of the *Ædii*. He affirms that *Cæsar* is wont to
increase the Power of certain Nations above measure, to make way for his own
glory, which would receive augmentation from so valiant and warlike People
being vanquished by one or two Battels. Yet he denies not but that the *Bellocaci*
were always most famous amongst the *Belge*, of which there still remain emi-
nent evidences in the singular privileges of their chief Town, which now is
Beauvais.

A Conspiracy
of them and
other Nations.

30. Next to them lay the *Suessones* (*Les Suissonois*) Inhabitants of a large and
fruitful Country, whose King *Divitiacus* had lately possessed a great part of these
Territories and also of *Britain*, and was the most powerful King within *Gall*. At
present *Galba* was their King; and on him, for his Justice and Prudence, they una-
nimously

Cæsar de Brilo
Gall. lib. 6.

Sect. 6. nimously bestowed the management of the War; they had twelve Walled Towns, and promised to set forth fifty thousand men. The *Nervii* (the People of the Territory now called *Hennat* by the *French* from the River, *Hene*) who were most barbarous amongst them all, and dwelt farthest off promised as many. The *Atrebatii* (the People of *Atrebat*) fifteen thousand. The *Ambiani* (the People of the Territory of *Amiens*) ten thousand. The *Bellocastri* or *Bellocastri* (inhabiting the Territory of *Rouen*) and the *Veromandui* (the People of *Vermandois*) as many. The *Morini* (*Belgois*, *Gallii*, *Offenses maritime & de terre-ferme*) five and twenty thousand. The *Menapii* (*Suedrati*, *Clevois & Juliers*) nine thousand. The *Caletres* (*Les Cauchois*, *le peuple de Cauc*) ten thousand. The *Aduatii* twenty nine thousand. The *Eburoni* (*Les Liegeois*) *Condruſi* (*le peuple des Ardennes*) and others called *Germani* forty thousand, as was reported. *Cæſar* received Hostages from the *Remi*, and after that to provide against the multitudes of the Enemy, he persuaded *Divitiacum* the *Æduus* to enter the Territories of the *Bellocasti* and waste them, thereby to divert them and hinder the Confederates from uniting in one Army. And to secure himself against their great valour, as it was represented to him, he resolved not to be too hasty in giving them battle; but first by skirmishing with his Horse to try what they could, and what his own men durst do.

They assemble together.

31. But finding them all assembled together, and at no great distance, he hastened and passed over the River *Axona* (*Aine*) which parted the *Rhemi* from the other *Belge*, and there incamped. No Enemy here could come on his Back, and he might receive Provisions from *Rheims* and other Cities; but that he might command the passage back he fortified a Bridge, and caused *Titurius Sabinus*, a *Legate*; to intrench himself strongly on the other side. The *Belge* in their way intended to take in *Bibrax* (*Bourai en Reclus*) a Town of the *Rhemi*, and had done it, but that upon notice given by the Governor, *Cæſar* sent him speedily relief. Disappointed here they then made towards *Cæſar*, who finding his own men no whit inferior to them, by several skirmishes drew them out, placed himself conveniently for a Battle on a rising ground, and left the Enemy should by their multitudes encompass him, he drew a Ditch behind his Army from one side of the Hill to another, fix hundred paces in length, the ends of which he fortified with Bulworks, and therein placed store of Engines. There was a little Marsh betwixt the Armies which neither party would adventure to pass over to the other, but skirmishes were maintained betwixt the Horse, in which *Cæſar* having the advantage thought it sufficient, and so retired to his Camp. The *Belge* immediately took the way to the River *Axona*, either to break the Bridge, take the Fort held by *Titurius*, or cut off Provisions from *Cæſar*; but *Cæſar* followed with a strong party, and cutting off many of their men, hindered their design. In which being prevented, as also in their attempt upon *Bibrax*, when now their provisions began to fail, they resolved to break up and go to their several homes; where if he invaded any of them they could be supplied, though they intended to waste the Country where-ever he came, and thither to haste from all parts to give him battle, rather than in a strange and unknown place. The Council was the rather embraced, for that the *Bellocasti* having intelligence that *Divitiacum* with a great power of the *Ædi* approached their Borders, hastened homeward to defend their Country.

They retreat.

32. In a tumultuous manner they returned, striving who should be gone first, so that *Cæſar* perceiving them to fly rather than retreat, at first suspected some design, and contained his Army within his Camp; but at length finding the truth he sent some Parties after, who made great slaughter of them as they fled, so long as the light continued. The day following he still gave the chase that they might not have time to take breath, and led his Army into the Territories of the *Suessones*, wherein he came to *Noviodunum*, which he attempted to take by surprise; but in regard of the breadth of the Ditch, and the height of the Wall, was forced to besiege it. Yet when the Inhabitants saw the *Vineæ* (little Towers made for shelter of the Soldiers) the Mounts raised, and the Towers built with such expedition, affrighted at the greatness of the works, they desired to yield, and by mediation of the *Remi* obtained their suit. Having received besides others, two Sons of King *Galba* for Hostages, he took the *Suessones* to mercy, and led his Army against the *Bellocasti*, who desiring the same favour, with Hands stretched out according to their custom, he granted it at the suit of *Divitiacum*; for he spake well of the Common People as drawn into the Confe-

deracy

racy by the Arts of their Nobility. But their State being populous and powerful more than others, he required five hundred Hostages, and marched into the Coast of the *Ambiani*, who without delay gave up themselves and all they had into his Power.

33. But the *Nervii* that bordered upon them were another sort of men. There was no recourse of Merchants to them, neither did they suffer any Wine, or what else might tend to riot, to be brought into their Country. They were a savage people and of great valour, often upbraiding the rest of the *Belge*, for yielding their Necks to the *Roman* yoke, and openly affirming that they would neither send Ambassadors nor take peace upon any condition. They all assembled on the farther side of the River *Sabis* (*Sambre*) and there attended the coming of the *Romans*. With them were joined the *Atrebatres* and *Veromandui*, and they expected a Power from the *Aduatii*. *Cæſar* passing the River had some skirmishes with them, and endeavoured to fortify himself; but they made such sudden onsets, and were so swift both in their coming and retiring, that they seemed, he saith, to be in and out of the Woods at the same time, and gave him no leisure to prepare for a Battle by his wonted methods. He had all parts to play at one time; the Flag to be hung out to give warning, the Trumpet to be sounded for the Charge, the Soldiers to be called from their work of Intrenchment; and such as were gone to fetch Turf and Materials for the Rampire, to be sent for, the Battle to be ordered, the Soldiers to be encouraged, and the Signal to be given; the most of which were cut off by shortness of time and assaults of the Enemy. But these things he tells us were supplied by the experience of his Soldiers, who could as well prescribe to themselves what was to be done as any Commander could teach them. And notwithstanding *Cæſar* had given order to every *Legate* not to leave the work or forsake the Legions, till the Fortifications were perfected; yet in extremity of danger they expected no countermand, but ordered all things according to their own discretion.

34. *Cæſar* had time only to desire the tenth Legion to remember their ancient valour, and be courageous; and to give the sign of Battle, the Enemy being within a weapons cast. In the Fight, the Legions that stood in the Left Wing had the better at first, and put to flight their Enemies; but those of the Right were sorely distressed and disordered, inasmuch that the *Belge* got into the Camp. The Ensigns were crowded together into one place; the Soldiers of the twelfth Legion were so thick thronged on an heap, that they hindered one another; all the Centurions of the fourth Cohort were slain, the Ensign-bearer killed, the Ensign taken, and the Centurions of the other Cohorts either slain or fore wounded. *Cæſar* seeing them turn tail, and matters to be almost desperate, took a Target from one of the hindmost Soldiers, and pressing to the Front of the Battle, called the Centurions by name, and encouraging the rest, commanded the Ensigns to be advanced toward the Enemy, and the Maniples to be enlarged, that they might with more facility use their Swords. By his presence being encouraged, his men recovered themselves, and he caused two Legions that were oppressed to join back to back, and thereby making two Fronts they secured each other. But the whole face of things was changed by the coming in of the tenth Legion, which *T. Labienus*, having won the Camp of the *Nervii*, sent to the assistance of their fellows. Now the wounded men began to fight afresh; the Horse strove with extraordinary valour to wipe away the dishonour of their former flight; nay the Boys and Scullions perceiving the Enemy amazed, ran upon them unarmed, not fearing their weapons.

Cæſar overthrown them.

35. Howbeit, as amazed as they were, they shewed such manhood, that as the foremost were overthrown, the next in place bestirred their Carcases, and fought upon them; and these being likewise overthrown, and their bodies heaped one upon another, they that remained posset themselves of the mount of dead Carcases, as a place of advantage; thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the Piles returned them back to the *Romans*. But the Battle was however thus ended, and the Name and Nation of the *Nervii* was well nigh destroyed; of five hundred Senators, but three men being left, and of sixty thousand fighting men scarcely five hundred. The Elder sort, with their Women and Children, being before conveyed into Islands and Bogs, *Cæſar*, upon their submission pardoned, granting them the free possession of their Towns and Country, and Commanding their Neighbours not to offer them any wrong. The *Aduatii* being on their way to assist the *Nervii*, when they heard of the defeat of their Friends, returned,

E e e e e

and

Sec. 6. and put themselves, and all they had into one Town, very strong by its situation. They were defended from the *Cimbri* and *Tentoni*, who in their journey into Italy left such Carriages as they could not conveniently take along with them on this side the *Rhine*, and six thousand men to look to them. They after the death of their fellows were many years disquieted by their Neighbours, and sometimes invading their States, and sometimes defending themselves, at length procured peace, and chose this place to settle themselves in, which some think to have been about *Dumay* or *Bolduc* in *Brabant*.

36. *Cæsar* laying siege to the place, at first they despaired him; and when they saw the Vines framed, the Mount raised, and a Tower built afar off they scoffed, and demanded with what hands and with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the *Romans* were but little in respect of the *Galls*) a Tower of such huge and massy weight should be brought to do execution. But when they beheld the Tower removed, and approaching, they were astonished, and sent to treat with this complementing message, that they believed the *Romans* did not make war without the special assistance of the Gods. They submitted all they had to *Cæsar's* mercy, but desired that their Arms might not be taken from them, for fear of their Neighbours. Yet he thought fit to require them, saying he would take the same care for them as he had done for the *Nervii*, that they should not be molested. However when they gave up their weapons they concealed a third part, and in the Night, thinking to surprize the Fortification of the *Romans*, they set upon it, but were beaten back with the loss of four thousand. The next day *Cæsar* brake into the Town, and finding none make defence, he sold all the People, with the Spoil, to the number of fifty three thousand bondslaves. At the same time *P. Crassus* sent him information, that the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Osismi*, *Curiofilitæ*, *Sesuvii*, *Auleri* and *Rhedones*, being maritime Cities that lay to the Ocean, had submitted to the People of *Rome*. The fame of this *Cæsar's* success in *Gall* produced so great effects, that beyond the *Rhine* several Nations sent and submitted. But halting into Italy he placed his Army in its Wintering Camp, and willed the Ambassadors to come to him in the beginning of the following Summer. The Winter Quarters he took up next to those places where his Wars had been, amongst the *Carnutes*, *Andes* and *Turones*. For his Achievements, upon the fight of his Letters, a supplication was decreed for fifteen days, which honour had formerly happened to no man.

37. *Cæsar* going into Italy, gave order to *Ser. Galba*, with the twelfth Legion and Part of the Horse, to march into the Territories of the *Nantuates*, *Veragri* and *Seduni*, which extended from the *Rhone* and *Lemanus*, to the tops of the highest Alps, to clear them from Thieves and Robbers, who intercepted those that trafficked that way. Two Cohorts of his Legion he placed amongst the *Nantuates*, and with the other took up his Winter Quarters in *Osiodurus*, a Town of the *Veragri*, in a narrow Valley, over which hung mighty Hills. Here he thought himself secure because of the Hostages these Nations had given up, and for other reasons; but they taking it to heart, that they should be so deprived of their Children, and that the *Romans* should lay these Territories to their Province, and moreover encouraged by the smallness of the number *Galba* had brought, resolved to assault his Camp. And thus they did with such fury, that by their numbers they overpowered the *Romans* and put them to great distress, which had been followed by their ruin, had not the advice of *P. Sextus Baculus*, the Principle of that Legion, and *C. Volusenus* Tribune of the Soldiers, men of singular courage and wisdom interposed. They ran to *Galba*, and told him there was no hope of safety if they did not break out upon the Enemy himself, which being resolved the Soldiers by their Centurions were commanded to cease fighting, to receive such weapons as were cast into the Camp, and having taken a little breath, upon the watch-word given, to break out. This they did with such courage and alacrity, that the Enemy surprized was easily put to flight, and beaten from the several Gates at which they issued, and of thirty thousand lost the third part. *Galba* glad of the success, yet considering he wanted Forage, and that he had met with difficulties he never dreamed of, burnt the Town, and the next day returned without opposition, and brought the Legion safe into the *Nantuates*, and thence to the *Allobroges*, where he wintered.

38. The *Belge* being now overthrown, the *Germani* driven out, and the *Seduni*, who lived amongst the Alps subdued and vanquished; *Cæsar*, who was gone into *Illyricum* imagined not but that *Gall* would be in repose; but there suddenly fell out another commotion. *P. Crassus* wintering with the seventh Legion in the Country

Taken the Town of the *Adriatic*.

Cæsar de bello *Gallico*, lib. 3.

The Adventures of *Galba*.

The Maritime Cities unite against *Cæsar*.

The *Piceni* too coming for him at Sea.

Yet he defeats them.

of the *Andes* (*Anjou*) near to the Ocean, and wanting Provisions, sent out the Prefects of Horse and Tribunes to demand Corn of the next Cities and States; particularly of the *Unelli* or *Venelli* (*Normans* about *Caen*) the *Curiofilitæ* (those of *Corvovaillie*) and *Veneti* (people of *Vannes*) of most authority of all Nations in that Tract. For they had great store of Shipping, with which they traded into *Britain*, had most skill in Navigation, had command of all the Ports on these Seas, and of those that used them, as their Tributaries. The *Veneti* retained the Messengers sent to them, hoping thereby to recover the Hostages they had given to *Crassus*. And the rest followed their example, and made a League to maintain their liberty against the incroachments of a Stranger. Thus united they sent to tell *Crassus*, that if he would have his Messengers returned, he must send back their Hostages; whereof he certified *Cæsar*. He resolving to chastize them for breaking the Law of Nations in calling the Messengers into Irons, gave order for Ships and Gallies to be made upon the *Ligeris*, (*Loire*) and they on the other side made as effectual preparations as they could to maintain what they had done. And the *Veneti* encouraged themselves from the nature of their soil, which was defended by Arms and Greeks of the Sea, and by their experience in Maritime affairs, wherein, as in the knowledge of Ports in their quarters, they thought they were far superior to the *Romans*.

39. *Cæsar* by chastizing them, resolved to prevent the like infoleny of such as had submitted. And considering how quick the *Galls* were to make a war, he sent into all parts, where he thought there might be danger, Forces to hinder their rising and union with the *Veneti*. He made *D. Brutus* chief Admiral of the Navy, and of those Ships he had got together from the *Pictones* (*Poitouins*) *Santonis* (*Saintongeois*) and other Provinces which continued quiet, with orders to make for the *Veneti* with what speed he could, and he himself marched thitherward with the Foot-Forces. But do what he could, the Tides were so much their Friends, being situated in Points and Promontories, and their Ships so accommodated to the nature of the Sea, that they could in danger, remove themselves from one Town to another, and they deluded him the greatest part of the Summer. Yet, he tells us, that instead of Cables they made use of Iron Chains, and raw Hides and Skins for Sails, either for want of Linnen Cloth, or ignorant of the use of it, or because Sails of Linnen would hardly serve to carry Ships of that burthen, or endure the tempestuousness of these Seas, and the violence of the Winds. If they wanted Linnen, how great is the alteration we find at this present time in that Country which affords so much Linnen, that thence (from *Morlaix* in *Britany* and other places) are we furnished with Sails for our Fleets, to its great advantage; and their Linnen we now find sufficient to carry Ships of the greatest burthen, to endure the tempestuousness of these Seas, and the violence of Winds.

40. The *Romans* took one Town after another; but the *Veneti* still conveyed themselves to the next; so that *Cæsar* seeing it lost labour, attended the coming of his Navy. And when it came there was but small hope of success against two hundred and twenty Sail of Ships, of such height and strength, that his could do no execution upon them. But this device made amends for those inconveniences. The *Romans* had provided themselves of sharp Hooks or Sicles, which putting upon long Poles, these they fastned to the Tackling which held the Main Yard to the Masts; then forcing away their Ship with force of Oars, they cut the Tackling and the Main Yard fell down. Thus the *Galls* lost the use of their Shipping, and so the Controversie fell within the compass of Valour, in which the *Romans* being superiours obtained the Victory; for to their natural Valour was added a desire of Glory, they fighting in the fight of *Cæsar*, and the whole Army; for all the Hills and Cliffs, which afforded prospect into the Sea, were covered with the *Roman* Forces. Their Main Yards coming by the Board, their Enemies with fury took many of their Vessels, at the sight of which the rest fled, but on a sudden were becalmed, so that the *Romans* coming up with them fought Ship to Ship, and easily mastered them. Of so great a Navy very few escaped after eight hours fight, by the advantage of the Evening, and so the War ended with the *Veneti* and the other Maritime Nations. For all sorts of People, young and old, that were fit either for Council or Action were present at the Battel, and all the Shipping they could make engaged. These that remained, not knowing how to dispose of themselves, yielded to *Cæsar*, who to terrify other Barbarous People from violating the Law of Nations, put to death all the Senate, and sold the ordinary sort for Slaves.

41. In the mean time *L. Titurius Sabinus*, with his Forces entered the Territories of the *Unelli*. With them joyned the *Auleri* and *Eburones* (People of *Maine*, *Normans*)

Eccccc 2

Sec. 6. ling to leave the City, as he pretended, because of the charge of Provisions committed to him, which *Cicero*, in way of recompence for his labour in his restitution, had procured him from the Senate, that so he might have authority all over the *Roman* Empire. But *Crassus* betook himself to force, which when the *Tribunes* saw themselves unable to withstand, they desisted, but loaded him with curses, and when he made the accustomed prayers in the Capitol for prosperous success, they spoke of unlucky auspices and prodigies which had happened. *Atticus* the *Tribune* laboured to hinder him from going, many exclaiming against it as an unworthy thing, that he should fall with *Warapon* those who had nothing ill deserved of the *Romans*, but were at peace with them. This made him fly to *Pompey* to conduct him forth, at the sight of whom those who came to stop him gave way. But *Atticus* meeting him, earnestly exhorted him to desist, and when that would not do, sent a *Viator* to lay hold of him; but the rest of the *Tribunes* not permitting this, and the *Viator* not quite dismissing him, *Atticus* got before to the Gate, where he had some fire ready, and as *Crassus* came by, throwing his Odours upon the Coals, devoted him with horrible and bitter curses, invoking certain terrible and unheard of gods. These secret and ancient execrations the *Romans* thought to be of that force that no man ever escaped destruction to whom they were denounced, and that they also proved unfortunate to the denouncer, and therefore they were seldom used, and *Crassus* was blamed on the behalf of the City. * *Florus* calleth this *Tribune Metellus*, and others write, that the *Tribunes* generally * *Lij. c. 11.* thus devoted him, but it appeareth, * from *Cicero*, that *P. Atticus* was principal in this Action. * *Lij. l. 4.* *Divinat.*

83. *Crassus* in his march rifled the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and took away the Treasures which *Pompey* touched not. He spent many days in weighing the Treasure of the Idol, called *Atargatis* by the *Syrians*, and by the *Greeks* *Derceto*, the Goddess of *Hieropolis*, otherwise called *Edessa*, and *Bambyce*, and *Magog* by the *Syrians*. In his whole passage he shewed more covetousness than valour, lifting Men, and then for Money discharging them. He neglected his opportunities of falling on the *Parthians* unprovided, and the friendship of the *Armenian* King, who offered him to invade *Parthia* through his Kingdom, as also of refreshing his Army in some City, (as *Caesar* advised him) till he had certain news of the *Parthians*, or else passing down the River to *Seleucia*, where he might have had Provisions by water, and could not be compassed in by the *Parthians*. This latter Council he rejected by the cunning insinuations of *Agbarus* the *Osroenian* (otherwise called *Angarus*, *Mazarus*, *Mazarus*, *Mazarus*, *Macorus*, *Arianus*, and * *Acharus* by several) the *Regulus* or Petty Prince of the *Arabians*, who having formerly been a Friend and Ally of the *Romans*, had now applied his mind to the *Parthians*, and feeding *Crassus* with Money, to conceal his treachery, gave him notice of whatsoever was done. He persuaded him to leave off thoughts of *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, and go straight against the *Surenas* and *Sillax* the Kings Captains. This he did, and thereby first losing his Son, a choice young Man, he himself was by the *Surenas* circumvented under pretence of a Treaty, and either slain by his Enemies, or killed by some of his own Men, to prevent his falling into their hands. This happened at *Simmaca*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, on the sixth of the Ides of *June*, as *Ovid* informeth us; twenty thousand Men were slain, and ten thousand taken, according to *Plutarch*, (not to name other accounts) so that the *East* being almost destitute of Forces, many Provinces thereof revolted; but by the care, industry, and valour of *C. Cassius* the *Questor* of *Crassus* (the same who afterwards with *Brutus* killed *Julius Caesar*) *Syria* was appeased. This King of *Parthia*, against whom *Crassus* miscarried, (called *Orodes*, *Herodes*, and *Hyrades*) was something skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, and other learning. *Artaabazes*, or *Artavazdes*, the *Armenian*, (that first offered kindness to *Crassus*) had reconciled himself to the *Parthian*, who was now with him. He being also learned, (for he wrote Tragedies, Orations, and Histories) part of *Euripides* his *Bacche* was repeated, and the head of *Crassus* was brought in as it were by chance, and thrown at their feet. But the *Surenas* was afterwards punished for his treachery, being killed by his Master, who envied him his glory. And *Orodes* himself having lost his Son *Pacorius*, in a Battle against the *Romans*, and fall'n into that kind of Droptic, called *Anasarca*, *Phraates* (or *Phraortes*) his other Son, gave him *Aconitum*, or *Wolfsbane*, which working to upon him, as with it self it brought out the humour, and gave him ease, he made short work of it, and strangled him with his own hands.

49. This perished *Crassus*, (a) (who was so rich, that he would have none so accounted, but he that could by his own Revenues maintain an Army) and one of the Heads of the *Tricipitina* was hereby cut off. This laid the foundation of the Civil War

Plutarch &
Dis ar. prim.

Lige Plutarch
in Cras-
to Dionem lib. 40.
Florus l. 3. c.
In 11.
Crassum lib. 6.
cap. 13.
Plutarch lib. 2.
cap. 40.
Strab. lib. 16.

* In *Tacitus*
(*Ansal. l. 12.*)
it written *Ag-*
barus, but *Lip-*
sius saith
upon it, that
in the *Vatican*
Copy it ever
written, and
was common
to all the *A-*
rabian Kings,
as *Plutarch*
chose of *Ag-*
barus in *Apoc-*
ryph *lib. 1.*

A. M. 3925.
1. c. 704.

(2) *Cicero* 6.
lib. 1.

War betwixt the other two, for he, whilst he lived, balancing them, when he was gone, *Caesar* must bring under *Pompey* before he could be Chief. Whilst *Crassus* warred against the *Parthians*, *Gabinus*, who had been Consul when *Cicero* was banished, reduced (b) into his Kingdom *Ptolemy Auletes*, whom his Subjects had expelled. Then was he *Proconsul* of *Syria*; but at his return being accused, especially for making War upon *Egypt*, (which was supposed to be forbidden by the Verbes of *Sibylla*) and ready to be torn in pieces by the People, he was yet acquitted by corrupted Judges (or *Lelius* the *Tribune*) of Treason, but banished, as upon other accounts, so chiefly for that he had screwed out of his Province one hundred thousand *Drachmas*, or *Denarii*, and was afterwards recalled by *Caesar*.

50. The Winter after *Caesar* his Action against the *Morini* and *Menapii*, *Pompey* and *Crassus* being Consuls, two German Nations, the *Uspetes* and *Tenchburi* gallied with great multitudes over the *Rhine*, not far from the place where it falleth into the Sea. They had been ill treated for many years by the *Suevi*, the greatest and most warlike Nation amongst the *Germans*, who had one hundred *Pagi*, which yearly afforded to their Wars a thousand Men apiece; the rest living at home maintained themselves and them, and succeeded them in the War the following year. By this means both Tillage and experience in War was continued. No Man had any Ground peculiar to himself, neither might they abide longer than a year in one place. They lived chiefly upon Cattel and Milk, and used much hunting; being for that, and because they were not urged to any thing against their disposition, strong and of large stature. Their Bodies were but covered in part, and that but with Skins and Hides, and they washed them in the Rivers. Merchants frequented their Ports; not so much to bring them any Commodities, as to buy what they got in War. Oxen they cared not for, though the *Galls* would purchase them at any rate; but made use of their own rugged ugly Cattel, which by use they rendered tame and fit for service. They often forsook their Horses in Battle, which being taught to stand in one place, and ready again to receive them, they fought on foot. Furniture of Horses they esteemed a base thing. They admitted no Wine as that which would effeminate them. They thought it enhanced their reputation as to valour, to have the bordering Territories lie vast, as being not to be resisted by many States. And it was reported, that one way the Country lay wast from them six hundred Miles together.

51. Next to the *Suevi* inhabited the *Ubi*, a State also great and potent, somewhat more civil than the rest, by reason of their intercourse with Merchants, and with the *Galls*. These the *Suevi* had much brought under, though they could not drive them out of the Country; as also they handled the *Uspetes* and *Tenchburi* before-mentioned, who for three years were forced from their Possessions to wander through the Continent of *Germany*, and at last fell upon the *Menapii*, inhabiting either side of the River *Rhine*. They being terrified thereat, forsook all their dwellings on the *German* side, and betook themselves to that of *Gall*, to hinder them from farther passage. And they did so far hinder them, that they counterfeited a Retreat to their old habitation; but their Horse, after three days Journey, speedily returned, and surprized, and slew such as upon their absence were returned to the farther side. These being slain, and their Shipping taken, they got over the River before the other *Menapii* had notice of their coming, easily dispossessed them, and lived that Winter upon the spoil. *Caesar* having notice of these things, and knowing the fickle humour of the *Galls*, and how they took their measures from light and idle Stories, hasted to his Army sooner than he was wont to do.

52. He found what he had suspected, that the *Germans* were invited by some *Galls* to come farther into the Country, and they proceeded as far as the Confines of the *Eburones* and *Condrusi*, who were under the protection of the *Treveri*. Yet *Caesar* thought fit to dissemble the matters, and encourage the Princes now got together in their loyalty. But he resolved to oppose the *Germans*, who in his march lent their Ambassadors, desiring, that being forced out of their Habitation, they might have leave to fix in *Gall*; and several things they propounded, as *Caesar* believed, to spin on the time till their Horsemen were returned, which were gone for spoil and provision over the *Mosa*. He gave them truce for one day, but notwithstanding that Truce, they set upon and defeated a Party of five thousand Horse. Then did he not think it safe to hearken to them any more, especially seeing that by that fraudulent Act they gained reputation amongst the *Galls*, to whom he durst not give place to think upon it. He resolved to fall upon them even in their Camp, which when he communicated to the Legates and *Questors*, a very fortunate accident hapned. For the next morning the chieftest of them came to excuse their late practice, and to de-

Sec. 6.

(1) *idem* *Xi-*
lulus ad Quin-
tan fratrem
ad Africanum
Dis lib. 39.
Plutarch
lib. 8. cap. 1.
Exempl. 3.
Cicero
lib. 1. 4.

Caesar de bello
Gallico lib. 9.

Whereby one
Head of the
Tricipitina is
cut off.

The *Germans*
pass the *Rhine*.

Sect. 3. fire a further Truce. He detained them in hold, and marched with his Army in a triple Battle (the Horse behind the Foot, because lately discouraged) to the Camp of the *Germans*. At first the Soldiers found some resistance, but upon the screaming of the Women and Children, who running away, were pursued; the Men also took themselves to their heels, and such as had escaped the Fight, coming to the confluence of the *Mosel*, and the *Rhine*, what through fear, weariness, and the force of the water, were all drowned. In the Conflict the *Romans* lost not a Man, yet the number of the Enemy, with Women and Children, was four hundred and thirty thousand. He gave leave to them he had kept in hold to depart; but they fearing the cruelty of the *Galls*, for the mischief they had done them, desired they might continue with the *Romans*, which *Cæsar* granted.

And passed the *Rhine*.

52. The *German* Horse that was absent at the overthrow, fled into the Confines of the *Sicambri*, who refused to give them up, upon *Cæsar's* demand; saying, that if the *Romans* were forbidden *Gall*, why should the *Romans* challenge any Authority in their Territories? But *Cæsar* thought fit they should see that the *Romans* could pass the *Rhine* as well as they; especially being desired by the *Ubi*, who had alone accepted of his friendship, to send them aid against the *Suevi*. To pass the *Rhine* he resolved, but to do it by Boats, was neither safe, neither for his own honour, nor for the Majesty of the People of *Rome*; and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulty in so large, deep, and swift a River, yet he resolved to try to make a Bridge, which if it succeeded not, he determined not to pass over at all. But within ten days that the Timber began to be cut and carried, the Work was ended, and the Army transported; leaving then a strong Party at either end of the Bridge, he invaded the *Sicambri*, receiving in the mean time many Ambassadors, and requiring Hostages. The *Sicambri*, at the persuasion of the *Ubi* and *Tenchlers*, had forsaken their Country, and betaken themselves into Woods and Deserts. He waited their Territories, and marched to the *Ubi*, to whom he had promised aid against the *Suevi*. By them he understood that the *Suevi*, upon rumor of the Bridge, had sent all their Wealth, with their Wives and Children, into the Woods, and resolved, that all that were able to bear Arms should make Head, and give Battle to the *Romans* in the middle of their Country. But *Cæsar* having terrified the *Germans*, been revenged upon the *Sicambri*, and let, as he saith, the *Ubi* at liberty, (the things he designed) and spent eighteen days beyond the *Rhine*, having done enough for his own Honour, and the good of the Common-wealth, returned into *Gall*, and brake up the Bridge.

53. Before this he had understood, that in most part of the former Wars the *Galls* had received their Supply out of *Britain*. Though the Summer was so far spent, that it would not suffer him to finish a War, yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he came only to view the Island, to understand the quality of the Inhabitants, and to know their Coast, their Ports and Landing places. Hereof the *Galls* were altogether ignorant; for seldom any but Merchants did travel to them. Neither had they discovered any thing but the Sea-Coast, and those Regions which were opposite to *Gall*. Calling Merchants together from all Quarters, he neither could understand of what quantity the Island was; what Nations, or of what power they were that inhabited it; what use or experience of War they had; what Laws or Customs they used; nor what Haven they had to receive a Navy of the greater Ships.

Britain.

The name whence derived.

55. *Britain*, or *Britany*, which also is *Allion*, being in Greek ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΚΗ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑΣ, ΑΒΡΙΟΝ, and ΑΒΡΙΟΝ, was by the *Romans* called *Britannia* and *Romania*. It is most probable, saith *Cambden*, that the Inhabitants were called *Britains* from their painted Bodies, for whatsoever is thus painted and coloured, in their ancient Country speech they call *Brith*, having been of old much given to paint themselves, as many Writers do testify. Now the Ancient *Greeks*, who failed by the Coasts, understanding that the Nation was called *Brith*, might unto it add *Tania*, (which word in Greek, as the *Glossaries* shew, betokeneth a Region) and thereof make the compound name *Βρετανία*, that is *Britannia-Land*, which is corrupted into *Βρετανία*, but by *Lucretius* and *Cæsar* the two first *Romans* that make mention thereof is truly called *Britannia*. In confirmation of this opinion *Cambden* observeth, that in the names of well-nigh all the ancient *Britains*, there appeareth some signification of a colour, which no doubt (he saith) arose from this kind of painting. The Red colour is of the *Britains* called *Coch* and *Goch*, which in his judgement lieth couched in their names, *Cogidunus*, *Argentocoxus*, and *Segonax*. The Black colour called *Dni*, sheweth itself in *Mandubratius*, *Carimandua*, *Togodunnus*, *Bunducia*,

Cambden's Arguments that *Britannia* was but known lately.

The contrary asserted.

Bunducia, *Cogidunus*. The White colour called *Gwin*, in *Veantius* and *Immannentius*. The *Waterish* called *Gwelth* in *Fellocatus*, *Caracilus* and *Suella*. The *Blow*, which they call *Glas* in *Cuniglasus*, and he proceedeth further. But this Learned Man coming to speak of the time wherein *Britain* came to be known abroad, denieth that the *Britains* were with *Hercules* at the rape of *Hesperia*; that *Ulysses* was ever in *Britain*; that the *Britains* befowed upon *Prefians* upon *Cato's* that King *Alexander* the Great, or *Hannibal*, was ever in the Island; he doubteth whether ever the Ship of *Hera*, mentioned by *Abenacus*, came thither; yet thinketh that the *Britains* were mingled with the *Cimbri* and *Galls*, in their Expeditions into *Italy* and *Greece*.

56. But as the *Romans*, *Galls*, and *Spaniards*, were unknown to *Herodotus*, and the ancient Greek Geographers, so of this mind he ever was, that it was late ere the *Greeks* and *Romans* heard of the *Britains* name. For he judgeth that little Book of the World, which goeth abroad under the name of *Aristotle*, and maketh mention of the *Britains*, of *Albion* and *Hierne*, to be of latter days by far than that *Philosopher*, as the best learned Men (saith he) have judged. He accounteth *Polymus* the ancientest Greek Writer that mentioneth the *British* Isles; who yet knew nothing of them: then doth he, in reference to other Nations, count it but a fable that *Himilco* the *Carthaginian*, being commanded by his Superiours to discover the Western Sea-Coasts of *Europe*, entered into this Isle many years before that time. And the first Latin Author to his knowledge that made mention of *Britain* was *Lucretius*, in his Verses concerning the difference of Air. Now that *Lucretius* lived but a little before *Cæsar* no man denieth: at what time we are taught out of *Cæsar* himself, that *Droitianus* King of the *Soissons*, and the most mighty Prince of all *Gall*, Governed *Britain*, which, as also appeareth from *Cæsar*, is only to be understood of the Maritime Coasts. Howbeit, *Diodorus Siculus* writeth, that *Britain* had experience of no Foreigners rule; for neither *Dionysius*, (or *Bacchus*) nor *Hercules*, nor any other worthy, or Demi-god have we heard (saith he) to have attempted War upon that People. Now *Cæsar*, who for his noble Acts is called *Divus*, was the first that subdued the *Britains*, and forced them to pay a certain Tribute. From his time (saith *Cambden*) and no further off must the Writer of our History fetch the beginning of his Work, if he thoroughly weigh with judgement what the learned *Varro* hath in time past written, (viz. of the three distinctions of times which we have formerly mentioned, Uncertain before the Flood, Fabulous before the *Olympiads*, and Historical since the beginning of them) and my self already heretofore signified. This most learned Man mentions this division of *Varro*, because that the *British* History of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* taketh its beginning three hundred and thirty three years before the first *Olympiad*. This History we must absolutely disclaim as utterly fabulous in reference to King *Brutus*, and other fictions depending on his Story. But whether or no *Britain* was not known abroad till so late time as our *Antiquary* judgeth, must be examined for the honour of our Country, saving ever that respect which is due (and that justly) unto his name, and will not be at all diminished, seeing the contest is betwixt him also, and *Bochartus* himself.

57. The controversy is decided clearly against *Cambden*, if two things can be made out. 1. That the *Cassiterides* or *Island* of *Tinne* were known very anciently, and 2. That the *Cassiterides* were no other than the *British* Isles. The first is proved from the Testimony of many, that the *Phœnicians* were wont to trade to the *Cassiterides*, and thence to fetch plenty of *Tinne*. *Strabo* affirmeth it, and that they first traded thither alone from *Gades*, hiding from others this course of Traffick, in so much that a certain *Phœnician* Sailor being chased by a *Roman* Vessel, chose rather to run his Ship aground, and suffer Shipwreck, to cause his pursuers to miscarry, than to reveal the matter, for which fidelity, having escaped himself, he had his loss made up out of the publick Treasury at his return to *Carthage*. *Pliny* also writeth, (b) in the Chapter of the first Inventors, That *Midacritus* first carried Lead from the *Island* *Cassiteris*. For *Midacritus* is to be read *Melcarthus*, or *Melcartus*, the *Phœnician* *Hercules*, according to *Sanchoniathon*, whom the *Phœnicians* make Author of the Western Voyages. (c) *Herodotus* acknowledgeth he knew not where the *Cassiterides* were; but that there were some then he acknowledgeth also, whence *Tinne* came to them the *Greeks*, and from him it appeareth, that they were situate in the utmost limits of *Europe*. The *Phœnicians* being unwilling that any should know them but themselves, the *Greeks* bought *Tin* and *Lead*, either of them, or the *Veneti*, or *Narbonensis*, to whom it was wont to be carried by Land in a journey of thirty days, as *Diodorus* telleth us. (d) *Dionysius Periegetes* mentioned them under the name of *Hesperides*, and so doth *Plinius*. (e) *Plinius* Periegetes mentioned them under the name of *Hesperides*, and so doth *Plinius*. (f) *Plinius* Periegetes mentioned them under the name of *Hesperides*, and so doth *Plinius*. 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(gy) *Plinius* Periegetes mentioned them under the name of *Hesperides*, and so doth *Plinius*. (gz) *Plinius* Perie

Señt. 6. *Festus Anienus* speaketh of them under the name of *Oestrymides*, expressly of the sailing of the *Phenicians* to them, and that *Hamilco*, who was sent from the Senate of *Carthage* to discover the West, came thither, as he himself recorded, whom *Festus* professed to follow in the description of the West, having made his Collections out of the depth of the *Punic Annals*. These things considered, prove sufficiently, that the *Cassiterides* were known in very ancient times.

58. For the second, that the *British Isles* are those *Cassiterides* or *Stannaries*, there needs no proof, *Cambden* himself confessing, nay proving by many Arguments, that the *Islands of Silly* lying off from the Promontory of *Cornwal* eight Leagues, and in number one hundred and forty five, are the very same that from the plenty of Tin were called *Cassiterides*, from their five *Hesperides*, and *Oestrymides*, from *Oestrym* the Promontory of the *Artabri*, now *Gallitia in Spain*, over against which they lie. Now for the consequence of the thing, can any imagine that these Islands should be so long known, and not *Britain* itself to which they lie so close, and from which they are deservedly called *British Isles*? And what reason is there to think, (as *Cambden* doth) that such dream as believe that *Hamilco* came hither? It's a wonder he should say, that there's nothing for it but a Verse or two of *Festus Anienus*; when *Festus* saith, that he read the story of the whole Navigation, described by *Hamilco* himself in the *Punic Annals*. *Cambden* himself contendeth, that from the *Cassiterides* was *Lead* first of all carried into Greece, whence it followeth, that they were known before the time of *Homer*, who maketh mention of the Metal. As for what he urgeth concerning *Polybius*, that he was utterly ignorant of these Parts, if it were granted that he was, yet the *Phenicians*, who in the *Herakic* times sent out Colonies into the Ocean beyond *Gades*, knew these Coasts sufficiently. But *Cambden* mistook the Historian, as may appear from all that passage read together, which only importeth, that as it was not known whether Asia and Africa on the South side were terminated by the Sea, so neither whether the Sea flowed about the Northern parts of Europe that lie above *Narbon*; which truly at this day we know not certainly, though in so much light. That this interpretation is to be made, and that *Polybius* did not mean, that in his age whatever lay above *Narbon* was unknown, and that they dreamed who spoke or wrote any thing of it, hence appeareth. For he himself accurately described the Fountains of *Rhodanus*, with *Corbion* upon *Ligeris*, and many other places of *Gaul* above *Narbon*. And in his third Book he promitteth he would write of what lay beyond the Sea, and what was there remarkable, nay, (which is especially to be noted) of the *British Isles*, and making of *Tin*. That he performed his promise in the Books that are lost, appeareth from **Strabo*, who telleth us, That *Polybius* describing the Regions of Europe, said, he would let pass the Ancients, and inquire into such as reprehended them, as *Dicæarchus*, and *Eratosthenes*, who list of all had handled Geography, and *Pytheas* who had imposed upon many. For, he (*Pytheas*) said, he had not viewed all the Soil of *Britain*; but the Island was above forty thousand (Stadia or Furlongs I suppose) in compass.

59. From this place it appeareth, that several whom *Polybius* calleth *seu ætæales* or Ancients, wrote of these Parts, before either *Dicæarchus* or *Eratosthenes*, *Pytheas*, or himself. Now *Eratosthenes*, who, as he saith, was the last that handled Geography, *Strabo* writeth to have been born in the 126 Olympiad, which was celebrated in the thirty seventh year of the *Selucidæ*, the seventh of *Antiochus Soter*, the ninth of *Pholony Philadelphus*, and the 478 year of the City, when *Q. Fabius Gurges* and *C. Genucius Clepsina* were Consuls, *Pyrrius* then warring in *Sicily*, two hundred and seventy four years before the birth of *Christ*. But *Dicæarchus* boasteth in *Ateneus*, that he had *Aristotle* for his Master; and then *Pytheas*, who was cited by both, must needs have preceded them. Yet these Writers were but of late in comparison of *Orpheus* the most ancient Poet, one of the *Argonautæ*, by whom *Cambden* himself affirmeth *Britain* to have been described. Although in truth *Orpheus* was not Author of those Poems fathered on him, but *Onomacritus* an *Athenian* Poet, who lived under the *Pisistratide*, as both (a) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and (b) *Tatianus* inform us yet two advantages we have hereby. For first, *Cambden* is inconstant, denying that *Britain* was known to the ancient *Greeks*; and secondly, this Island must have been known then long before the former Geographers; for the *Pisistratide* were banished *Athens* in the third year of the sixty seventh Olympiad, the twelfth of *Darius Hystaspis*, the 244 of the City, (at the same time that *Tarquinus* was banished) five hundred and eight years before the birth of *Christ*, though they write that he flourished in the fiftieth Olympiad, in the first year whereof *Pisistratus* indeed got the Sovereignty over the City. These things sufficiently prove, that *Britain* was known of old

old to several Nations, though we mentioned not what *Bochartus* probably conjectureth concerning the Etymology of the name. The *Phenicians* trading hither for Lead or Tin, might justly call it *Barat-Anac*, that is, The Land of Lead or Tin, as the *Greeks Cassiteris*; and this might easily be changed into *Bretanica*. *Anac* signifieth both Lead and Tin, no places in the World are so fruitful of either as the *British Isles*. And it may seem no wonder that the Word should be so altered, seeing that from *Phœnice* are derived *Pænicus*, *Punicus*, *Punicus*, and *Pænnis*. He also giveth other marks of the *Phenicians* their planting in those Islands, in the thirty ninth Chapter of the first Book of that excellent Work entituled *Canaan*, concerning the Colonies and Language of that People, to which we refer the Industrious in Antiquity, having thus far in some sort seemed to vindicate the honour of our Country. Now to return to the course of our History.

60. *Cæsar* sent out *C. Volufenus* with a Gally to discover what he could concerning the quality of the Island, and its Inhabitants, with order speedily to return, and get all his Ships together on the Coast of the *Morini*; in the mean time his resolution being known, many private States of the Isle sent and submitted themselves, offering to give Hostages, and he returned back the Messengers with good words. *Ere Volufenus* returned, who durst not go aboard, the *Morini* submitted, and being unwilling to have an Enemy at his back, he received them and their Hostages. Eighty Ships of Burthen he thought sufficient to transport two Legions. He divided the Gallies to the *Questor*, the Legates and Commanders of the Horse, appointing other eighteen Ships of Burthen which lay wind-bound at another Port for the Horsemen. In the third Watch he put to Sea, commanding his Horse to follow, which was but slowly performed. About the fourth hour of the day he arrived upon the Coast, where he found all the Cliffs possessed by the Forces of the Enemy. The Place where he arrived was such, that the Hills lay so steep over the Sea, that a Weapon might easily be cast from the higher ground; and therefore he thought it not fit to land, but cast Anchor till the rest of the Navy were come up. Then after a Council called of the Legates and Tribunes, wherein he required a quick obedience to Orders, he removed eight Miles further unto a plain and open Shoar.

61. The *Britains* sent their Horse and Chariots (which they commonly used in War) before, and followed with the rest of their Forces. *Cæsar* found that his Men did not use the same courage as formerly in landing, for the Ships were so great, that they could not be brought near the Shoar, and the Soldiers were forced to wade deep with their heavy Armour, in places unknown; whereas the *Britains* well knowing where they were, managed their matters with great advantage. He caused the Gallies to be rowed toward the Shore, with which the *Britains* unacquainted, and thence offended with Slings, Engines and Arrows, began to giveback. But still the Soldiers lingering, by reason of the depth of the Sea, the Ensign-bearer of the tenth Legion desiring the Gods that it might fall out happily to the Legion, told the Soldiers, That if they would forsake their Eagle, and betray it to the Enemy, for his own part he would do his duty both to the Common-wealth, and to his General. Therewith he cast himself into the Sea, and carried the Eagle towards the Enemy, at which fight the *Romans* exhorting one another not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, all leaped out of the Ship, and were followed by others near at hand with great alacrity. The Fight on both sides was very eager, the *Romans* struggling with great disadvantages, and keeping with the Ensign they first met. The *Britains* over-powered them, till *Cæsar* caused the Ship-boats and smaller Vessels to be manned with Soldiers, and where he saw need, sent them in to the rescue. Having got footing on Land, his Men made Head together, charged the Enemy, and put them to flight. But the Horsemen were not able to pursue, nor take the Island; which thing (he saith himself) was only wanting to *Cæsar's* wonted Fortune.

62. But the *Britains* being overthrown in this Engagement, sent and surrendered themselves, gave some Hostages, and promised that others should be delivered, excusing themselves by ignorance for what was done amiss, and casting the blame upon the Multitude. Their People they commanded to return to their Quarters, but the Governours and Princes came out of all Parts, and commended themselves and their States to *Cæsar*. Peace was hereby concluded, and four days after that he was come into *Britain*, the eighteen Ships appointed for the Horsemen put out to Sea with a gentle Wind, but were so distressed with a Tempest, that when they were within view of the *Roman* Camp, some were forced to return to the Port from whence they came, others were driven to the Westward, and there casting Anchor, took in so much water, that they were forced to direct their course back again to the Coast of *Gall*.

F ffff 2

Morc-

His Argu-
ments refused.(a) Strabo lib. 1.
(b) Tatian. p. 106.
173. Phil. 124.
Clem. Alex. p. 106.
124. de Trinit.
p. 134.Cæsar inva-
deth Brittain.

Señt. 6.

Sect. 6. Moreover the Fleet that *Cæsar* brought over with him, as well Gallies as Ships of burthen, were miserably distressed by the Tide, of which the *Romans* were ignorant; many were split and rent in pieces, and the rest lost both Anchors, Cables, and other Tackling, and became altogether unserviceable. Hereat the whole Army was exceedingly troubled, there being no Shipping to carry them back, nor Provisions to sustain them; for here in the Island they could not continue. And the *British* Princes knowing this; besides, that they wanted Horse, and considering the smallness of their Camp, (for *Cæsar* had transported his Forces without such necessary Carriages as they used to take with them) they resolved to intercept their Provisions, keep them in till Winter, and so starve them; concluding, that if they were cut off, no Man would ever after adventure to bring an Army into the Island.

The manner
how the Brit-
tains fought
from their
Chariots.

63. *Cæsar* grieved that the event of the losing of his Shipping would be such, especially when he saw that they brought not their Horses; therefore he fetched in Corn out of the Fields, and so repaired his Ships, that he lost but twelve of the number, the rest being made able to abide the Sea. But the seventh Legion being sent out for Corn, were set upon by the *Britains*, and overpowered; which *Cæsar* suspecting from a greater dust than was usually discovered in that Quarter, hastened thither, and found his Men incompanied with their Horsesmen and their Chariots. Their manner of fighting in Chariots was to ride up and down, and cast their Weapons as they saw advantage, and with the terror of their Horses, and the rattling of their Wheels, to disorder the Ranks; and when they brought themselves within any Troops of Horse, they forsook their Chariots, and fought on foot; in the mean time the Drivers would go a little aside, and so place them, that upon occasion they might have an easie passage, and help their Malvers. In all Fights they performed both the nimble motion of Horsemen, and the firm stability of Footmen, being so ready with daily practice, that they could stop in the declivity of a steep Hill, turn short, or moderate their going as they pleased, and run along the Beam, and rest upon the Yoke or Harness of their Horses, and return as speedily again when they thought fit.

64. *Cæsar* came in to the rescue in very good time; upon which the Enemy stood still, and his Men received courage; but having staid some time in the place, he thought not fit to provoke the Enemy, or give him Battel, and so drew off back again to his Camp. After this, by tempestuous weather, the *Romans* were kept in their Camp, and all Action prevented. But in the mean while the *Britains* encouraged one another from the smallness of the *Roman* Forces, and resolved to attacke their Camp. *Cæsar* gave them battle before the Camp, and easily defeated them, of whom great slaughter was made, though he had with him but forty Horse; and their Towns were burnt far and near. The same day they sent to treat, and *Cæsar* required double Hostages to be brought over to him into *Gall*. For the Equinoctial being at hand, he thought it not safe to put to Sea in Winter, and therefore a little after midnight he set sail, and brought all his Ships safe to the Continent, only two of Burthen, not able to reach the same Harbour, put in somewhat lower in the Land; and when the three hundred Soldiers that were in them went on shoar, they were set upon by the *Morini*, but relieved at length by a Party of Horse which *Cæsar* sent. The next day he sent *T. Labienus* against these revolted *Morini*, who having not whither now to escape, their Fens and Boggs being dried up, fell under the power of his mercy. *Q. Titurius* and *A. Cotta*, two other Legates also, after they had wasted the Territories of the *Menapii*, who were retired into thick Woods, returned to *Cæsar*. He placed the wintering Camp amongst the *Belge*, to which two only of the States of *Britain* sent Hostages, the other neglecting. These things being related by *Cæsar's* Letters, the Senate decreed a Supplication for thirty days. Now the Ceremony of Supplication was this. After the Magistrate had publicly proclaimed that the General had happily and successfully administered the Affairs of the Common-wealth, the *Roman* People clothed in white, and crowned with Garlands, went to all the Temples of their Gods, and there Sacrificed, to gratulate the Victory in his Name; and in this time they were forbidden all other business but what appertained to this Solemnity. At first it lasted but one or two days, then came to four, five, ten, afterward to fifteen in honour of *Cæsar*, and for his further Honour was now increased to the number of twenty.

65. *Cæsar* going into Italy from his Winter Quarters, as every year he was wont to do, when *L. Domitius* and *Appius Claudius* were Consuls, gave order to his Legates to build as many Ships as they possibly could, and repair the old; and the new ones he would have lower and flatter for lading and unlading, and transporting Horse, and all of them made for the use of Oars. From *Gall* within the *Alpi* he passed to *Illyricum*,

*Cæsar de bello
Gallico lib. 5.*

Illyricum, where the *Piræte* infested the Province, whom having terrified into a compliance, and received Hostages, he deputed certain Persons to compound differences, and punish the guilty, and so he returned the same way he came to his Army into *Gall*. After his Arrival he went to the *Treviri*, whom he suspected of a design to revolt, because they came not to the Assembly of Estates, and for other reasons. Amongst them *Indutiomarus* and *Cingetorix* contended for Superiority, of whom the latter presently came over to *Cæsar*; but the former resolving upon War, secured all persons unable to bear Arms in the Wood *Arduenna*, which being very large, began at the *Rhine*, and ran through the *Treviri* to the Borders of the People of *Rheims*: But finding all the chief to fall off, left he should be left alone, he also submitted. *Cæsar* resolving upon another Expedition into *Britain*, accepted of two hundred Hostages, and reconciled the chief of the *Treviri* to the Borders of *Cingetorix*, whom he found to be for his Interest; which so vexed *Indutiomarus*, that of no friend he became to the *Romans* a bitter Enemy. Having settled matters there, he came back with the Legions to the Port *Itius*, (now of *Calis*) where finding things in good readines, and Horse to the number of four thousand, he resolved to take over with him some of the *Galls* from among the chief Men of every City that were come to him. And he pitched in particular upon *Dumnorix* the *Eduan*, knowing him to be a Man desirous of change, greedy of Rule, of courage and resolution, and one of greatest Authority. He was very unwilling to go, and when Intreaties could not prevail for his stay, he endeavoured to make a disturbance, and when that would not do, he fled; but by *Cæsar's* order was killed resisting, by those that were sent to pursue him.

The second
Expedition
into Britain.

66. *Cæsar* having left *Labienus* in the Continent with three Legions, and two thousand Horse, to secure the *Roman* Interest, with five Legions, and as many Horse as he left behind him, embarked in a Navy of in all above eight hundred Vessels, and put out about Sun-setting with a soft South-wind. The Wind continued till mid-night, and then he was becalmed; but was carried with the Tide till morning, when he perceived the Island to lie on his right hand. By rowing as the Tide changed, he endeavoured to reach that place where he formerly landed, and this he did by the great industry of the Soldiers, who by Oars made the great Ships of Burthen to keep way with the *Gallies*. Arriving at high Noon, he found the *Britains* had been on the Coast, but upon sight of so huge a number of Ships, they retired, and hid themselves in the Woods. Having fortified his Camp, and left a Guard for his Ships, in the third Watch of the night, he marched towards them, and found them at twelve Miles distance, where at a River they made some opposition, but were beaten back and retired into a Wood. The Place was strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and seemed to be made for a defence in their Civil Wars. For all the Entrances were closed with great Trees laid overthwart the Passages. They endeavoured to hinder the *Romans* from entering the Fortification. But the Soldiers of the seventh Legion with a Testudo and a Mount took it, and drove them out of the Woods without any loss; but being ignorant of the Place, he would not suffer them to pursue, resolving to employ the remaining part of the day in the further fortifying of his Camp.

67. The next day early he sent out his Forces in three Companies to seek them out, but received news in a short time from *Q. Arivus*, with whom he had left ten Cohorts and the charge of the Shipping, that the whole Navy by an hideous Tempest was either fore beaten or cast on Shore. *Cæsar* called back the Legions, and found that forty Ships were lost, and the rest not to be repaired but with great industry and pains. He chose Carpenters and Shipwrights out of the Legions, caused others to be sent for out of *Gall*, and wrote to *Labienus* to provide what Shipping he could. And how laborious soever it was, he thought fit to take up all the Ships on Shore, and bring them within the Fortification of his Camp; in which work, and fortifying the Camp, were spent ten days without intermission either of day or night; and returning to the Place whence he came, he found the *Britains* in great numbers assembled, and the management of the War conferred on *Cassivellaunus*, whose Kingdom was divided from the Maritime States, by the River *Thames*, beginning at the Sea, and extending it self for fourscore Miles into the Island. He had made continual War with his neighbour States; but, upon coming of the *Romans*, they all forgot their homebred quarrels, and cast their whole Government upon him, as the fittest to direct in the War.

68. Now, the inner part of *Britain* was inhabited by such as were reported to be born in the Island, and the Maritime Coasts by such as came out of *Belgia*, either to make Incursions or Invasions; and after the War was ended, they continued in the Possessions

Sect. 6.

*Britains, by
whom inhabi-
ted.*

Señ. 6. Possessions they had gained, and were called by the Names of the Cities from whence they came. The Country was very Populous, and well inhabited with Houses, much like unto them in *Gall*. They had great store of Cattel, and used Brags for Money, or Iron Rings weighed at a certain rate. In the Mediterranean Parts was found great quantity of Tin; and in the Maritime Parts Iron, but they had but little of that: their Brags was brought in by other Nations. They had all sorts of Trees, as in *Gall*, except the *Fig* and *Beech*. Their Religion would not suffer them to eat either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding they had of all sorts, as well for novelty as variety. The Country, faith he, is more temperate, and not so cold as *Gall*. The Island lieth Triangular, whereof one side confronteth *Gall*, of which side that Angle wherein *Cantium* (or *Kent*) lies, is the usual Place of landing from it, and pointeth to the East, and the other Angle to the South. This containeth about fifty Miles. Another side lieth toward *Spain*, and the West, the same way that *Hibernia*, (or *Ireland*) being an Island half as big as *Britain*, and as far distant from it as *Gall*. In the mid way, betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*, lieth *Mona*, (now *Anglesey*) and many other Isles; of which some write, that in Winter time, for thirty dayes together, they have continual night, whereof we learned nothing by enquiry; only we found by certain measures of Water, that the Nights in *Britain* were shorter than in the Continent. The length of this side, according to the opinion of the Inhabitants, containeth seven hundred Miles. The third side lieth to the North, and the open Sea, faving that this Angle doth something point towards *Germany*. This is thought to contain eight hundred Miles; and so the whole Island in circuit two thousand. Of all the Inhabitants, they of *Cantium* are most courteous and civil, all their Country bordering upon the Sea, and little differing from the fashion of *Gall*. Most of the In-land People fow no Corn, but live upon Milk and Fleth, clothed with Skins, and having their Faces painted with a blew colour, that they may seem more terrible in fight: They have the hair of their Heads long, and all the parts of their Body shaven except their upper Lip. Their Wives are common to ten or twelve, especially Brethren with Brethren, and Parents with Children; but the Children that are born, are put to them unto whom the Mother was first given in Marriage.

69. The *British* Cavalry and Chariots gave a sharp opposition to the *Roman* Horse in their march; but, *Cæsar* tells you, so as the *Romans* got the better every way, driving them with great slaughter to the Woods and Hills, and being too venturesome in the Pursuit, they lost certain of their own Men. After some intermission of time, when the *Romans* little thought of them, and were busied in fortifying their Camp, the *Britains*, from out of the Woods, suddenly charged upon such as kept Watch before it. *Cæsar* sent out two of the chiefeft Cohorts of two Legions to assist their fellows. However he confesseth, that *Q. Laberius Purnus*, a Tribune, was slain; and the *Britains* were repelled with more Cohorts which he sent to relieve the former; and he adds, that the Soldiers upon the Watch first set upon, and terrified with a strange kind of Fight, while the Cohorts sent to their relief fought with a Lane or Alley betwixt them, brake through, and came to their fellows. He owns farther, that the Fight happening in the view of all the Camp, it was plainly perceived, that the Legionary Soldiers, neither able for the weight of their Armour to pursue the Enemy, nor yet daring to go far from their several Ensigns, was not a fit Adversary to contest this sort of Enemy; and that the Horse likewise fought with no less peril, in as much as the Enemy would retire back of purpose, and when they had drawn them a little from the Legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and encounter them with that advantage which is betwixt a Foot-man and an Horse-man. Besides, they never fought thick and close together, but thin, and at great distances, having stations of Men to succour one another, to receive the weary, and to send out fresh Supplies.

70. The next day they made a stand upon the Hills afar off, and shewed themselves not so often, neither were they so busie with the *Roman* Horse as the day before. But about noon *Cæsar* sent out three Legions, and all his Horse to forage, and they made a sudden assault upon the Foragers, and fell in close with the Ensigns and the Legions. The *Romans* charged so fiercely, that they beat them back, and the Horse encouraged by having the Legions behind them, put them to flight, and did great execution, giving them no respite to make Head, or forsake their Chariots. After this overthrow all their Auxiliaries forsook them; neither did they afterward contend with the *Romans*, with any great power. But *Cæsar* knowing their design, led his Army to the River *Thamesis*, and the Confines of *Cassivellaun*, which River was passible by foot but in one place, and that very hardly. At his arrival he found

a great

a great power imbatteled on the other side, and the Bank fortified with many sharp Stakes, and many other were also stuck under the water. These things being discovered by the Captives and Fugitives, *Cæsar* put his Horse before, and caused the Legions to follow presently after; and notwithstanding they had but their heads above water, the Soldiers proceeded with that violence, that the Enemy was not able to sustain the Charge, but left the Bank, and betook themselves to flight. *Cassivellaun* having no courage to contend any further, dismissed most of his Forces, and retaining only four thousand Chariots, observed the motions of the *Romans*, keeping the Woods whither he had driven the People and Cattel out of the Fields; and as their Horse made any Salles for Forage or Booty, he sent his Chariots out upon them, and put them to great peril, in so much that the Horse durst never venture further than the Legions; neither was there any more spoil made in the Country, than what the Legionary Soldiers made themselves.

71. In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, being almost the greatest State in the Country, sent to *Cæsar* their Ambassadors, to offer submission, and that *Mandubratius* might be sent to reign amongst them, and be protected from *Cassivellaun*; for, his Father *Immaginatus* holding that Kingdom, had been slain by *Cassivellaun*, and he had fled to *Cæsar* into *Gall*. *Cæsar* requiring forty Hostages from them, and Corn for his Army, sent *Mandubratius* to them. After this the *Centimagi* seeing how the *Trinobantes* were delivered from all violence, as also the *Seguntiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroc*, and *Cassi*, yielded themselves. From them he understood that the Town of *Cassivellaun* was not far off; that it was fortified with Woods and Bogs, and well stored with Men and Cattle. Now the *Britains* call, faith he, a Town, some thick Wood inclosed about with a Ditch and Rampire, made for a place of Retreat, when they stand in fear of incursions from the Borderers. *Cæsar* marched and found it well fortified both by Art and Nature. He assaulted it at two several places, and the Enemy unable to keep it, withdrew himself by a back way, and so he took it; therein he found great store of Cattle, and slew many of the *Britains*.

73. In the mean time *Cassivellaun* sent into *Kent*, wherein were four several Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvolius*, *Tacimaglus*, and *Segonax*; then he commanded, with all the power they could make, to set upon the Camp wherethe *Roman* Navy was drawn up. The Kings obeyed his Order, but by a Sally made out from upon them, were overthrowen, many of their Men slain, and *Legatorix* a great Commander taken Prisoner. The ill success of this Attempt concurring with the former losses, and especially the revolt of the fore-named States, moved *Cassivellaun* to desire peace. *Cæsar* was resolved to winter in the Continent for fear of Commotions in *Gall*; and considered that the Summer was far spent, and might easily be lingred out. He therefore appointed what Hostages he would have, and what yearly Tribute the *Britains* should pay to the *Romans*; and gave a strict charge to *Cassivellaun* to do no injury to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*. Having received the Hostages, he found his Ships repaired, and at twice transported his Army over into *Gall*, which he was constrained to do, because of the number of his Prisoners, and that some Vessels were cast away.

73. This is the account which *Cæsar* himself gives us of his two Expeditions into this Island, of the behaviour of the *Britains*, and the success. We have no relation of the *Britains* themselves to compare with it, who probably would have told us several passages; which either he did not observe, or wittingly omitted. As to the main of the Affair, other Writers have agreed, that he rather affrighted the Inhabitants, than performed any great matter. *Tacitus* faith, he rather shewed than delivered *Britania* to the *Romans*. *Eutropius* writes, That in his first Expedition he was wearied with bitter fights, and seized with an adverse Tempest; but *Lucan* (indeed no great friend to the Family of the *Cæsars*) sings how he ran away in a fright from the *Britains*, whom he had fought out. To speak indifferently, his Narration of this *British* War is something odd and different from other parts of his History, in the boldness of Style, and vigour of Spirit, wherein he excelled. In relating the skirmishes that hapned in the march of the *Romans*, he makes rather excuses why his Men did no better, than any thing else. He acknowledgeth, that the Legionary Soldiers, by reason of their heavy Armour, and because they durst not go from their several Ensigns, were not a fit Adversary to contest this kind of Enemy. And yet he also acknowledges, that his Horse fought with no less danger, by reason of the advantage the *Britains* received from the nimble management of their Chariots, and their manner of fighting and succouring one another. He confesseth that his Horse was put to great peril, and for that *Cassivellaun* sent his Chariots by unknown ways, and surprized them, they durst never adventure further than the Legions, neither was there

Cæsar encounters with the Britains.

The success of Cæsar's expedition.

Terrible questis ostendit terga Britannia

Sect. 6. there any more spoil made in the Country than what the Legionary Soldiers made themselves.

74. It's to be feared, that had not the Revolt of the *Trinobantes*, and other States happened, *Cæsar* would have been put more to his invention to excuse his want of success, and by reason of the temptation accompanying such as write Commentaries of their own Acts, to make fairer glosses and flourishes than possibly the severity of truth might require. However, wanting direct matter to oppose him, we shall not undertake the business. *Suetonius* tells us the report went, that he came over into *Britain* to seek for Pearls, to which the relation made by *Pliny* doth bear some testimony, who writes, that being returned victorious out of the Island, he dedicated a Breast-plate made of *British* Pearls to *Venus Genetrix* in her Temple. The place where he landed is believed to have been *Deas*, where the Coast is flat, and easie of access, and some risings of ground are to be seen, which the Inhabitants call *Romef-worke*. He passed the River near *Oxelands* in *Surrey*, at a place called *Comay Stakes*, from the Stakes which *Beda* in his time said were still to be seen, as big as a Mans Thigh, and covered with Lead, sticking in the bottom of the River. The Town of *Caistor* is thought to have been *Verulam*, in the Hundred of *Caistor*, afterward a famous Municipium of the Romans. To conclude this matter concerning *Cæsar's* Expeditions into *Britain*, I know no Historical Relations Authentick, before those that he hath made; neither do I think, that we have any thing certain concerning *British* Affairs before his time, except what I have said concerning the *Castibrides*, and that *Droicius* King of the *Suessones* had Dominion here. As for them that will have a *Brute*, let them have a *Brute* if they will; but give leave to them that will have no *Brute*, to have no *Brute*; as he said concerning the May-pole. Now let us follow *Cæsar* into *Gall*.

Cæsar again in *Gall*.

75. Having held a Council of the *Galls* at *Samarobrina*, he found that by reason of the scarcity of Corn which had followed a drought, there was necessity of dispersing his Army into their Winter Quarters, than there had been the years before. To several Officers he gave several Legions to be placed in several Countries, yet all within an hundred Miles, except that where *E. Roscius* settled, in a quiet and peaceable part. This was, as the present Copies have it, amongst the *Esuvii*. But our Geographer *Momienus* tells us, that in *Cæsar's* Commentaries several forged People are put for true and genuine, by unskilful Transcribers or Interpreters; and he instanteth in this place, where he saith, That instead of *Esuvii* is to be read *Sesuvii*, the word being corrupted first, by transposing the two former Letters, and one put out of the middle. He tells us, That the *Auleri Diablintes*, or *Diablites*, being one, were divided into two private People, viz. the *Sesuvii*, (now those of the Territory of *Sees* in *Normandy*) who possessed the upper and Northern Parts, whose Metropolis was *Noviodunum*, now *Sees*; and the *Arovi*, inhabiting the lower and Southern, (now the People of the Territory of *Alanson*;) whose chief Seat was *Vagoritur* or *Alangon*. Now he gives a reason why *Cæsar* calls this Tract of their quiet and peaceable. Because in the bordering Nation of the *Carnutes* reigned *Talgetius*, a great lover of *Cæsar*, who contained the neighbouring Nations in the bounds of peace.

76. *Cæsar* indeed continues his Narration by telling us, that there was now among the *Carnutes* a Man of great Birth called *Talgetius*, whose Ancestors had born the chief Rule in their State. That this Man for his singular valour and good will towards him, (for he had done him very good service in all his Wars) he restored to the Dignity of his Fore-fathers. But before he had reigned three years, his Enemies, by a conspiracy of divers of his Citizens, killed him in the open Streets; which thing was complained of to *Cæsar*. He fearing, that in regard to many Men had an hand in the Murder, the City, at their instigation, might revolt, commanded *L. Plancius* immediately to march thither with his Legion from his Quarter in *Belgium*, and there to winter; with Orders to apprehend such as were Ring-leaders in the death of *Talgetius*, and send them to him. But fifteen days had scarcely passed, after the Legions were settled in their wintering Camps, but a Commotion happened; and *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, who wintered amongst the *Eburones*, were attacked by *Ambiorix* and *Catimolcus*, who commanded that People, at the instigation of *Inducioneus* of *Trier*, who owed *Cæsar* an ill turn, and now thought it a fit time to pay him. The Romans so well defended themselves, that they could not compass their ends, which when *Ambiorix* perceived, he betook himself to a fraudulent practice. Having desired that some might be sent to treat with him, he pretended he was constrained to do what he did by the People, the *Galls* having universally agreed to fall upon the Romans in their dispersed Quarters that day; he pretended great love and gratitude to *Cæsar*

Cambes is
Brit.

for great benefits received from him, and in way of return advised, that forthwith as there was a great number of Germans coming, they would remove from that Camp, and join themselves either to *Q. Cicero* or *Labiennus*, of whom the one was not past fifty miles off, and the other but a little farther. And he affirmed by Oath, that they should have safe passage through his Territories.

77. A Council of War met to consult what to do, where by the vehemence of *Titurius Salinius* it was carried that they should discamp; and all things were disposed in such sort, as to make the Soldiers believe they could not stay without danger, and that the danger might be augmented by being wearied with watching. As soon as it was light they began their march, in length, and with as much Baggage as they were able to carry; and some two miles off were way-laid by the *Galls*, who in the Woods had placed two Ambuscados. *Titurius* now ran about like a distracted man, and so fearfully and after such a manner did he dispose his Cohorts, as if all things had gone against them, as it happeneth for the most part to such as are forced to consult in the instant of Execution. *Cotta*, who had thought what would happen, and was against the Journey, did all things required, both from a General and a private Soldier, and it was proclaimed that the Romans should forsake their Baggage, and cast themselves into an Orb. This was not to be reproved; but the Enemy then conceived hope, out of apprehension that they were discouraged and possessed with fear. And though they made brisk sallies with good execution, yet the *Galls* by advice of *Ambiorix* gave way to them, purified them in their retreat, and then by their missile Weapons sorely distressed them as they stood in their Orb. Many being killed, and some excellent Soldiers wounded, *Titurius* the cause of all the mischief went over to *Ambiorix* his Friend, and intreated him to spare him and his Soldiers, and he gave him good words till he was incircled about and slain. The *Galls*, then crying out victory with a great noise, assaulted the Romans and routed their Troops. *Cotta* was slain, and most part of the Soldiers with him. The rest returned to their Camp, amongst whom *L. Petrofidius*, the Eagle-bearer, when he saw himself overcharged, cast his Eagle within the Rampire, and fighting with great courage within the Camp was killed. The rest with much ado induced the fight till Night, and then despairing of succour killed themselves. Some few escaped; and by unknown ways through the Woods got to *Labiennus*, and acquainted him how all things had fallen out.

78. *Ambiorix* puffed up with this success, using all speed imaginable, got to the *Aduatici* his Neighbours, and from the late success easily persuaded them, the *Nervii* and others, to pursue their good fortune, and to attack the Camp where *Cicero* wintered. Many Soldiers sent out upon Foraging, they cut off, and violently attacked the Camp, which the Romans as valiantly defended, and that for several days together, still making preparations by Night for the defence of the following Day. In one Night were built one hundred and twenty Towers. No rest was given to sick or wounded. Stakes hardened with fire were prepared, many mural Piles made, the Towers floored, and Pinacles and other devices framed, *Cicero* himself though ever sickly and of a weak Constitution, rested not by night till the Soldiers of their own accord by way of intreaty compelled him to spare himself. The *Nervii* seeing things not to succeed, indeavoured by fair words and the like Arguments to deceive *Cicero* as *Ambiorix* did *Sabinus*, but in vain. And when this would not do, they drew a Ditch and a Rampire round about the Camp, according as they had learnt by conversation with the Romans and from Fugitives. They had no Iron Tools for this purpose, but cut the Turf with their Swords, gathered Earth with their Hands, and carried it away in their Mantles; yet was the Rampire eleven foot high, and the Ditch fifteen foot deep, and the Fortification of fifteen Miles in circuit, finished in less than three hours, where-by may be gathered what multitudes of People there were at the siege. And they provided Towers, Hooks and strong Penthouses for safeguard, as the Captives instructed them.

79. The seventh day of the siege they cast hot balls of Clay out of Slings, and burning Darts upon the Cabbins of the Romans, which being thatched with Straw, after the manner of the *Galls*, took fire, and the day being windy, it was carried over all the Camp. Then did they with all their force with scaling Ladders, and such Engines as they had, attack them, but by the great valour of the Roman Soldiers who attended their Fortification, and never looked back at the burning of their Wealth, they were repulsed, and a Tower they had made was burning. The Centurions of the third Cohort drew back their men from the place,

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Sect. 6.

Titurius and
Cotta defended
and slain.

Cicero besieged
in his
Camp.

Sect. 6. and bid the Enemy enter if they thought good; but none durst adventure to make a trial. Here was remarkable the valour of two Centurions *Pulso* and *Varenus*, who were at perpetual contention amongst themselves who should be first preferred, coming on apace to the Dignity of the first Orders. *Pulso* issued out upon the Enemy, and drew the other after him, and they were both difficultly engaged, and each saved the others life, and came off upon such equal terms, that it could not be discerned who had got the greatest honour.

86. But the siege daily growing hotter, and many Messengers having been sent with Letters to *Cæsar*, but intercepted, and some of them tortured to death before the Camp, at length one of them being a *Gall*, of the Nation of the *Nervii*, by his Habit and Demeanour escaped their observation, and reached *Cæsar* with the Letters. He sent for several Legions that lay nearest in Quarters; but *Labienus* being in a manner already besieged by the *Treviri*, he could get but two; however with them he marched, using all celerity, and hired a *Gall* to convey a Letter to *Cicero* of his coming, which he did by tying it, according to his directions, and throwing it into the Camp. It happened to stick on a Turret, and there stuck for two days, but at length discovered and read, being in Greek Characters, it brought no small joy to the besieged, which was confirmed in them shortly by the sight of the fires. The Enemy upon discovery hereof raised the siege, and went toward *Cæsar*, of which *Cicero* gave him notice by his former Messenger. He perceiving himself much overmatched in numbers (he having but seven, and the *Galls* some fifty thousand men) fortified his Camp, and by counterfeiting fear, drew the Enemy over a Valley before his Camp, to a place very disadvantageous for them. They were confident of Victory; and made some brisk attempts; but he fellied out upon them from all Ports at once, easily put them to flight with great slaughter, and not thinking fit to pursue them into the Woods, went to the Camp of *Cicero*, whom he encouraged, together with his valiant Legion, and comforted them in the revenge of the loss lately sustained through the treachery of *Sabinus* the Legate. The report of *Cæsar's* victory put a stop to several Designs of the *Galls*, of attacking other Wintering Camps of the *Romans*; but upon the notice of the overthrow of *Sabinus*, great Combinations had been made, and Resolutions taken for prosecuting that Advantage; and now they were still promoted by *Inducimarus*, who bestirred himself all manner of ways against the *Roman* Interest. He caused a Council of Arms to be called, which according to the manner of the *Galls* was always the beginning of a War, being such as constrained all men of years, by the Common Law of the Land to assemble together prepared; and he that came last was in the fight of all the rest put to death with exquisite torture. His first attempt he told them should be to take the Camp of *Labienus* in the Marches of the *Treviri*, amongst the men of *Rheimes*. And accordingly he besieged him, who counterfeited fear the more easily to draw him on, but when he and his men insulted, he caused to issue out the Horse which he got in readiness, which with some Cohorts easily put the Braggadocio's to flight; and killed *Inducimarus* as they had it given in especial charge, before any other execution performed. His Head was brought into the Camp from the Foard of a River wherein he was surprized; which being known, the *Eburones* and *Nervii* departed home, and afterward *Cæsar* had *Gall* better settled and quiet.

87. But for all this he found reason to fear greater commotions, and therefore to let the *Galls* see what the *Romans* could do, he raised new Forces, and procured *Pompey* the Proconsul, so far as he continued at the City, about publick businesses, to recall to their Ensigns, and send to him such Soldiers as he had raised in *Gall* within the *Alps* when he was Consul. By this means, before Winter was ended, three Legions were enrolled, and brought unto him, whereby that number of Cohorts was doubled which was left with *Titus*. Though *Inducimarus* was dead, the *Treviri* gave the Government to his Kindred, and drew *Ambiorix* into their society. The *Nervii*, *Aduatrici*, *Menapii* and all the Germans beyond the *Rhine* were in Arms; the *Senones* being summoned came not, but were in Council with the *Carnutes* and other neighbouring States. *Cæsar* therefore thought it best to begin betimes and surprize them; and so he did the *Nervii*, whom suddenly invading he wasted their Country, took a great number of men and Cattel, and caused the People to come in and give Pledges; which business having speedily ended, he brought back the four Legions into their wintering Camps.

88. In the beginning of Spring he called a General Assembly of all the States in *Gall*, from which the *Senones*, *Carnutes* and *Treviri* only absented themselves, he took

took it for a Defection. That he might seem to set all other things apart, he transferred the Council to *Luettia*, a Town of the *Parisii*, who were Confines to the *Senones*, and in the memory of their Fathers had united their State unto them, but were held clear of this Confederacy. The same day he marched, and by great journeys came into the Territories of the *Senones*, who surprized with his sodain Arrival, fled for pardon, and obtained it by mediation of the *Ædui*; and the *Carnutes* obtained the like favour by means of the *Remi*, upon giving Hostages as the other had done. Now did *Cæsar* bend his endeavours to reduce the *Treviri* and *Ambiorix*. He understood that he had friendship with the *Menapii* (People of *Celdres* and *Cleve*) who being inclosed with Bogs and Woods, had never sent to *Cæsar* about any contract of Peace. Them he invaded, and by wasting the Country brought them to submit; and he accepted of their submission, on condition that they would not receive him into their Country, or any Messengers from him.

89. In the mean time the *Treviri* were got together to attack *Labienus*, who was come into their Confines, and they expected the arrival of some Germans to their assistance. Betwixt them and *Labienus* there was a River, and he being posted on an advantageous ground, did all he could to draw the Enemy over to fight before the Germans should come to them. And by counterfeiting fear, and pretending to fly and forsake his Camp, he drew them over; and then turning head defeated them, and took in their whole State. For the Germans hearing of their overthrow returned home, and with them went the Kingmen of *Inducimarus*, the Author of the Defection, who being gone, the Government was given to *Cingetorix*, and he from the beginning had been true and faithful to the *Romans*. *Cæsar* being come from the *Menapii* to the *Treviri*, passed over by Bridge again into Germany to chastize such as had sent succours and supplies to them, and that *Ambiorix* might have no entertainment against them. He found by the information of the *Ubi*, that the *Suevi* had been the Offenders, and they upon his coming had retired to their utmost Confines, where was a Wood of an infinite greatness, called *Baccen*, which served for a Rampire and defence to keep the *Cherusci* from the incursions of the *Suevi*, and the *Suevi* from the injuries of the *Cherusci*. At the entrance of this Wood they expected the coming of *Cæsar*, who here makes a stop without entering, and instead of an attack, gives us a more profitable account concerning the Customs and manner of Life both of *Galls* and Germans.

84. As for *Gall*, not only in every City, Village and Precinct there were Factions and Parties; but almost in every particular House. Before *Cæsar* came into *Gall*, the two great Parties were of the *Ædui* and *Sequani*, of whom the later got the better, till he by his Power and Interest repaired the Authority of the other, and also brought the *Remi* into repute; so that at this time in Power and Authority the *Ædui* excelled all other States, and next unto them were the *Remi*. Throughout all, there were but two sorts of men of any Reckoning or Account. For the Common-people were in the condition of Servants, and of no value in themselves, nor admitted to the publick Councils, but kept under by Debts, Tributes, or oppression of the great ones, and putting themselves into the service of the Nobles, who had the same power over them as Lords enjoyed over their Slaves. The two sorts were one of the *Druides* and another of those *Cæsar* calleth *Equites*. The *Druides* managed matters of their Religion which they expounded, and gave order for the publick and private Sacrifices. To them being held in great veneration, the Youth resorted for Learning, and they determined almost all Causes betwixt publick and private Persons. Controversies both Criminal and Civil they decided, rewarded the virtuous and punished the wicked. If any, either private man or State, did not obey their Decree, they interdicted him their Sacrifice; and this was the greatest punishment amongst them. For such as were thus interdicted, were reckoned in the number of impious and wicked men; every man left their Company, and avoided to meet or speak with them, lest they should receive any hurt by their Contagion: neither had they any benefit of the Law, though desiring it, neither was any Respect or Honour communicated to them.

85. Over all the *Druides* one prefiged with chief Authority, who was succeeded by him that next excelled, and if equals pretended, they went to election, which sometimes was attended with force and Arms. They met at a certain time of the year in the Confines of the *Carnutes*, being the middle part of *Gall*, where they lay in a secret place, and determined Controversies from all quarters. The Art and Learning of the *Druides* was first found out in Britain and was thought thence to have been translated into *Gall*; and in *Cæsar's* time such as would attain to the

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Relieved by
Cæsar.

Labienus de-
fence the first
viti.

The Customs
of the *Galls*.

The *Druides*,

Cæsar de bello
Gallico lib. 6.

Their Learn-
ing had its
original here
in Britain.

perfect

Sect. 6. perfect knowledge of that Discipline, travelled hither to learn it. The *Druides* were exempt from Warfare, Tribute and all other Duties incumbent upon other men, which allured many to the Profession. They were laid to learn many verses, and some to have applied themselves to that learning twenty years. To commit any thing to writing it was unlawful; in other publick and private busineses they made use of Greek Letters, but they seemed to do it, that their knowledge might not become common and vulgar, and that their Scholars might not trust so much to writings as to their memory, it happening for the most part, that men relying upon Books and Papers, in the mean time omit the benefit of good remembrance. Their endeavour was chiefly to teach that the souls of men do not dye, but remove out of one Body into another, which they thought very important to fit men up to virtue, and to neglect the fear of death. They also disputed and delivered many Traditions to the Youth concerning the Stars and their motions, the magnitude of the Earth and the World, the nature of things, and the might and power of the Gods.

What they taught.

The *Equites*.

86. The other sort of men amongst them were *Equites*, who upon all occasions, as before *Cæsar* his coming there never wanted, were conversant in War, each according to his Power and Wealth being attended with Clients and Followers, which they esteemed the only note of Nobility and Greatness. The whole Nation was much addicted to that they accounted Religion. If sick, or engaged in War, they would either sacrifice men, or vow the oblation of themselves. Using herein the ministry of the *Druides*, they conceived that the Immortal Deity could not be pleased but by giving the life of one man for another, and to that purpose they had publick Sacrifices appointed. They burned men in Images made of Oiers. The Execution of Thieves and Robbers they thought most pleasing to the Gods, but wanting them they spared not the Innocent. They chiefly worshipped *Mercury* as the Inventor of all Arts, the Conductor in all Voyages, and having great power in all Merchandize and gain of Money. Next to him they preferred *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, having the same opinion of them as other Nations. They vowed to *Mars* the spoil of an Enemy they were to encounter, and such Beasts as they took they sacrificed; other things they laid up in some sacred place, heavy punishment being inflicted upon any that either kept back, or took them away.

The Religion of the *Gallæ*.

Other Customs.

87. Being made believe by the *Druides* that they were defended from the God *Dis*, they boasted themselves in their descent. For that reason they determined the spaces of time by the number of Nights, not of Dayes, observing their Nativities and the beginnings of their Months and years, so as the Day followed the Night. Contrary to the custom of other Nations they suffered not their Children to come publickly unto them till fit for War. To the Portions of their Wives they added as much of their own; and the use of all the money was laid apart, and together with the principal Coin to the Survivor. They had power of life and death both over Wives and Children. The death of great men was wont to be inquired into by the Kindred, and a suspected wife was examined by torture; if guilty, put to death by fire and all other torments to be imagined. Their Funerals, as their Life, were magnificent and sumptuous, and with the Corps was burned whatsoever the man delighted in, not sparing living Creatures: Nay, not long before the time that *Cæsar* wrote, the custom was to bury such Clients and Servants with him as he had favoured in his Life-time. Such Nations as were careful, prohibited by a special Law, the communicating of Rumors or Reports concerning matters of State, to any but a Magistrate; it being found that rash and unskillful men had been put upon dangerous attempts by such reports. The Magistrates kept secret what they thought fit, and what not they published; but it was not lawful, except in State Assemblies, to speak of State Affairs.

The Customs of the *Germans*.

88. The *Germans*, *Cæsar* adds, did much differ from the *Gallæ* in their course of Life, for they had neither *Druides* nor Sacrifices. Nor Gods did they worship but such as they could see, and by whom they were manifestly benefitted, as the *Sun*, *Vulcan*, and the *Moon*. In hunting, or in War they spent their lives, being from their Childhood inured to labour. They liked of such as continued longest beardless amongst them, some thinking it to conduce to their Stature, others to their Strength and Sinews. Before twenty years of age they held it abominable to know a Woman; and such matters could not be hid; for they bathed themselves together in Rivers, and used Skins and other small coverings on their Reins, but were naked on the rest of the body. They used no Tillage, the greatest part of

their Food being Milk, or Cheese, or Flesh. Their Magistrates and Princes every year allotted certain portions of Lands to Kindreds and Tribes that inhabited together, where and as they thought convenient; and the next year appointed them in a new place; and thus they thought they did for several good reasons. In case of War a State made choice of Magistrates to have the command with power of Life and Death; but in time of peace they had no common Magistrate, but the Principal Persons of the Regions and *Pagi* interpreted the Law, and determined Controversies.

89. Theft committed out of the Confines was commended as an exercise of the Youth. Such as would not follow their Great men in an exploit publickly declared, were held in the number of Traitors, and had never any credit afterward. Strangers they religiously protected from all injuries, to such every mans House being open and his Table common. The time was when the *Gallæ* excelled the *Germans* in valour, and made War upon them, and by reason of the multitude of People, and want of Ground, sent many Colonies over the *Rhine* into *Germany*. By that means those fertile places of *Germany* lying near the Wood *Hercynia* (known by the name of *Orcinia* to *Evasthenes* and other *Greeks*) were possessed by the *Volsæ* *Tedolages*, who in *Cæsar*'s time still there inhabited and retained their ancient opinion of Justice and Military Glory. The *Germans* still continued in the same poverty and patience as in former times, using the same Diet and Apparel; but the *Gallæ* having knowledge of other neighbouring Nations, lived in a more plentiful manner, and had by little and little been overthrown and weakened, so that at this time they stood not in comparison with the *Germans*. The *Hercynian* Wood was nine days journey over; for they had no difference, he saith, of space, but by days and journeys, as at this day in those Countries they reckon not how far it is to such a place by Miles or Leagues, but say it is so many hours to such a Town or City. It began at the Confines of the *Helvetii*, *Nemetes* and *Rauraci*, and ran along the *Danube* as far as the *Daci*, whence it declined to the left side, and by reason of its large extension, bordered on many other Countries. No *German* could say that he himself had gone, or heard that any other had reached to its beginning, though therein he had travelled threecore days. In this Wood, he saith, were many sorts of wild Beasts not to be seen in any other place. He instanteth in one like a Hart, and the Beasts called *Uri* somewhat lesser than an Elephant. But most remarkable was that other sort called *Alees* and remarkable indeed, not for being like a Goat, somewhat bigger and without Horns, but having their Legs without Joints, so that when they took their rest, they neither sat nor lay upon the ground, but leaned against Trees; and if they chanced to fall could not rise again. The Hunters therefore, to catch them, were wont either to undermine or so far cut the Trees, that with their weight, leaning upon them, they might bear them down and fall with them. And who would not but give money now to see this rare sort of Beast?

Cæsar visits *Germany*.

Ambiorix defeated.

90. But *Cæsar* thought fit to return, and no further pursue the *Suevi*; so to leave some terror behind him, he cut down part of the Bridge next to the *Ubii*, the length of two hundred foot, and in the end of that which remained built a Tower of four stories, and left a Garrison of twelve Cohorts with young *C. Volcatius Tullus* to defend it. He himself, as the Corn ripened, went forward to the war of *Ambiorix*, by way of the Wood of *Arduenna*, the greatest in *Gallæ*, extending from the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Confines of the *Treveri*, to the Seat of the *Nervii*, and carrying a breadth of five hundred miles. He sent before him *L. Minutius Bollus* with all the Cavalry, who surprized *Ambiorix*, and took all his Horses and Chariots; but he himself escaped on Horseback, being assisted in his flight by the Woods, that were about his House; for the *Gallæ* to avoid heat did commonly build near to Woods, Bogs, Islands and other places of Refuge. *Catuvolcus* King of one part of the *Eburones* being drawn in by him, cursed him for it doing, and not able by reason of his age to undergo the trouble of War or Fight, drank the juice of Yew (whereof was great store in *Gallæ* and *Germany*) and poisoned himself.

91. The *Eburones* being so dispersed that *Cæsar* could do no good upon them, he gave notice to the Neighbouring Nations, that all men should have liberty to sack and make a spoil of their Country, for he durst not suffer the Legionary Soldiers to fragile from their Ensigns. Upon the noise of this, the *Sicanri* dwelling in *Germany* next to the *Rhine*, sent over a Party of two thousand Horse, which

Sect. 6. got great booty, being bred and born in Theft and War. But being by one of the Captains informed, that in a place called *Vatucco* the Romans had left all their Baggage; they took him for their Guide, and went also thither. For there *Cæsar* had placed it, having divided his Army into three Parties, and sent them to such Quarters as he thought convenient, he himself going to the River *Soddis* (now the *Selddo*) to hunt out *Ambrorix*, but with purpose to return after seven days. There he had left *Q. Cicero* with the fourteenth Legion newly raised, and two hundred Horse for a guard. Of these, five Cohorts went out to gather Forage with three hundred old Soldiers that had been left, became infirm. The *Sicanmbri* having first attempted to break into the Camp, fell upon these Romans as they returned. And they cut off most of them that belonged to the Cohorts, being raw and unexperienced, but the old Soldiers so discreetly ordered their matters, that they broke through their Enemies and got to the Camp. The *Sicanmbri* now out of hope to take the Camp, returned with their Booty over the *Rhine*, and *Cæsar* also returned (sensibly) for the Soldiers were in such fear, that they would not believe but that the Legions were cut off. The Country being most grievously depopulated he brought his Army back to *Duro corum* in the State of the *Romi*, where an Assembly was called to question the conspiracy of the *Senones* and *Carnutes*. By order taken therein, *Deco* the great Ringleader was put to death, as others had been, had they not escaped. This done, *Cæsar* dispersed his Troops into their Wintering Camps, and having made provision of Corn went into *Italy*, to hold the Assemblies as he was wont.

Deco put to death.

Sins in the City.

92. Now with *Cæsar* let us make for *Italy* and a step further than his Journey, to *Rome* it self. There we shall find him deeply concerned while he was fighting with the *Galli*; for, his Daughter *Julia*, the Wife of *Pompey*, while he was thus employed, died in Childbed, and the Infant with her. Hereby was the Bond of Friendship betwixt them dissolved, and their mutual emulation and envy which thereby had been restrained, now wanted but an occasion to vent it self. The following year produced great fits in the City, and those no less in *Gall*. For now were the times so altered, that *Rome* could not be found in *Rome*. Nothing was managed by ancient equity and moderation, all Offices were purchased by Money, or else by Stones, Clubs, or Swords; and the inconveniences of popular Government now grew ripe, the name of a Free-State, or Commonwealth, covering the greatest injustice, disorder, and oppression of the Peoples liberty. The Consuls being debarred by the power of the *Trippitina* from leading out Armies, or waging Wars according to the ancient right and custom, made up their Markets out of the publick Revenue, or their Offices by indirect practices, and therefore none of honour would seek after the Consulship. *Pompey* connived at this, hoping that a necessity of affairs would draw upon him the Dictatorship, as some of his Creatures, though not in his name, did not stick to hint. This year especially was there such an horrid contention amongst the Candidates (all or most men of large Consciences) that for a long time no Consul could be elected; and this heightened the matter, that *T. Annius Milo*, one of them, being at great enmity with *Clodius*, killed him as he met him in the way not far from the City. This fact the People ill rewarded, and naughty, and dissolute persons, under pretence of searching for *Milo*'s Friends, committed many outrages in *Rome*. This turned indeed all mens eyes upon *Pompey*, as the fittest person to redress those evils; but whilst they thought of making him Dictator, *Cato* drew the Senate to this resolution, that he should be made Consul alone, that he might be called to an account for his male administration if need were, and so he was made sole Consul, without any Precedent at all. First, he sat in Judgement alone, and examined *Milo*'s case; he also made inquiry after such as had by indirect means procured Offices. *Milo* was defended by *Cicero*, or rather should have been; for the Orator was so terrified by *Pompey*'s Soldiers, and *Clodius*'s Friends, that he could not proceed, and is therefore said to have written that Oration afterwards, which is now extant. *Milo* then was banished, with several others for other Crimes. *Pompey* having hitherto as it were executed the Office of Dictator, took to him a Colleague, *Q. Scipio Metellus*, whose Daughter *Cornelia* he had married. These things being heard in the further *Gall*, and a rumour spread that *Cæsar*, who was now in *Italy*, would be there retained by the motions in the City, many of the Natives conspired for the recovery of their liberty, and chose *Vercingetorix* for their Captain.

Milo killed *Clodius*.

Pompey made Consul alone. His Acts.

The *Galli* hearing of these fits rebel.

Sect. 6. *Cæsar* in *Italy* heard of the death of *Clodius*, and of a Decree made by the Senate touching the Assembly of the young Soldiers of that Country; whereupon he resolved to raise Men in all the Province. The Gallies hearing of these things, added other rumours, and that *Cæsar*, detained by troubles at *Rome*, could not return to his Army. They stirred up one another now to make halt, and recover their ancient liberty: And the *Carnutes* made themselves the chief of the War, and for fear of discovery, not daring to take and receive Hostages, they strengthened their Cove-nants by Oaths and mutual Cellation of their Military Engins, the most religious and binding Ceremony amongst them. And the *Carnutes* began the work by falling upon some Roman Citizens that lay about their own concerns at *Genabum*, whom they flew, and seized their Goods. The report thereof was quickly spread throughout *Gall*, by that ordinary means whereby they were wont to signify any extraordinary matter. It was by an out-cri and shout, which begun by some, was taken by others, and delivered to the next; and so went from one to another so speedily, that what was done at *Genabum* at Sun-rising, was before the first Watch of the night, heard in the Confines of the *Arvern*, which was above one hundred and threescore Miles.

The Gallies revolt.

94. In like manner *Vercingetorix*, of the Nation of the *Arverni*, being the Son of *Celidius*, and named King by his People, though they had slain his father for attempting to set up a Kingdom, persuaded them to revolt, and though opposed and callt out of the Town of *Gergovia* by his Uncle *Gabinius*, and those of the contrary Party, got together a great Force, and expelled his Adversaries by whom he had been callt out. The *Senones*, the *Parissi*, *Pitones*, *Cadurci*, the *Arverni*, *Aulerci*, *Lutetici*, *Andes*, and all the rest that bordered upon the Ocean quickly joyned in confederacy with him. He took Hostages of them, rated every City, and made ravill on of Horse especially. To extraordinary diligence he added extraordinary severity, and the *Bituriges* sided with him, their Patrons the *Adui* having in vain attempted to protect them from him. Besides this, *Luovrinus*, one of the *Cadurci*, united the *Ruteni* to the *Arverni*, and farther proceeding, received Hostages from the *Nitiobriges*, and the *Gabali*, and laboured to break into the Roman Province, and proceed toward *Narbo*.

95. *Cæsar* having heard these things in *Italy*, as soon as he understood that matters were brought into better state in *Rome* by the means of *Pompey*, made what he could, and understanding in his Passage of *Luovrinus* his Design, went himself to *Narbo*, and prevented him. He marched to the *Helonii*, and thence over the Hill *Gebenna*, though the Snow was five foot deep, into the Confines of the *Arvern*, who therewith exceedingly surprized, betook themselves for succour to *Vercingetorix*. Knowing what *Vercingetorix* would do, with wonderful celerity, he passed to the *Lingones*, and got the Legions together before the *Arvern* could have any notice of it. This being known, *Vercingetorix* laid siege to *Gergovia*, a Town held by the *Baii*, whom *Cæsar* had left there after the Helvetian War, and given the Jurisdiction of the Place to the *Adui*. *Cæsar* was now in perplexity, whether he should attempt to assilt the Friends of *Rome*, or by drawing out his Army from its Winter Quarters sooner than ordinary, expose it to hardships and danger for want of the usual Provisions.

Cæsar takes *Novaesium*.

96. But resolving to adventure all hazards, rather than desert his Allies in their necessity, he sent Orders to the *Adui* to make supply of all necessaries as far as possible, and by a Message encouraged the *Baii* with news of his coming. In his Passage he took by surrender *Vellaunodunum*, a Town of the *Senones*. *Genabum*, now *Orleans*, was a City of the *Carnutes* upon *Ligeris*, over which lying a Bridge, the Townsmen were about to pass over it, and escape by night; but he being aware of it, had appointed two Legions to watch, who burnt the Gate, took the Place, with most of the People, set it on fire, and sacked it; which done, he passed over into the Territories of the *Bituriges*. There he resolved to become Master of *Novaesium* (now *Vierçon*), and when he was about it, *Vercingetorix* his Forces thence moved themselves, who having heard of his March, left the Siege of *Gergovia*, and went to meet him. But he sent out first his own Horse to charge them, and then four hundred Germans, who put the *Gallies* to flight, and many of them being slain, the rest retired to the Army. Hereupon the Townsmen yielded, having delivered those that stirred up the People unto *Cæsar*.

The Gallies wait their Country.

97. *Vercingetorix*, upon so many losses received, with much ado persuaded the *Gallies* to lay wait their Country, to cut off all forrage from the *Romans*, and to prevent their taking refuge in any Towns, to burn them all; and none escaped but *Doricum*, (now *Bourges*) at that time the fairest City in *Gall*, inclosed with a River and

Cæsar de la hôte Gallien lib. 7.

§ 78. and a Bog, which the *Bituriges*, prostrating themselves at the feet of all the *Gallæ*, desired and obtained to defend. *Cæsar*, after the taking of *Noviodunum*, resolved to attempt this Place, and accordingly set down before it, and made preparations for an Assault in that narrow place, where it was approachable. *Vercingetorix* followed and incamped himself fifteen Miles off to intercept all the Foragers he could. And *Cæsar* was really distressed for want of Corn, and the Army subsisted merely by Cattel fetched afar off, which made him offer to the Legions to raise the Siege, but they stoutly and generously refused. To remove this distress, he himself left the Siege, and attempted to surprize the Enemy; but by reason that he had placed himself upon a convenient ground, not willing to expose his Men to danger in such disadvantages, he retreated without any thing done, and gave order for re-inforcing the Siege of the Town. And the *Gallæ* took as great care to fortify it, by the addition of ten thousand Men chosen out of all their Forces. For being perswaded that it was their main business to make this Town good against the *Romans*; they thought it not fit to commit the common safety of *Gall* to the *Bituriges*.

98. And the Garrison all manner of ways possible defended the Place, both by mining the Mounts, erecting Towers, and making Sallies where and when the case required, being encouraged by the goodness of their Wall, which was framed so, both of Wood and Timber, that the Stone kept it from burning, and the Wood from the violence of the Rams. The *Romans* raised a Mount in the space of five and twenty days of three hundred and thirty foot in breadth, and four score in height. This Mount, when it began to touch the Wall, did the Besieged by a Mine set on fire, and great contest there was about it, till the fire was at length quenched by the *Romans*. The Besieged finding that nothing would do, but the Siege increased every day in vigour, resolved to quit the Town, and get through the Marish to *Vercingetorix*, but were hindered by the Women, who when they could not prevail with them to stay, cried out, and signified their flight to the *Romans*. Thereupon they desisted from their purpose. But *Cæsar* having perfected his Works, took the advantage when a Rain fell, and the Walls were slenderly manned, to make an Assault, which the Legions carried on with that success, that they took the City, and made such slaughter in revenge for what had been done at *Genabum*, that sparing neither Sex nor Age, of forty thousand, or thereabouts, scarcely eight hundred came safe to *Vercingetorix*, who received them in the night with great silence, for fear of a Sedition through the commiseration of the People.

99. *Vercingetorix* comforted the *Gallæ* for the loss of *Avaricum*, by laying the blame upon the *Bituriges*, by calling them to witness, that the keeping of it was against his opinion, and telling them that he was in a way to unite all *Gall* together, and now he first perswaded them to be at the pains to fortify their Camp to prevent an Assault of the *Romans*. For the accomplishment of his Promise of uniting *Gall*, he omitted no endeavour, and commanding each State to send in their Supplies, and getting together all the Archers, of whom there was great store, he speedily repaired his losses at *Avaricum*. At this time arose a great controversy amongst the *Ædus*, about the election of their Annual Magistrate. There were two, of whom each pretended to be duly elected, *Cotus* and *Convidoltanis*, and the matter must come to a Civil War, if *Cæsar* did not take it up. Fearing the consequence might be otherwise bad, and that one Party might be drawn to side with the *Gallæ* against the *Romans*, he went and decided the Controversie in behalf of *Convidoltanis*, as legally chosen, and then marched by the River *Elaver* against the *Averni*, and notwithstanding the watching and great diligence of *Vercingetorix*, having by a Bridge got over his Army, laid siege to *Gergovia*.

100. In the mean time *Convidoltanis* being corrupted by the *Averni*, perswaded some young Noble-men to revolt from the *Romans*, and draw their State from the society with them, as Enemies to the liberty of *Gall*; and by lying stories told how the *Romans* had cut off their Brethren, the Princes, and some Horse-men, they induced ten thousand Men that were to be sent from the *Ædus* to *Cæsar*, to march for *Gergovia*, to join with the *Averni*. *Cæsar* having notice of this from his friends, took along with him four expedite Legions, and met with the ten thousand Men, and shewing to them the Princes, whom they believed to be slain; when they saw they were abused, they cast down their Arms, and submitted. But their Countrymen, not knowing thereof, and being led by covetousness, or by anger and rashness, robbed and killed divers *Roman* Merchants; for it was natural to the Nation to take a light Hear-say for a certain Truth. When they understood how things had gone, they then disowned what had passed, as wanting publick Authority; called to account

Cæsar taketh
Avaricum.

Five Tribes the
Design of the
Gallæ.

count such as had robbed the *Romans*, exposed to sale the Goods of such as had been Authors of the Revolt, and sent their Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to excuse themselves. They they rather did to recover such of their Men as were in *Cæsar's* Hands, who though he understood well enough, that out of fear of punishment, and to avoid greater inconveniences, they under-hand studied how to raise a War, and solicited other States to a League and Alliance to that purpose, yet gave them good words, casting the blame upon the common People.

101. While *Cæsar* was absent, the *Gallæ* had violently assaulted the Camp before *Gergovia*, and put the two Legions to great extremity to defend it, till he, having received the News, made all halt imaginable, and arrived before the rising of the Sun. Fearing a greater Revolt of the *Gallæ*, and that he should be incompanied by them, he thought to raise his Siege and be gone, but his purpose was diverted by a discovery he made of an opportunity to advance the Service upon the Town. An Assault was made in pursuance of this Discovery, wherein the *Romans* were too hardy, and the Enemy so vigilant and industrious, that he over-charged them on all hands, to their loss of six and forty Centurions, after which they beat them off, and they secured their flight as well as they could, as well as *Cæsar* can make it, who confesseth, that few less than seven hundred of his Souldiers were wanting. But he tells us that the next day he rebuked his Army, so far as they themselves judged how far they were to go, and what they were to do, neither would they stop upon founding a Retreat, nor hearken to the Tribunes or Legates that would have kept them back. Yet he attributed the success the Enemy had, not to his valour, but the inequality of the Ground and Place where they fought. To evidence this, he said, he drew out the Legions several times, and skirmished successfully where the Ground was indifferent, and then thinking it sufficient to abate the pride of the *Gallæ*, and encourage his own Men, he removed his Camp into the Territories of the *Ædus*; the Enemy refusing to make after him. Yet still did the former Revolters amongst the *Ædus* be themselves, that for all this that State revolted; which Defection, procured by the means of *Litavicus* especially, was perfected by two other Noble-men, whom *Cæsar* had had with him, viz. *Virdumarus* and *Eporodorus*, who desired to be gone, under pretence of putting a stop to it; and *Cæsar* dismissed them, though he perceived their intentions, lest he should seem to be injurious, or give any suspicion of fear. They burnt and wasted the Country, and used other Arts to terrify the *Romans*. *Cæsar* knowing he wasto use Expedition before all their Forces could unite, marched with incredible celerity, and got his Army over the *Loire*, (the Foot passing with their Arms and Shoulders above water) and having refreshed it with Corn and Cattle, resolved to march toward the *Senones*.

102. At this time *Labienus*, with four Legions, coming to *Lutetia*, a Town of the *Parisians*, built in an Island in the River *Sequana*, (as *Cæsar* describes it) and being to pass the River, by making a show to attempt it in several places, deceived and divided the Enemy, and gave them a notable defeat. But, for all this, the Revolt of the *Ædus* being known; in a Council of all *Gall* assembled at *Bibracte*, *Vercingetorix* was chosen general, and the *Ædus* disappointed in their expectation of having the chief Command; so that if they had not been already engaged in the War, they would have thought again of *Cæsar*. He perceiving the Enemy to be stronger in Horse than himself, and the Passages to be so shut up, that he could not send into the Province nor Italy, procured Horses from such States in Germany as he had quieted the year before, with such light-armed Footmen as were used to fight amongst the Horse, whom he furnished with Horses he took from the Tribunes, the *Roman* *Equites*, and the *Boeotii*. Resolving then to protect the *Roman* Province; *Vercingetorix* made Head against him, as having a notable opportunity, with his Horse, and perswading his Men that so indeed he had, they required that this Resolution might be strengthened with an holy Oath or Imprecation. Let him never be received under any Roof, nor have access to his Wife, Children or Parents, that did not twice Charge through the Army of the Enemy. The thing being approved, and every one forced to take the Oath, he divided his Cavalry into three parts, whereof two Bodies shewed themselves on either side, and the third began to oppose *Cæsar's* Front. *Cæsar* caused his Horse to be divided also into three Parties, and to charge the *Gallæ*, having received the Carriages within the Legions, which he so placed, as to succour the Horse upon occasion. The Germans having possessed themselves of an Hill, forced the *Gallæ* to give ground; and the advantage was so prosecuted, that all the Horse was routed, and many Prisoners taken of good note. After this *Vercingetorix* marched towards *Alesia*, a Town of the *Mandubii*, and *Cæsar* following him in his Rear, as long as the day would give

* H h h h h leave,

Sec. 6. leave, slew some three thousand of his Men, and, the next day following, incamped also before *Alesia*, which was sited on the top of an Hill, in a very eminent place, and not to be taken but by a continued Siege. At the foot of the Hill ran two Rivers on each side of the Town: Before the Town lay a Plain of three Miles in length: The other sides were inclosed with Hills, at a reasonable distance, of equal height with the Town.

Cesar besieges
Alesia.

Vercingetorix,
his preparations
for resistance.

103. *Cæsar* resolved to inclose the Town with a Ditch, and a Rampire, and the whole circuit contained eleven Miles. At the Camp, sited in a convenient place, were made three and twenty Castles, well manned both day and night. The Work being begun, there happened a Fight betwixt the Horse on both sides. The *Romans* were over-powered, till *Cæsar* sent the *Germans* to their Relief, and drew out the Legions for their Refuge, with which animated, they routed the *Galls*, and driving them back into their Camp, killed many, and took very many Horses. *Vercingetorix* upon this, thought best to dismiss all the Horse before the Fortifications of the *Romans*, and he sent them away in the night, every Man to repair to his own State, and to fend all to the War that were able to bear Arms, and to procure his safety who had so well deserved of them; but in case they were negligent, fourscore thousand Men he affirmed should perish with him in that place. He husbanded his Corn, which would serve, at the former rate, but thirty days, measuring it out sparingly; and the Cattel he delivered to the Soldiers by Poll, whereof there was great store brought from the *Mandubii*. All the Forces which he had placed before the Town he received within the Walls, and so purposed to attend the Supplies of *Gall*.

The prodigious
Works of
Cæsar.

104. *Cæsar* understanding this from Fugitives and Prisoners, took a prodigious course to fortify himself. He drew a Ditch of twenty foot in breadth, and depth, as broad at the bottom as the top. At forty foot distance from this he made two Ditches of fifteen foot in breadth and depth, the innermost whereof drawn through the Fields, and the lower ground he filled with Water out of the River. Behind them he made another Ditch, and a Rampire of twelve foot, which he strengthened with a Parapet and Pinacles, and with great boughs of Trees cut like roan Hart-Horn, which were set where the Howels were joyned to the Rampire, to hinder the Enemy from climbing up. He made Towers round about the whole Work in the distance of fourscore foot one from another; and his design of having the distance of forty foot betwixt the Ditch first mentioned, and the other Works, was, that the whole Body of the *Romans* might not easily be inclosed with an Army, which he thought to prevent by taking in so great a circuit of ground, and left the Enemy, in a sudden Sally, should by night attempt to destroy the Works, or by day trouble the Soldiers by missile Weapons, as they were busied about the Fortifications.

105. But the *Roman* Forces being employed both in fetching Materials for the Works, and supply of Corn, were much weakened, and the *Galls*, by falling out of divers Ports, attempted to destroy the Works. That therefore the Fortifications might be made good with the less number of Men, he still thought fit to add unto them. He made Trenches round about them of five foot deep, wherein he planted either the Bodies of Trees, or great firm Boughs sharpened into many Pikes and Snags, and bound together at the bottom, that they might not be easily plucked up. There were of these five Ranks so combined and infolded one in another, that which way soever the Enemy should enter upon them, he must necessarily run himself upon a sharp Stake. These they called *Cippi*, before which, in oblique courses, after the manner of a *Quincunx* were digged holes three foot deep, narrow at the top. These they set with round Stakes, of the bigness of a Mans Thigh, with sharp points hardened with fire, in such sort, that they stuck not above four fingers out of the Earth, and, for the better fastening of them, they stuck a foot within the ground; the rest of the Holes, for the better ordering of the matter, were hid with Officers, and brulby Wood. Of these were eight Courses, three foot distant one from another, and these they called *Liliei*, from the resemblance they had to the Figure of that Flower. Before these were *Galthrops* of a foot long, fastened in the Earth, and headed with barbed Hooks of Iron, bestowed up and down in all places at a reasonable distance; and these they called *Stimuli*. The inner Fortifications thus finished, he followed the level ground as much as the nature of the place would permit, taking in fourteen Miles in circuit, and made the like Fortifications in all Points against the Enemy without, as he had done against the Town; that if he were driven upon occasion to leave the Works, he might quit the Camp without danger, a few

few Men being able to defend it. Things thus appointed, he commanded, that every Man should have in readiness Forrage and Provision of Corn for thirteen days.

106. In the mean time the *Galls* having summoned a Council of the Princes and chief Men of every State, resolved to raise an Army, but not as *Vercingetorix* advised, of all that were able to bear Arms, left the Multitude should be ungovernable, and want Provisions; but to proportion a number to every State. Of the *Ædui*, and their Clients the *Segusiavi*, *Ambivariti*, *Auleri*, *Brannovices*, and *Brannovii*, they require five and thirty, or as some read, five and twenty thousand. Of the *Arverni*, and their Clients, the *Helvetii*, *Cadurci*, *Gabali*, and *Vellavii*, as many. Of the *Senones*, *Sequani*, *Bituriges*, *Santonæ*, *Ruteni*, *Carnutes*, twenty one (or two) thousand. Of the *Bellovacæ* ten thousand. As many of the *Lemoivices*. Eight thousand of the *Pictones*, *Turoni*, *Parisii*. Of the *Helvetii* and *Suessones* eight thousand. Of the *Ambiani*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocorii*, *Nervii*, *Morini*, and *Nitiobriges*, five thousand. They required of the *Auleri*, *Cenomani*, as many. Of the *Arebrates* four thousand. Of the *Bello-Cassi*, *Lexovii*, *Auleri*, *Eburones*, three thousand. Of the *Rauraci* and *Bosithree* (some Copies have thirty) thousand. Of the States bordering upon the Ocean by the Coast of *Gall*, called *Aremorice*, as the *Crisiogelites*, *Redones*, *Ambibarii*, *Caletes*, *Offinii*, *Lemoivices*, *Veneti*, and *Vendeli*, six thousand.

Numbers of
Soldiers furnished
by the
Nations of
Gall.

Great Errors
as to Names
and Numbers
in *Cæsar's* present
Copies.

107. Such are the names of the States, and the number of Soldiers charged upon them, as we now find in *Cæsar's* Copies. But that the Text is corrupted, *Monetius* tells us, loudly inveighing against the Transcribers and Correctors of the Copies for bringing in such confusion into a few words written by *Cæsar*, and committing such mistakes in the Numbers. For the Names, that of *Helvetii* is contentious, there never having been such a People in *Gall*, no not in *Europe*. In stead of *Helvetii* he reads *Helvii*, who were Neighbours to the *Velauni* and *Arverni*. He observes, that some People of these that are named are placed far from their own native and proper Seats. As the *Ambivariti* and *Auleri* are here put as Neighbours and Clients of the *Ædui*, whereas they were far distant each from the other, and those were far from being Clients to, and joyned in society with them. For the *Ambivariti* were the same we now call *Brabanters* upon the *Meuse*. And the *Auleri*, as now, were seated at the mouth of the *Sequana* for *Seine*, partly that People called *Cenomani*, (or *Manceaux*) and partly *Cimbrecæ*, or *Normans*. Therefore for *Ambivariti* is to be read *Ambarri*, which was a Neighbouring People, and Clients to the *Ædui*, now divided into the *Charolais* and *Macconnois*.

108. The *Bogi* he affirms ought not to be joyned with the *Rauraci*, but with the *Segusiavi* and *Ambarri*, with whom they were Clients of the *Ædui*, being seated in the Country of *Bourbon*, as it's now called, near the *Segusiavi*. More absurdly still are the *Lemoivices*, by some ignorant Transcriber or Annotator put amongst the *Aremorice* States, or those upon the Ocean. For nothing is more erroneous in Geography, than that they, being a Mediterranean People, and situated Southward near the *Pictones*, an hundred French Leagues from the Ocean, should be placed in the Shore thereof amongst the *Offinii* and *Vendeli*; from whom they are separated by two great Provinces of *Poitiers* and the *Aremorice* Britain. Instead of *Lemoivices*, who are to be left in the place formerly assigned them in *Cæsar's* Enumeration, *Eburones* are rather to be read, the Country of whom lay by the *Lexovii*, at the mouth of the *Seine*. Further, whereas *Auleri* and *Cenomani* are divided in this Enumeration, they ought not, but to be joyned together, being one and the same People. But this Error is too often committed in the Text of *Cæsar*, of severing the *Cognomina* of certain People from the Names themselves. For as *Cenomani*, *Diablintes*, (or *Diablitæ*) and *Eburaci*, or *Eburvices*, were the *Cognomina* of the *Auleri*; so were *Culii* and *Vibisci* of the *Bituriges*. In like manner the *Volce*, one People, had several *Cognomina*, being from *Narbon* to the *Rhone* called *Arecontici*, and those of *Tolouse* and toward the South *Tetlogeræ*; and both by the *Romans* were called *Provinciales*, because of the Province of *Narbon*, proper to the *Romans*.

109. But yet further he observes, that Nations most distinct in situation and original, are in this Enumeration joyned for contributing Soldiers to this Social War. As the *Ambivariti* upon the *Meuse*, and the *Segusiavi* upon the *Loire*; the *Senones* seated at the *Seine*, and the *Santonæ* at the *Garonne*, the *Pictones* at the Western Ocean, and the *Helvetians* at the *Rhine*, and the *Oriental Alps*; the *Suessones* not far distant from the Northern Ocean, and the *Nitiobriges* not far from the *Garonne*, and the Mediterranean; the *Caletes* seated upon the very Shore of the Northern Sea, and the *Lemoivices* toward the South near the *Petrocorii*. How he at large amends this place, and

Sec. 6.

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Sect. 6. endeavours to restore it to itself, is too tedious here to show though from what we have said already it receiveth light. As to numbers of Soldiers, what is more incredible, he demands, than that upon the *Boii* and *Rauraci* should be imposed thirty thousand Men, as some Copies have it, and upon the *Bello-Cassi*, *Lexovii*, and *Eburones*, populous Nations, no more than three thousand; upon the *Suessiones*, *Ambiani*, *Nervi*, *Morini*, *Mediomatrici*, *Petrocori*, and *Nitiobriges*, seven powerful People, but five thousand men; and as many upon the *Centomani* alone, a People contained in narrow Bounds? Other Instances of the like in-equality might be made.

The Generals of the Gallæ.

110. But whatsoever these Numbers were, the *Bellovaci* refused to give theirs, declaring that they would not serve under any Man's command, or make War in any other than their own Name. Yet *Comius*, one of the *Atrabates*, persuaded them to fend two thousand Men, which *Comius* having served *Cæsar* faithfully in Britain, had been rewarded by him, by freeing his State from all Duties to the Roman Empire, restoring them to their ancient Laws, and by giving to him the *Morini*. But he would not for all this be wanting to the general consent of *Gallæ*, now bent to redeem its liberty and reputation in War. Having already mustered eight thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand foot in the Confines of the *Ædui*, they gaveth Command to *Comius* of *Aræx*, *Vindomarus* and *Eporidorex*, both *Ædui*, and *Vergisilaenus* of the *Auverni*, the Cousin-german of *Vercingetorix*; and as well Officers as Soldiers were full of hope, in consideration of their Numbers both within and without *Alesia*, whither they marched.

The Resolution of such as were besieged in *Alesia*.

111. In the mean time they that were besieged in the Town, the day being past by which they expected relief, knew not what course to take. Some were for a Surrendry, and others for Sallics to be made upon the Enemy; but above all, the Speech of *Critognatus*, a Nobleman of the *Auverni*, was so remarkable for its singular and nefarious cruelty, that *Cæsar* thought fit to give an account of it in his Commentaries. The Design of it was to persuade them to hold out as their Fore-fathers did in a War against the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who being shut up within their Towns, and brought to the like necessity, satisfied their hunger with the Bodies of such as were unfit for War; neither did they yield themselves to the Enemy. Nay if they had not had such an Example, he would have it begun now, and to be left to Posterity, no War being like to this. For, the *Cimbri* left the Country, and the Laws and Liberties all intire, whereas the *Romans* would bring them to slavery and bondage, as they had sufficient evidence by the manner wherein they treated already that part of *Gallæ* which they had reduced into a Province. Having delivered their several Opinions, they resolved, that such as through Age, or other Infirmities, were unfit for War, should depart the Town, and that they should try all means before they yielded to *Critognatus* his opinion: and yet if the matter so required, to consent unto it; and to attend their Succours, rather than yield to any surrender or condition of Peace.

The Gallæ repelled.

112. However, in the mean time the *Mandubii*, who had received the Army into their Town, were themselves thrust out with their Wives and Children, and coming to the Roman Trenches, desired with Tears to be received and nourished with Bread, though on condition of slavery, but *Cæsar* rejected them. Now all the *Gallæ* Forces came to the relief of *Alesia*, and though they appeared so numerous, yet *Cæsar* drew out his Horse, and caused it to engage the Enemy. Herein he had the better, by means of the *Germani*; but was attacked both by them that were newly arrived, and those in the Town, who with Hurdles endeavoured to fill up the Ditches, and with other Instruments of a Siege to scale the Works, but were forced to retire with loss; for, some fell unwittingly upon the *Gathrops*, others falling into the Holes, were struck through their Bodies with sharp Stakes, and others died by Mural Piles cast from the Rampire, and the Towers. Being repelled twice with great loss, they fell into consideration what course they were best to take, advising with them that were best acquainted with the Nature and situation of the Place.

113. This done, the Captains chose out sixty thousand of those States, which had the greatest repute for courage, and attacked the Roman Camp at the declivity of an Hill, where they might best master the Works, giving diversion at the same time in other places. But the Industry and Fortune of *Cæsar* surmounted all difficulties, by sending Supplies where there was need, and being assisted by the conduct of *Luticinus*, who having got together thirty nine Cohorts, charged the Enemy with great execution. Threecore and fourteen Ensigns were taken and brought to *Cæsar*, and very few of so great a number returned safe into their Camp. They in the Town, discouraged, drew back their Forces from the Works, which being known, the *Gallæ* presently

Propter tunc singularem, ac asperum cre. ditatum.

Cæsar wonderful achievements before *Alesia*.

Florus his error about the Place.

The Gallæ again raise Commotions to no purpose.

Sect. 6. presently fled out of the Camp, and if the Soldiers had not been wearied, they might easily, in the opinion of the Conqueror, have destroyed all their Enemies. However, the Horse being sent out about mid-night to fall upon the Reer, flew and took a great number. The next day *Vercingetorix*, calling a Council, told them he had not undertaken the War for his own Interest, but for the common concern, and publick liberty; and seeing they must necessarily yield to fortune, he offered either to satisfy the *Romans* by his Death, or to be delivered up to them alive. Ambassadors were sent to *Cæsar*, and upon his Command the Captains were brought to him, sitting in the Fortifications before the Camp, and *Vercingetorix* amongst the rest, with whom their Weapons were delivered. The *Ædui* and *Auverni* being relieved, of whom he dismissed twenty thousand Captives of the rest he gave throughout the Army every Man a Prisoner by way of booty. He marched to the relief of the *Ædui*, and received them, having been so kind to them and the *Auverni*, out of hopes by their means to bring in other States. Thither did the *Auverni* send their Ambassadors, and promised to obey his Orders. He required a great number of Hostages, and sent the Legions into their wintering Camps: He himself determined to winter at *Augustodunum* or *Bibracte*. The Achievements of this year being known at *Rome*, a Supplication for twenty days was enjoined.

114. Such account *Cæsar* himself gives of this Action before *Alesia*, and therewith concludes his Commentaries of his Wars in *Gallæ*. His Works and Fortifications being such as he describes them, though in down-right Language, without ornament of Rhetoric, hath stupified all Readers with admiration, as too great for a Man to effect. The single Work to encompass the Town was wonderful; but doubled with another without to keep the *Gallæ* from raising the Siege doth double the wonder. Hereby he did besiege, and was besieged, took the Town, and overthrew the Enemy in the Field. The *Gallæ* in this War were acted by a natural and generous heat to preserve the liberty of their Country, though they failed therein, and the unfaithfulness of any of them in not standing to their former Engagements cannot be excused. Above all others *Vercingetorix* was remarkable both for his Valour and Conduct, the manner of whose delivery *Plutarch* describeth. Being armed at all Points, mounted on an Horse, and furnished with a rich Caparison, he came to *Cæsar*; and rode about him, as he sat in his Chair of State; then lighting, he took off his Caparison and Furniture, and disarming himself, laid all on the ground, and went and fate down at his feet, and said never a word. *Cæsar* at length committed him as a Prisoner of War to be led as a Captive in his Triumph, which the Civil Wars prevented.

115. *Florus* also writes of his coming as a Suppliant to the Camp, and casting down his Ornaments and Arms before *Cæsar*'s Knees with these words: *Take them, thou hast overcome a Valiant Man, O Man most valiant!* But where this Camp was, this Writer was vilely mistaken. You have heard *Cæsar* all along tell his own story. Certainly he knew what Town it was he took, and about the Siege of which the great stress of the War lay. He himself saith it was *Alesia*, but *Florus* writes that it was *Gergovia*, a Town of the *Auverni*; that here is was where so great Munitions were raised; where *Vercingetorix* was taken, and the War being in a manner finished, all *Gallæ* was reduced to the obedience of the *Romans*. Now could *Cæsar* be ignorant what Towns he took, or which he was forced to quit? (as he did *Gergovia*) and two hundred years almost after his death *Florus* must undertake to correct what he had written. But this he did out of his forgetfulness, or rather his impudence, in falsifying History, according to his Custom, as we cannot but observe upon occasion.

116. Roman Writers speak of *Gallæ* as now subdued; but for all that, *Cæsar* could not pass the Winter in quiet; though having rested no part of the former Summer, he was desirous to refresh his Soldiers. For the *Gallæ* concluded, that though the Roman Army could not be mastered in one place, and altogether; yet if they raised Commotions in divers places; *Cæsar* should not be able to prosecute all at once. To prevent the effect of this Consultation, *Cæsar* leaving *M. Antonius* with charge of his Winter Garrisons, with all speed invaded the *Bituriges*, and making no usual signs of an Invasion, by Fires prevented all relief which one City could afford unto another, and thereby surprizing many thousands of such as lay in the Fields, constrained them to submit. He drove the *Carnates* to great extremity, by forcing them into the Woods in the violence of cold weather; from which not able to defend themselves, they were scattered abroad, and with the loss of a great part of them, disappeared into the neighbouring Cities.

Sect. 6.

117. This, notwithstanding the *Bellovaci*, under the conduct of *Corbeus* and *Comius* the *Atrabation*, levied Men, with resolution to invade the *Suessones*. *Cæsar* thinking not only his Honour, but his security concerned to save his Allies, which had well deserved of the Common-wealth, with three Legions marched against them. The *Gallæ* he found seated on the higher ground, from which they would not descend, notwithstanding the smallness of the number of the *Romans* compared with theirs; and *Cæsar* considering their multitudes, would not attack them with such disadvantages, but strongly fortified himself to make them believe he was fearful, and thereby to draw them down to Battle. Yet were told that he saw it necessary to send for three Legions more, the coming of which while he expected, the Enemy defeated by an Ambush a Party of the *Rhemi*, which was appointed to guard the Foragers, and killed *Vertigo* the Prince of their State, and Captain of their Horse, while, though an old Man, and scarcely able to sit on Horse-back, he too greedily pursued them. And on the other side the *Germani*, whom *Cæsar* had sent for from beyond the *Rhine* to fight, intermingled with his Horse-men, boldly passed the Marsh that lay between the Camps, and routed such flying Parties of the *Gallæ* as they could meet.

Are defeated.

118. The *Gallæ*, upon hearing of the coming of more Legions, were discouraged, and sent away by night with their Carriages such among them as were infirm or wanted Arms, fearing such another Siege as had been at *Aléba*. *Cæsar* perceiving they would all be gone, and that the Marsh would hinder the Pursuit, made Bridges over it, and possessed himself of a ridge of an Hill which ran betwixt the Marsh and the Enemies Camp; and so ordered his Battel, that thence the Engines might play amongst the thickest of them. They being fearful to stay, and not knowing how to secure their retreat from *Cæsar*, who stood ready to pursue them, cast up a great heap of Faggots betwixt the two Camps, and set them on fire, thereby to intercept his fight when they fled, and that with such success, that though he sent out the Horse after them, as suspecting their Design, yet his Men were afraid to venture into the thick flame and smoke, and the *Bellovaci* escaped to a place ten Miles off; whence, by laying Ambushes both of Horse and Foot in divers places, they did the *Romans* great displeasure in their foraging. *Corbeus* chose out of his whole Army six thousand Foot, and lay in Ambush with them in a place so incompassed with a River and Woods, that the *Romans* coming thither should be taken as in a Toile. But *Cæsar* by a Captive got notice of it, and sent his Horse-men to the place, to ordering his matters, that being readily attacked by the Enemy, they were felled first by light Foot-men, and he himself was presently at hand with his Legions. Upon knowledge hereof the *Gallæ* would have fled, but could not, being themselves caught in the trap they had laid for the *Romans*. Yet they adventured to enter the River, and the Woods, but were all overtaken and slain; and *Corbeus* refusing quarter, but fighting and hurting many Men, exasperated therewith the Victors so much, that they could not forbear to throw their Darts at him, and dispatch him.

Tey submit.

119. By some few that escaped through the Woods, the *Gallæ* incamped at eight Miles distance, perceived the misery they were in, for *Cæsar* would be suddenly upon them; they called a Council by sound of Trumpet, and sent their Ambassadors to him, to whom they accused *Corbeus*, as Author of the Revolt. *Cæsar* told them it was an easy matter to cast the blame upon the dead; and he put them in mind how the *Bellovaci* had stood most stiffly in their opinion, and would not be reduced, when the other States had submitted. Nevertheless he was satisfied with the punishment which they had brought upon themselves; for they lamented, that besides the loss of their Horse-men, many thousands of their choicest Foot were cut off, scarcely any escaping to bring tydings of the slaughter. The rest of the States having staid to see what success they would have, when they saw that they were admitted to give hostages, submitted themselves, and did so too; only *Comius* having, upon his revolt from *Cæsar*, been almost assassinated by procurement of *Labienu* would trust his life with no Man, but kept himself with the *Germani*, whom he had procured to assist in the War. *Cæsar* perceived that no Nation now stood against him, the most warlike being subdued. And therefore he disposed of his Forces into several parts of *Gallæ*. He himself invaded the Country of *Ambiorix*, which he harassed with Fire and Sword, on purpose to make him hated by his People. Having slain, and taken Prisoners a great number of Men, he sent *Labienu* with two Legions amongst the *Treviri*, the Country of whom, by reason of its nearness to *Germany*, being daily injured to War, was not much unlike it in rudeness and savageness of its Inhabitants. Neither did they obey *Cæsar*'s Commands at any time longer than he had an Army in their Country to compel them.

120. In

Sect. 6.

120. In the mean time a new War was raised in the Territories of the *Pisones*, a part of which State renounced their obedience. But they were happily reduced by *C. Fabius*, who before had received many Cities by composition, and now in an encounter caused the death of above twelve thousand Men; after which he went against the *Carnutes*, and the other States, the power of whom he knew to be crushed by that overthrow. Giving them no respite, he speedily brought them to submission; for the *Carnutes*, who, though often before roughly handled, yet would never listen to peace, now gave hostages, and submitted. And besides them, the *Aremorian* States following their example, upon the coming of *Fabius* with his Legions among them, received his Command without delay. *Drapec*, one of the *Senones*, and *Luterius* of the *Cadurci*, having escaped from the Battel, fled toward the Province, and were pursued by *Cæsar* the Legate with two Legions. Perceiving that they could not upon his approach enter the Province without danger, they took *Uxellodunum*, a Town of the *Cadurci*, excellently well fortified by its situation. Hence, as they went to gather Forage, *Cæsar* fell upon them, and quite defeated their Forces, which done, he fate down before the Town, and *Fabius* the next day came to his assistance.

Cæsar takes Uxellodunum.

121. Ere this, *Cæsar* having left *M. Antonius* the *Quæstor* with fifteen Cohorts among the *Bellovaci*, to prevent new Confederacies, visited the other States, and charged them with more hostages; but encouraged them with comfortable words. Yet when he came amongst the *Carnutes*, he demanded *Enturatur*, as Author of their Revolt, to be given up into his Hands, and *Hirtius* tells us, he was compelled by his Soldiers to punish him, who imputed to him all the dangers and losses they had sustained by the War; so that being in a manner scourged to death, he was beheaded. Having received information from *Cæsar*, how *Drapec* and *Luterius* were defeated, and that the Town-men stood it out, he resolved to go and punish them too, lest occasion should be given to the rest of the *Gallæ* to think that they wanted not strength, but constancy and resolution to withstand the *Romans*, and other Cities trusting to the strength of their situation, and encouraged by their Example, should attempt to recover their liberty. For he was sensible that all the *Gallæ* knew his Power was to continue but one Summer longer; which if they could weather out, they thought they should need to fear no danger after. Coming beyond all expectation before the Town, he presently saw there was no means to conquer it, but by cutting off the Water. For a River ran below the high Hill on which it stood, and a Spring of Water gushed out under the Walls; with much labour and expence of Blood he caused Batteries to be planted, and drove them both from River and Fountain. They set fire to his Works, and by a Sally hindered him from quenching it. To divert them he resolved to assault the Town, which apprehension caused them to retreat. And at length, by Mines, he diverted the course of the Spring another way; with which they were so daunted, that thinking it above the wit of Man, and to have been effected by the Gods, they yielded themselves. *Cæsar* judging that his clemency was sufficiently known, and could receive no blemish from one Act of severity, for an Example to others, cut off the right Hands of all such that were able to bear Arms.

The States of Aquitaine submit.

122. While *Cæsar* was thus employed, *Labienu* warred prosperously against the *Treviri*; of them he slew many, as also of the *Germani*, who were ready to assist any Man against the *Romans*. *Cæsar* having conquered, and subdued *Gallia Celtica*, and also *Belgica*, but never all this while visited *Aquitania*, further than that he had made a kind of entrance into it by certain Victories obtained by *P. Crassus*, with two Legions marched thither with intent to bestow there the latter part of the Summer, and that he did also with such success, that all the States thereof sent unto him, and gave him hostages. This done, he went with his Horse-guard to *Narbon*, and disposed of his Foot into wintering places, so as no part of *Gallæ* was without an Army. Having staid a few days in the Province, and inquired how every Man had behaved himself during the general Rebellion of *Gallæ*, which he had overcome by the faithfulness and assistance of the said Province, he returned to his Legions into *Belgium*, and wintered at *Nemetacenna*. In the mean time *Comius* the *Atrabation* lived by robbing and intercepting such Provisions as were carried to the *Roman* Camps. Against him *M. Antonius* sent out *C. Volusenus*, whom he encountered, and wounded dangerously in the Thigh, but the *Roman* Horse, out of indignation that their Commander was wounded, enforced the Fight with such violence, that *Comius* his Party was routed. And though he himself escaped, yet he thought it best to submit, and offer hostages; which *Antony* received, and besides pardoning him, granted him

his

Sect. 6. his request, that he should not come into the fight of any *Roman*, which resolution he had taken, upon the danger he had formerly elapsed.

123. *Cæsar*, being come into *Belgium*, bent his Endeavours to this end, that at his departure, and withdrawing of his Army, he should not be constrained to have War, and leave troubles behind him. He therefore took this course, to treat the several States obligingly, by highly rewarding the Noble-men, and by burdening the Country with no new Impositions, by which means he easily kept it quiet, now tired out with many unfortunate Battels; for so long as a fence of the miseries of War remains upon an harassed People, they listen not to their turbulent and unquiet families; but when that is off, they return to their whim again, which is wont to come upon them no otherwise than the fits of an Ague at Terms and Periods. Winter being over, *Cæsar*, contrary to his custom, halted into *Italy*, his chief business being to commend to the Municipal Towns and Colonies the Suit of his *Quæstor M. Antony* for the Priesthood. He had sent him before to sue for that promotion, and made all the Friends he could; and was now so far engaged, that some few Men were grown factious and troublesome about it, and by putting *Antony* beside his purpose, sought to disparage *Cæsar* now going out of his Command.

124. Yet before he came near *Italy*, he understood that *Antony* was made Augur. Notwithstanding he thought fit to visit the Towns and Colonies, to give them thanks for their appearing for him, and to recommend to them his own business. For, he intended to sue for the Consulship himself for the following year, being concerned that his Adversaries made their brags that *L. Lentulus* and *C. Marcellus* had been advanced to that dignity to deprive him of all Honour and Authority, and that it was wrested from *Sergius Galba*, though he had more Voices on his side, because he was a familiar friend of *Cæsar*, and had been his Legate. He was received with extraordinary affection and respect, upon this his first coming from the Wars in *Gall*. For nothing was omitted which they could devise for the adorning of their Gates, Ways, and Places where he was to pass. The People with their Children met him on the Road, Sacrifices were every where offered, the Temples and Forums were hanged with Tapestry, and, as if some great Triumph had been provided for, great expense was made by the Richer, and great Expressions by the meaner sort.

125. Having lightly passed through the Countries of *Gallia Togata*, he returned with all speed to his Army at *Nemetocenna*, and called all his Legions out of their Winter Quarters into that of the *Treviri*, where he mustered them. Of *Gallia Togata* he made *Labiennus* Governour, thereby to obtain more favour and furtherance in his Suit for the Consulship. He heard oftentimes that *Labiennus* was solicited strongly by his Enemies; and was informed, that by the prevalency of a small Faction, it was carried in the Senate to take away from him part of his Army; yet would he not give credit to any thing said of *Labiennus*, nor would be drawn to act contrary to the Authority of the Senate, believing, that if the Members thereof might have freedom of Voice, he should easily obtain what he desired. For *C. Curio*, Tribune of the People, had often professed, that if any were terrified by the Army of *Cæsar*, forasmuch as the Power of *Pompey* kept other Persons as much in awe, both of them should disband their Armies, and so the City be free to use her own right as she pleased. The Senate was just and civil enough to him, as appeared both at this time and the year before, when *Marcellus*, opposing his Dignity contrary to the Law of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, brought in a Bill for his discharge, before the time of his Authority was expired. Yet did not this discourage his Enemies, but rather excited them to make good their Party, and compel the Senate to approve of what they had determined.

126. Hereupon it was resolved, that *Pompey* should send one Legion, and *Cæsar* another, to the War against the *Parthians*. But *Hirtius* tells us, it was easily discerned that both these Legions were taken from *Cæsar*; for, the first Legion *Pompey* had sent unto *Cæsar*, and given it him as out of his own Number, being levied in the Province. Yet did *Cæsar*, though no Man doubted but that he was weakened at the pleasure of his Enemies, send *Pompey* his Legion again, and of his own Forces he ordered the fifteenth Legion which he had in *Gall* within the *Alps*, to be delivered according to the Decree of the Senate. And in the room thereof he sent the thirteenth into *Italy*, to lie in Garrison in the same place whence the other was drawn. Now did he place his Army in its Winter Quarters amongst the *Belge* and *Adni*, as the best way to keep *Gall* in quiet, the former being the most valiant, and the latter of greatest Authority. Then took he his Journey into *Italy*, whither when come, he

Cæsar honourably received in *Gall*.

His Enemies lusted at Rome against him.

understood that the two Legions which he had dismissed to be according to the Decree of the Senate employed in the *Parthian* War, were by *Marcellus* the Consul delivered to *Pompey*, and kept still in *Italy*. By this dealing was sufficiently evident what was intended against *Cæsar*. Yet he determined to take all things patiently, as long as there was hope of determining the controversy rather by Law than by the Sword.

SECT. VII.

Containing the History of the Civil War betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, to the Absoluteness of Julius *Cæsar*.

The space of five years.

1. Such is the account which *Hirtius*, or whoever wrote the eighth Commentary of the *Gallick* War, giveth us of the beginning of the Civil war betwixt these great Persons; but it is our part to enquire farther into the original of it. For whoever was the Author of that Book, who wrote moreover Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*, till the Death of *Cæsar*, was no small a Friend and Admirer of him. In his Preface he tells his *Balbus* by whose daily Admonition he was constrained to write, that though all that read the Writings of *Cæsar* admired them as well as he, yet he had more reason to do it than others, because they considered only in them the purity of Phrase, and excellency of Style; whereas he who knew with what facility and expedition he wrote, had a more particular Subject of Admiration. He was it seems present at the *Gallick* War, and for the General had very great Honour and Respect; but he had not so much reason and opportunity to understand the Intrigues relating to the Civil; neither was he possibly willing to reflect upon *Cæsar*, as, or where he did deserve.

Hirtius favourable to *Cæsar*.

The grounds and occasions of the Civil Wars betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæsar*.

2. The Truth is, *Cæsar*'s carriage, especially in his Consulship, had rendered him very distastful to the Senate. *Pompey* on the other side, by his fair demeanour, had of late gained much upon it, which *Cæsar* being aware of desired leave to stand for a second Consulship in his absence. This was granted him; but he, fearing the malice of his Adversaries in case he were reduced to a private condition, further importuned the Fathers that he might have his Government of *Gall* prorogued, casting about all manner of ways to keep his Army till he should be Consul. This was hindered by *Marcellus* the Consul, who had succeeded *Pompey*; whereupon *Cæsar* laying his hand upon his Sword, said, That that should obtain it for him. This *Marcellus* was very bitter against him, pressing hard that a Successor should be sent him; but this was crooked by *Pompey*, either out of good nature, or policy. Such were designed Consuls for the ensuing year, as were most opposite to *Cæsar*, viz. *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *C. Claudius Marcellus*, Nephew to the former Consul by his Brother: *Curio* also, an inveterate Enemy of *Cæsar*, was made Tribune. Yet all these, except *Claudius*, were drawn aside by Money; *Paulus* by fifteen hundred Talents, and *Curio*, who was much indebted, by one hundred thousand *Sesterces*. *Marcellus* then urging, that a Successor was to be sent to *Cæsar*, *Curio* stiffly withstood it, alleging, that then ought *Pompey* also to dismiss his Army; for that his power was equally dangerous to the public liberty. *Pompey* outwardly seemed willing, and said he would disband his Men; but *Curio* fell foul upon him, telling him, that promise without performance was nothing; and that he might seem to stand for the good of the Commonwealth, and not carry favour with *Cæsar*, he desired, that if they both refused to disband, they should, the one as well as the other, be declared Enemies to the State.

Appian, de bel. in civilib. lib. 1. c. 48.

3. *Pompey* exceedingly nettled heretofore, threatened him; but he ceased not to urge the thing. The Senate could have withstood them both reduced, but feared to disband *Pompey*'s Army, looking upon *Cæsar* as the more dangerous person. *Pompey* sent now to him for the Legion he had lent him, two being ordered into *Syria* to defend the Eastern Parts now in danger by the overthrow of *Crassus*; he sent him this Legion, and another of his own; but there being no need or them in *Syria*, they wintered at *Capua*. Those that brought them into *Italy* did ill Offices for *Cæsar*, and gave out, as if his Army at his return would all revolt, which though very false,

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Sect. 7.

was believed by Pompey, who thereupon neglected to provide for so dangerous a War as followed. The next year C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Corn. Lentulus were Consuls, and it was propounded to the Senate, whether both Pompey and Cæsar should lay down all Power. Though once it was carried that Cæsar only should, when the Consul propounded it severally, yet *Curio again putting it to the question, it was carried against both by three hundred and forty eight Voices. Hereat the Consuls enraged, left the City, and gave Pompey power as from themselves to fight for his Country against Cæsar, which he feared not altogether to approve. Now Curio perceiving himself in danger, and that he could do no more service for Cæsar, fled unto him.

Curio labour-
eth hard for
Cæsar.

4. Cæsar himself tells us, that all things were carried impetuously and confusedly; that leisure was not given to his Friends to advertise him, nor yet to the Tribunes to avoid the danger falling upon them, nor to use the Right of opposition left unto them by Sylla; but within seven days after they were entered into their Office, they were forced to shift for their safety, notwithstanding the most turbulent and factious Tribunes of former times were never put to look into their Affairs, nor give account of their Actions before the eighth Month. In the end they betook themselves to that extrem Act of Senate, which was never made but when the City was upon the Point of burning, or in the desperate estate of the Common-wealth: Let the Consuls, Prætors, Tribuni Plebis, and such Proconsuls as are about the City, do their endeavour that the Common-wealth receive no detriment. This *Senatus-consultum* was made on the seventh of the Ides of January; so that in the five first days in which the Senate might sit, after that Lentulus had entered the Consulship, the two Comitial days excepted, most heavy and bitter Decrees were made against the Power of Cæsar, and against the Tribunes of the People, famous and worthy Men, who thereupon fled presently out of the City, and came to him, who being then at Ravenna attended an Answer to his easie and modest demands; if by any reasonable course matters might be drawn to a peaceable conclusion.

What others
write.

5. Others write, that Curio, being called to a Consultation, would have had him presently invade Italy; but he chose rather first to make an overture of Peace, writing to his Friends, it's said, to procure, though but two Legions with Gall within the Alps and Ilyricum, until he should be Consul again; which though it seemed something reasonable to Pompey, the Consuls would not admit of it. Then wrote he to the Senate a menacing and bitter Letter; for so it is termed by Cicero, who now was returned from Cilicia, his Province, which he had governed a year, and for his good Service in the Field had been saluted Imperator, and had a Triumph decreed him by the Senate, which these disturbances hindered, he saying, that so an agreement were made, he had rather follow the Chariot of Cæsar than triumph in his own; and to effect it, he omitted no travel, writing to Cæsar, and speaking unto Pompey. But Cæsar in that Letter, after an honourable mention made of his own Exploits, signified, that he was willing to resign his Power, in case Pompey did the like; otherwise he should retain his Forces, and speedily come to revenge the Injuries which had been offered as well to himself as his Country. At the reading of these last words all cried out, that War was denounced, and they sent L. Domitius to succeed him in his Command, with four newly raised Legions. Antonius and Cassius the Tribunes being of Curio's Judgment, the Consuls bad them depart out of the Senate, left their Persons *Sacrofancti* (as the term was) by their Offices should be violated; and they in a great rage departing, that night fled toward Cæsar. So began this famous Civil War, in the fourth year of the CLXXXII. Olympiad, or the DCCV. of the City, XLVII. before the Birth of Christ; A. M. MIMCMLVI. the aforesaid C. Claudius Marcellus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus being Consuls.

The begin-
ning of the
Civil War.

Cæsar's Com-
plaints.

6. Amongst other things ordained by the Senate in order to preparation for War, Cæsar writes, that two Consular, and the other Pretorian Provinces were given to private Men, that had no Office of Magistracy. That Syria fell to Scipio, and Gall to L. Domitius. That into the other Provinces were sent Prætors without consent or approbation of the People, as had been practised in former years, who having made their Vows, took their *Paludamenta*, and went their ways. That the Consuls (which before that time was never seen) went out of the City, and had their Lictors privately within the City, and in the Capitol, against all Order and ancient Custom. That Levies were made throughout Italy, Arms were required, and Money was exacted from Municipal Towns, from Temples and Religious Places. That all Divine and Humane Rights were confounded. Provoked by these things

Sect. 7.

Made to his
Soldiers.

things, he called the Soldiers together, acquainted them with all the Injuries he had received from time to time by procurement of his Enemies, and how they had alienated Pompey from him, of whom he had well deserved. He lamented that the Power of the Tribunes, which former times had re-established, should now be suppressed by force. For Sylla having stripped the Tribunial Power of all Rights and Prerogatives, yet continued to it the freedom of Intercession. But Pompey, who would seem to restore it to its Dignity, took away that Power which alone was left unto it. As for the *Senatus-consultum*, whereby the Magistrates were required to take care for the safety of the Common-wealth, and by the Voice of which the Roman People were summoned to take Arms, it had never been practised, but when pernicious Laws were propounded, upon the violence of the Tribunes, and the mutiny and secession of the People; when the Temples, and more eminent Places were seized, which Examples of former Ages had been expiated by the fortune of Saturninus, and the Gracchi. But at this present there was no such matter attempted, no riot in thought; no Law published; no tampering with the People; no secession. Therefore he exhorted them to undertake the Defence of the Reputation and Dignity of their General, under whose Conduct for nine years together they had most happily managed the common Interest, fought many prosperous and victorious Battels, and settled all Gall and Germany in Peace. The Soldiers of the thirteenth Legion being only present, for the other Legions were not yet come, cried out instantly, that they were ready to undertake his Defence, and protect the Tribunes.

He goeth to
Ariminum.

7. Having founded the minds of the Soldiers, he went, he saith, directly toward Ariminum, and there met with the Tribunes of the People that were fled to him; sent for the rest of the Legions from their Wintering Camps, and gave order that they should follow him. Phalaris relates, that he had not in all above five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse about him in Gall within the Alps, having left the rest beyond the Mountains to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. That considering how for the execution of his Design he needed not so many Men, but that his Interest was to come upon his Enemies on a sudden, and surprise them, rather than by great Preparations to give them notice and time to make opposition, he commanded his Officers to go before, without any other Armour than their Swords, to take Ariminum, (the first City) one comes out of Gall) with as little blood-shed and tumult as they could possibly. Then committing the Army he had with him to the care of Hortensius, one of his Friends, he continued a whole day together openly in the sight of every Man, to see the Gladiators exercise before him. At night he went to his Lodging, and bathing his Body a little, came afterwards into the Hall, and made merry a while with them he had invited to Supper. When it was pretty late, and very dark, he rose from the Table, and prayed the Company to be merry, and not to stir, for he would straight be with them again; but he had secretly given order to a few of his truest Friends to follow him, some one way, and some another. He himself having hired a Carriage, made at first as if he would have gone some other way; but suddenly turned back again towards Ariminum. Now, when he was come to the little River Rubicon, which parted Gall within the Alps from Italy, he stopped his course upon a sudden.

* Now Rind-
ni in Rama-
nia upon the
Adriatic in
the Popes Do-
minion.

His anxious
thoughts at
the Rubicon.

8. For, the farther he went, and nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his Conscience, to think what it was he took in hand, and his thoughts were more perplexed, when he entered into a consideration of the desperate-ness of his Attempt. He was plunged into various thoughts, and spoke never a word, waving sometimes one way, and sometimes another, and often changed his determination contrary to himself. At length he fell into discourse with his Friends he had with him, amongst whom was Alpinus Pollia, telling them what mischief this Passage over the River would breed in the World, and how much Posterity would talk of it. But at last, with Courage, casting from him all these Melancholic thoughts, he spake such words as Valiant Men are wont when they attempt dangerous Enterprizes, as that a *Desperate Man* saith no danger, *Comen*, and passing the River, never stopped; so that before day-light he was within Ariminum, and took it. It's said, that the night before he passed over this River, he dreamed that he lay with his Mother.

The great
confusion in
Italy upon his
Invasion.

9. The City of Ariminum being taken, and the rumor thereof dispersed throughout Italy, as if open War had been begun both at Sea and Land, as if all the Laws of Rome had been broken, together with the extreme Bounds and Limits of the State, not only Men and Women, but whole Corporations themselves quitting their Habitations, fled from one place to another. Rome was immediately filled with

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Sect. 7. multitudes that flocked thither, like droves of Cattel, being not to be commanded by any Authority of Magistrates, nor persuaded by any Arguments, so confused they were, to the great danger of the City. For, in all places Men were of contrary opinions, and Tumults were raised by such as were glad of this trouble, who could keep in no certain place, but every where fell out with such ascended either afraid or angry at it, and boldly threatened them with that which was to come. Pompey himself was amazed, but much more was troubled with the reflecting words which were given him on both sides. Some said he had done bravely, and paid for his folly, in making *Cæsar* so great and powerful both against himself and the Common-wealth. Others blamed him as having refused the honest and reasonable Conditions offered by *Cæsar*, and suffering *Lentulus* the Consul too much to abuse him. *Phœnius* bade him stamp on the ground with his foot; for *Pompey* one day in bravery said in the Senate, that none needed to trouble themselves about Preparation for War; for when he lifted, with one stamp of his foot, he could fill all *Italy* with Soldiers. At this time *Pompey* had a greater number of Men than *Cæsar*; but those about him, and concerned with him would never let him follow his own Determinations, bringing him so many lies, as if *Cæsar* had been already at their heels. *Dion Cassius* writes, that he was afflicted by what he learned from *Labienus* concerning *Cæsar*. For *Labienus*, who had been one of *Cæsar's* greatest Friends, and had fought valiantly under him, as his *Legatus* in *Gall*, forsook him and went to *Pompey*, to whom he revealed all his Secrets. A wonder it is made by *Dion*, what the cause should be that moved *Labienus* to this Revolt. But he concludes it was, because being now puffed up with his Wealth and Reputation, he carried himself very highly, and *Cæsar* disdaining he should think to equal him, did less respect him than formerly. This alteration of mind *Labienus* not enduring, and standing in fear of what might be the consequence of it, revolted from him.

Pompey being altered in his Inclinations by this means, sent Messengers to *Cæsar*, namely, *L. Cæsar* his Kinsman, whose Father was Legate in his Camp, and *Rafinus* the *Prætor*, who voluntarily undertook the Employment. *L. Cæsar* told him, that *Pompey* desired to clear himself, lest he should take those things to be done in contempt of him, which were ordered only for the Service of the State. The good of that he said he always preferred before any private respects, and that *Cæsar* was also obliged in honour to lay aside all indignation and affection, for the sake of the Common-wealth, and not to be so transported with anger and disdain as he seemed to be, left hoping to be avenged upon them at *Rome*, he should endamage his Country. Somewhat more he added with excuses on *Pompey's* part, in all which he was seconded by *Rafinus*. *Cæsar* answered, That he had ever held the Dignity of the Common-wealth dearer than his own Life. He grieved that a kindness bestowed on him by the People should be spitefully wrested from him by his Adversaries; that six Months of his Government were to be cut off; and so he was to be called home to the City; and that notwithstanding at the last Creation of Magistrates it was resolved, that regard should be had of him though absent; Yet for the Common-wealth's sake could he be content to undergo the loss of that Honour. But having writ to the Senate, that all Men might quit their Armies, he was so far from obtaining it, that a Levy thereupon was made throughout *Italy*; moreover, that the two Legions, drawn from him under pretence of the *Parthian War*, were still retained about the City, which were also in Arms. He perceived well enough that all this tended to his destruction, and yet was he content to condescend to all things, and to endure all inconveniences for the good of the Publick. Let *Pompey*, said he, go to his Government and Provinces. Let both the Armies be discharged. Let all Men in *Italy* lay down their Arms. Let the City be freed of fear. Let the *Comitia* be left to their ancient Liberty, and the whole Administration free to the Senate and People. For the security hereof let an Oath be taken, else let *Pompey* come near to me, or me be permitted to go nearer to *Pompey*, that by conference an end may be put to these differences.

The Answer unsatisfactory. 11. The Messengers delivered this Answer to *Pompey*, and the Consuls at *Capua*, to which, after Consultation, they made a Reply by Writing, and the same Messengers. This was the drift of it, that *Cæsar* should return into *Gall*, quit *Arminum*, and dismiss his Army; which if he did, *Pompey* would then go into *Spain*; in the mean time, till security could be given that *Cæsar* would do this, the Consuls and *Pompey* would not forbear to levy Men. These Conditions were very unequal, that *Cæsar* should quit *Arminum*, and return into his Province, and *Pompey* hold Regions and Provinces belonging to others; that *Cæsar* should dismiss his Army, and *Pompey* raise new Troops; that *Pompey* should promise to repair to his Government, but assign

Sect. 7. assign no day for his departure; so that if he had not gone till *Cæsar's* time of Government had been expired, he could not have been accused of breaking his word. But there being no time appointed for a conference, nor any show made of coming nearer, there could be no hope of Peace. *Cæsar* seeing this, sent out *M. Antony*, and others, and took in several Municipal Towns by the assistance of the *Decuriones* of *Arminum*, though *Atilius Varus*, who held that Town, opposed it, making Levies of Men through the Country of *Picenum*.

Cæsar takes in some Towns. 12. The noise hereof flying to *Rome*, struck the City with such terror, that *Lentulus* the Consul being to deliver out Money to *Pompey*, according to a *Senatus-consultum*, and having opened the inner Treasury, forthwith fled away; for it was reported falsely, that *Cæsar* approached, and that his Horse was near at hand. *Marcellus* the other Consul, and most of the other Magistrates, followed after. *Pompey* departing the day before, was gone to those Legions he had taken from *Cæsar*, and had left in *Apulia* to winter. In the mean time the Levies ceased in the City, and no place seemed secure betwixt that and *Capua*, where they began first to assemble. There to secure themselves they pressed for Soldiers such *Colonia* as by the *Lex Julia* were placed there. The *Gladiators*, which *Cæsar* kept in exercise, were by *Lentulus* brought out of the School, set at liberty, and had Horses given them, being commanded to follow him. But afterward upon advice how ill it was spoken of, he dispersed them throughout *Campania* for their safe keeping. So writes *Cæsar* himself as to the flight of the Consuls, and *Pompey* out of *Rome*. *Plutarch* adds, that *Pompey*, wearied with the frights, fury, and madness of those who cried still that *Cæsar* was at hand, and seeing all things in tumult, concluded there was no way but to forsake the City, and commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a Man to tarry there, except he loved tyranny more than liberty, and the Common-wealth. And to the Consuls themselves, before they had offered their common Sacrifices, as was wont, upon going out of the City, fled away; as did most of the Senators, taking away in halt such things as came to hand, as if they had stolen them. And in this hurlyburly some even of *Cæsar's* Friends took the same course, being out of fear, carried with the stream of this Tumult.

Pompey and the Senators leave Rome, and go to Capua. 13. *Dion Cassius* having told us how the great ones were unwilling that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* should meet and confer, lest they should conspire together against their Interest; and that *Pompey* was unwilling to be reduced to a private Life, because he knew, that in that condition he should not be so great with the People as *Cæsar* would be; adds also, that before the Messengers were returned he went into *Campania*, where he thought he could with more convenience raise the War. He commanded, that all the Senate and Magistrates should follow him, by a *Senatus-consultum* having propounded Impunity to such as would quit the place upon this occasion, and having declared that he would esteem him that continued here no other than a publick Enemy. He procured also a Decree, that they should take along with them all the publick Money, and all things consecrated to their Gods, thereby hoping to be able to raise a great Army: And almost all the Cities of *Italy* had that kindness for him, that a little before having heard he was dangerously sick, they made publick Vows for his recovery; which was an extraordinary Honour, and happened only afterwards to them, who obtained Sovereign Authority; although it was no strong Argument, that therefore they would continue constant in fidelity to him. And although it was decreed, that all the Treasure and Consecrated things should be carried away, yet was neither fort removed out of their Places. For when it was heard that *Cæsar* had not given any peaceable Answer, but blamed the Messengers as having falsely reported things on his side, and that he had many Men bold and courageous, and resolved to make havock of all things, (as in such Cases things are usually made words, and more terrible than indeed they are) affrighted therewith, before they touched them, they ran away in great tumults and disorder. They called to mind what horrid things had been committed by *Marius* and *Sylla*, and could not think better of *Cæsar's* whole Soldiers for the most part were *Barbarians*. But in such manner did *Pompey* leave the City, and with him most of the Senators; for some few staid behind, who were addicted to *Cæsar*, and some others that resolved to stand Neuters.

14. *Cæsar* having notice hereof, went not straight to *Rome*, for he knew that the City would fall to the Victor as a reward, and he professed that he did not make War upon *Rome*, but for her sake against his Adversaries. But throughout *Italy* he dispersed Papers, whereby he challenged *Pompey* to debate the matter betwixt them, and indeavoured to persuade others to be void of fear, and to keep themselves at home.

SECT. 7. home. Dislodging from *Auximum*, he passed through the Country of *Picenum*, and there was most willingly entertained by all the Governments. But a stop was given to him at *Corfinium* by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had raised twenty Cohorts out of *Alba*, the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, and adjacent Countries. *Cæſar* passed the River, which *Domitius* in vain attempted to hinder, by breaking down the Bridge at three Miles distance from the Town; but the Party he sent was beaten off by *Cæſar's* Vanguard, who then late down before the Place. *Domitius* sent to *Pompey* to desire aid, affirming, that *Cæſar* with two Armies, by reason of the straits of the Passages, might easily be shut up; which opportunity if he neglected, he himself with above thirty Cohorts, and of Senators and Equesters a great number, must needs run a very great danger. In the mean time he took care for effectual defence, and to encourage his Soldiers, promised to each Man four Acres out of his own Lands, with a suitable proportion to the *Centurions* and *Evocati*; for having been of *Sylla's* Party he had got great Possessions.

15. *Cæſar* made great Works to fortify his Camp, and begirt the Town with Castles, and other Fortifications, which while he was about, the Messengers returned to *Domitius*. *Pompey* wrote back that he would not hazard the Cause by driving it to such extremity; and whereas *Domitius* had, without his advice or consent, engaged in keeping *Corfinium*, he advised him, if possible, to quit it, and bring the Forces to him. But he dissimbled the matter, and gave out, that *Pompey* would come speedily to their relief, and at the same time consulted with his intimate Friends, how to make his escape out of the Town; which being at length known by his demeanour, and other Circumstances, his Men seized on him, and sent to *Cæſar*, offering to deliver him up, and surrender the Place. He concluded that the importance of such a Town was not to be neglected, but kept his Men from entering that night, lest any violence should be committed, which he resolved to prevent, as good policy it was in his undertaking. *Lentulus Spinther* being in the Town, came forth to him, begged pardon, and put him in mind of their former familiarity, acknowledging the favours received from him, which indeed were of the greatest size; for by his means he had been chosen into the College of *Pontifices*, upon leaving his *Prætorship* had obtained *Spain* for a Province, and had been assisted by him in his Suit for the Consulship.

Cæſar taken to prison.

16. *Cæſar* interrupting him said, That he came not out of his Province to do any harm, but to defend himself from the affronts of his Enemies; to restore the Tribunes of the People, who had been driven out of the City, to their Dignity, and to put himself and the People of *Rome* into liberty, being oppressed by the faction of a few persons. *Lentulus* put into heart by this Answer, desired to return into the Town to encourage others who were desperate as to their fortunes; and the next day *Cæſar* sent for the Senators, and Senators Children, the Tribunes of Soldiers, the *Equites* and *Decuriones*, a great number of which *Domitius* had culled out of the Municipal Towns. All these he protected from the Insolencies of the Soldiers, and having a little upbraided them with their Ingratitude, dismissed them in safety. And that he might not seem more sparing of the Lives, than the Monies, of Men, sixty *Seſtertii*, which *Domitius* had brought with him to *Corfinium*, and deposited there, being presented to him by the *Dumoviri* of the Town, he restored to him; though he knew it was publick Money, and given out by *Pompey* to pay Soldiers. *Domitius* his Men he commanded to take the Military Oath to himself, and having staid seven days at *Corfinium*, through the Confines of the *Marrucini*, *Terenenti*, and *Lavinates*, he came into *Apulia*.

17. *Pompey* having notice of what had passed at *Corfinium*, took his Way from *Luceria* to *Brundisium*, raising all the Force he possibly could, even to the arming of Shepherds and Slaves, whom mounting, he made some three hundred Horse. In the mean time several Cohorts revolted to *Cæſar*, and *Cn. Magnus of Cremona*, Master of the Works of *Pompey*, was taken on the way, and brought to *Cæſar*. Him he sent back with this Message to *Pompey*, that seeing there was no opportunity of meeting, he was resolved to seek him at *Brundisium*; it highly importing the Commonwealth, and every Mans safety, that they should confer together: Neither could matters succeed so well at a distance by the Intervention of a third Party. Coming then to *Brundisium* with six Legions, he found that the *Consuls* were gone over to *Dyrachium*, and *Pompey* was in the Town with twenty Cohorts. He knew not whether he staid there to command the *Adriatick*, and the Coasts of *Italy* and *Greece*, or only wanted Shipping to make his Passage; but he would not endure that he should think he could not be forced to quit *Italy*, and therefore he resolved to block up the Haven, and to take away the use of it from him.

Follows Pompey to Brundisium.

SECT. 7. 18. Where the mouth of the Haven was narrowest he raised great Mounts of Earth, and where the Sea was shallow near unto the Shoar; and farther in the deep where no such Mounts could be raised, he placed flat Boats two together, over against the Mounts, of thirty foot square, which he fastened with Anchors to keep them from being tossed with the Waves; to them thus placed he added others of the same size, and covered them with Faggots and Earth, that Men might move upon them readily, and defend them. He fenced them with Hurdles, and such stuff, and on every fourth flote made a Tower two Stories high, to protect them from the force of Shipping and Fire. *Pompey* against them sent out great Ships of burthen with Towers of three Stories, full of all sorts of Munition; and every day the Parties fought with Slings, Arrows, and other casting Weapons. Yet *Cæſar*, he himself tells us, carried matters so, as being willing not to let fall Conditions of Peace. Wondering that he heard nothing from *Magius*, he sent *Caninius Rebilus*, one of his Legats, to *Scerbonius Libo*, (whose Daughter *Pompey's* Son had married) to whom he was allied, and an inward Friend, to persuade him to mediate a Reconciliation, and procure that *Cæſar* might speak with *Pompey*. It might be, he said, that both of them might yield to lay down their Arms upon equal Conditions, and then the greatest share of the Honour would fall to *Libo*. Having heard *Caninius Libo* went straight to *Pompey*, and within a while returning, brought word, that nothing could be done towards an agreement, because the *Consuls* were absent. Whereupon *Cæſar* resolved to trouble himself no more about a Treaty, as he often had done, but to prepare vigorously for War.

19. The Work being half perfected, after nine days, the Ships that had transported the *Consuls*, and the other part of the Army, returned, and thereupon *Pompey* began to fit himself for his departure, either moved by these Works of *Cæſar*, or else pursuing his former Determination. And the better to retard the prosecution of *Cæſar*, he stopped up the Gates, Streets, and Passages, sunk Ditches cross the ways, and therein stuck sharp Piles and Stakes, which he covered lightly with Hurdles and thin Earth, leaving only two ways free, which led to the Haven, and these too he fenced with a strong Palisado of huge and sharp Stakes. Then did he command the Soldiers to get aboard without noise or tumult, leaving here and there upon the Walls, and in the Towers, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to be called away upon warning when the Soldiers were shipped; appointing Vessels of burthen to take them in at a convenient place. The Citizens of *Brundisium* being dislodged by the affronts received from *Pompey*, and the injuries from his Soldiers, gave notice to *Cæſar* of their departure, as they were running here and there, from the tops of their Houses. *Cæſar* prepared to scale the Walls, but *Pompey* weighed Anchor, and the light armed Soldiers got to the Vessels ere his Men could mount them. Then were they seasonably adverted of the blind Ditch by the Inhabitants, and avoiding the danger, were brought a great compass about, and came to the Haven. There, by Skiffs and Boats, they seized two Ships with Soldiers, which stuck by chance upon the Mounts *Cæſar* had made.

Pompey follows the *Consuls* to *Dyrachium*.

20. This flight of *Pompey*, accompanied with all the Circumstances, is esteemed the best Stratagem that he ever used in all his life, and indeed he had made it evident to *Cæſar*, if it had not been for the Information given by them of *Brundisium*. However, his quitting the Place is censured but for a faulty resolution, though handsomely carried. *Cæſar* marvelled much, that lying in a strong City, and expecting his Army to come out of *Spain*, and being Master of the Sea besides, he would leave *Italy*. *Cicero* also blamed him for abandoning *Italy*, therein following the Example of *Theomistoetes* rather than of *Pericles*; whereas this troublesome time and affair was rather to be compared with that of *Pericles* than of the other; *Cæſar* himself having shewed that he was afraid of the time in that he sent to *Brundisium* to treat with *Pompey*. But so *as Dio* observes, did *Pompey* quit his Country, in such a manner, as was both in deliberation and action contrary to his former practice, when he came into *Italy* out of *Asia*; and therefore he procured a Fortune and Reputation contrary to his former. For he who once dismissed his Soldiers from *Brundisium*, that they should not molest the Citizens, now carried others out of *Italy* to molest them, and he who before had carried the Riches of the Barbarians to *Rome*, now carried all things from it he could to other places; and despairing utterly concerning his Country, resolved to use against it the assistance of Strangers, and of such as he had formerly reduced into servitude; and he put more confidence in them for his safety and Power, than in those of whom he had well deserved. Therefore he went under

His departure censured.

Sect. 7. under such circumstances that he got instead of his former glory in War, a repute of pusillanimity and fear of *Cæsar*; and for the Honour he had had of increasing the Renown of his Country, now procured the infamy of forsaking her.

21. But by this means became *Cæsar* in three score days Master of all *Italy* without Blood-shed. Now although he well understood, that it much imported his Interest to put an end to the War by pursuing *Pompey*, before he could joyn himself with the Transmarine Forces, yet considering the lets and the length of time, and that he had no Shipping, but must stay for such as could be brought from *Ancona*, *Gall*, and the *Straits*, which at this time of the year would require a long and troublesome Passage; he resolved to steer another Course. He thought it not fit that *Pompey's* old Army, and the two Provinces of *Spain*, whereof one in gratitude was deeply engaged to his Adversary, should be assured and settled, or that time should be given them there to raise new Forces, or opportunity to wrest from him *Italy* and *Gall* in his absence. He resolved therefore for *Spain*, and gave order to the Municipal Towns to provide Shipping, and send it to *Brundisium*. He sent *Valerius* and *Curio* with convenient Forces to seize *Sardinia* and *Sticily*, which they easily did, *Cotta* and *Cato* the two Governours flying out of their Provinces.

22. *Cæsar* then, to ease his Men and refresh them, carried them back into the Municipal Towns, and went himself directly to *Rome*, where, calling a Senate, he laid open to them the affronts and injuries offered him by his Enemies. He protested that he never sought Honour in the State by extraordinary means; but expected the legitimate time of the Consulship, and was content with that which it was lawful to an Citizen to stand for. And the *Tribunes* of the People had propounded, that consideration of him, though absent, should be had; but it was contradicted by his Adversaries, and by *Cato's* long resistance, who spent the time according to his custom in tedious Speeches; which if *Pompey*, being Consul, disliked, why did he suffer it to be done? and if he did allow of it, why did he not suffer him to enjoy the kindness of the People? He declared how patient he had been, in having moved on his own accord, that both might quit their Forces, though this would have been very prejudicial to his Honour and Dignity. He shewed the malice and bitterness of his Enemies, in that they refused to do themselves what they required of others, and chose rather to put all things into confusion, than relinquish their Commands, and their Armies. He told at large what injury they had done him in taking away his Legions, and how cruel and insolent they had been against the *Tribunes*. He mentioned the Conditions he propounded, and the Conference desired and refused; and upon the whole, he fought them to take the charge of the Common-wealth, together with him; but if, out of fear, they refused, he would not be burthened to them, but undertake it himself. He would have Messengers sent, neither did he regard at all what *Pompey* had said in the Senate. That they to whom Messengers were sent had Authority attributed to them, and it signified fear in those that sent them; these things being Arguments of pusillanimity; for his part, as he had endeavoured to excel in proofs and strength, so would he also in Justice and Equity.

23. The Senators were well pleased that Messengers should be sent, but no Man was found that would go, for fear of *Pompey*, who, upon his departure from *Rome*, had said in open Senate, that he would hold him that it laid there in the same condition with him that was in *Cæsar's* Camp. Three days were spent in Debates and Excuses, *L. Metellus* the *Tribunus Plebis* being induced by *Cæsar's* Adversaries to protract the time, and hinder any matter that he should propound. Perceiving then their resolution, after he had spent there in vain some few days, that he might not spend any more time, nor leave those things undone which he determined to do, he left the City, and went into the farther *Gall*. Such is the Account he gives us himself of what was done by himself and others during his stay in *Rome*, which is not full enough, if we consult and regard other Writers. *Dion Cassius* mentioning his coming to *Rome*, adds, that the Senate was called without the *Pomerium* by *Antonius* and *Cassius*, who had formerly been put out of it. That his Speech was long and full of courtesy, he endeavoured thereby to gain their good wills, for the present, and put them in good hope for the time to come. For, beholding the multitude of his Soldiers, they were full of fears and suspicions, and therefore he thought it fit to cherish them, that they might keep quiet till he had done his business. Therefore neither did he blame any, nor threaten; nay, he inveighed against them who would make War upon their fellow Citizens, not without Imprecations, and moved, that Messengers might be sent to *Pompey* about a Peace. After the same manner he spake to the People, which flocked together also without the City, and he commanded Corn to be brought out

What others say.

Cæsar's Relation not full enough.

Leaves it, and goes into *Gall*.

of the Islands, promising also to bestow upon every Man three hundred Sesterces. For all this, they at *Rome* considered with themselves, that the words and the actions of Designers were very different, as was evident when such obtained what they fought for. That at first they promised all fine things to such as might be in capacity to oppose them; but having got possession of the thing designed, remembered their promises no more, but made use of what they had procured from them against them that gave them it, as they remembered that *Marinus* and *Sylla* had pretended all fair things imaginable. Their fear was increased when they saw that no Messengers were sent; and that *Piso* the Father-in-law of *Cæsar* was blamed exceedingly for making mention of a Message. And how could they expect any Money, when what was left in the Treasury, was to be given to those Soldiers, of which they stood in fear, for their maintenance? Yet, as if all things went prosperously, did they resume these Habits which they wore in time of Peace, and had laid by them.

24. The Proposal concerning Money was opposed by *L. Metellus* the *Tribunus Plebis*, who not being able to prevail, got him to the Treasury to watch the doors. But the Soldiers made no more of his watching than they did of his liberty of Speech, and breaking the Lock, (for the Consuls had taken away the Keys) took away the Money. Besides, many other Decrees were made, most of which *Antonius* propounded under shew of equality, but indeed to establish Domination. But each side called its Adversaries, the Enemies of the Common-wealth, and pretended for the sake of it to wage War, but both wrought only their own ends, and equally weakened the common Interest. *Plutarch*, as to the Messengers, adds another Reason to that of *Cæsar*, why none would undertake the Employment. He saith, It was either because they feared *Pompey*, having forsaken him, or because they thought *Cæsar* meant not as he spake, but that he used words of course to colour his purpose. When *Metellus*, one of the *Tribunes*, would not suffer him to take any of the common Treasure out of the Temple of *Saturn*, but affirmed it was against the Law, he told him that times of War and Law were two things, and bade him, if what he was about did offend him, to get him gone; for, War could not bear such freedom and boldness of Speech; but when the War was ended, and all was quiet again, then he might speak what he would. He added, that he told him this of favour, departing therein from his Right; for, saith he, *Both thou art mine, and all they that have risen against me, and whom I have in my Power*. Having spoken thus to *Metellus*, he went to the Temple door, where the Treasury lay, and finding no Keys, he caused Smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the Locks. *Metellus* thereupon began to hinder him, and some that stood by commended him for so doing; but *Cæsar* at length speaking bigly to him, threatened he would kill him presently if he persisted to trouble him; and further said, *Young Man, thou knowest it is harder for me to say it than to do it*. This word made *Metellus* quake, and he got him away, and ever after that *Cæsar* had all at command for his Wars.

25. All this *Cæsar* omits concerning this publick Treasure, which they say was preserved from the time that *Rome* was taken by the *Galls*, not to be made use of but upon some extrem necessity. He pretends that *Lentulus*, who had ordered to send it to *Pompey*, abandoned it by his flight, as we have seen, upon the first false report that *Cæsar's* Troops approached *Rome*. But, to say the truth, his Report is very different in many things that concern himself from what we read of him in other Authors, these two especially we make use of; and therefore we think it necessary to take in what others say in this matter of the Civil War especially; it being difficult to a Writer in such a case to resist the temptation, and treat as indifferently of things which concern himself, as those wherein he is no way concerned. But, if you please, take along with you the excuse *Appian* maketh for him, who deriding the scrupulosity of the ancient *Romans* that would not touch that Treasure but in extremity of War against the *Celts* or *Galls*, saith, That *Cæsar* might lawfully take it, because he had conquered that Nation, and the *Romans* had no more cause to fear them. *Dio* tells us further, That he took in *Sardinia* and *Sicily* without a stroke, the Governours of them receding from their Commands; and that he sent away *Arifolulus* into *Palestine* his Country, that he might act something against *Pompey*. He gave liberty to the Sons of such as had been proscribed by *Sylla* to sue for Offices of Magistracy; and in conclusion, settled all matters both in *Rome* and throughout *Italy*, as might most conduce to his present Affair. Having committed the care of them to *Antonius*, he resolved for *Spain*, which greatly favoured *Pompey*, and put him in fear, lest in his absence *Gall* might also be persuaded to revolt. In the mean time *Cicero*, having not come in the sight of *Cæsar*, and with him certain other Senators, went to *Pompey*.

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pey,

Sect. 7. *pey*, whom they looked on as having the better cause, and who would they imagined prove victorious. For, the Consuls before their departure, and *Cicero* himself, then *Proconful*, had commanded that all should follow them to *Thessalonica*, the Enemy having seized *Rome*. They were indeed the chief of the Senate, and whithersoever they went, they carried with them a resemblance of the Common-wealth. Therefore did most of the *Senators* and *Equestes* follow them either presently, or after some distance of time: And the Inhabitants of all the Cities which *Cesar* had not secured by his Arms. But now let us hear *Cesar* himself relate what he did after he had left *Rome*.

26. Upon his Arrival in *Gall* he found that *Pompey* had sent into *Spain* *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Cesar* had taken at *Corfinium*, and disarmed; as also that *Domitius* with eight Gallies was gone to secure *Massilia*, (or *Marseilles*) the Inhabitants of which, upon a Message received from *Pompey*, shut their Gates against *Cesar*; called into their City the *Albicans*, a barbarous People, who of ancient time had held amity with them, and dwelt upon the Mountains above *Marseilles*, and made all preparations for defence. *Cesar* calling out some fifteen of the Citizens, expostulated with them, and told them they should rather follow the Example of all *Italy*, than apply themselves to the Will of any one Man. The Town made this Answer, That they understood the People of *Rome* were divided into two Parties, and whether of them was in the right they could not judge. That the Leaders of these Factions, *Pompey* and *Cesar*, were both special Patrons and Benefactors to their City, the one having augmented their publick Revenues, and endowed their State with the Lands of the *Volca Arcomica*, and the *Heloni*; and the other having conquered and subdued *Gallicia*, (a Place it seems to be called near the Town) gave it to them, and increased their Tolls or Imposts; that therefore, as they were equally obliged to both, they would carry an equal respect unto them, and not aid either of them against the other, or receive them into their City or Ports. But while these things were in hand, *Domitius* arrived, and was made both Governour of the City, and General for the War. A Fleet now they rigged up, and made Provision for a Siege; with which injuries *Cesar*, he tells us, provoked, brought three Legions to *Marseilles*, resolved to prepare necessities for an Attacque, and to build twelve Gallies at *Arelatum*, or *Arles*. These in thirty days time from the cutting down of the Timber, were built, armed, rigged, and brought down to *Marseilles*. And the Command of them he gave to *D. Brutus*, and left *C. Trebonius*, his *Legatus*, to follow the Siege.

*Cesar besieged
this Marseilles.*

27. *Dion Cassius* his Relation so far agrees with this of *Cesar*, as to affirm that they of *Marseilles* were the only Men in *Gall*, who neither followed his Party, nor received him into their City. He saith the Answer they gave him was observable, that they were the Associates of the People of *Rome*, and that at present they did not curiously inquire, nor were able to distinguish whether the one or the other was in the wrong. But if they pleased to come as Friends, they would receive them both without their Arms, but neither of them, if they came in a State of War. He speaks nothing of *Domitius* his coming, which *Cesar* insults upon, and the receiving of him as a just ground for the War; but adds, that being besieged, they both defended themselves against him, and also against *Trebonius* and *D. Brutus* a long time, that *Cesar* himself spent some time in attacking *Marseilles*, which he thought easy to be taken, thinking it a thing unsufferable, that he who had taken *Rome* it self without any trouble, should be shut out by them of that City. But perceiving the Siege would be drawn out in length, they making such resistance, he left it to others, and hastened into *Spain*. He had dispatched thither *C. Fabius*; but fearing that he might be worsted if he engaged in Fight, he resolved to attend his business there in his own Person. He himself writes to the same effect. As that he sent from *Marseilles* *C. Fabius* one of his *Legati* with three Legions that wintered about *Narbon*, commanding him with all care and diligence to seize on the Passage of the *Pyrenean* Hills, which were at that time kept by the Forces of *L. Afranius*. The other Legions which wintered further off he ordered to follow after. And *Fabius* according to his Directions halted and put the Garrison from the Passage; and by great Journeys marched toward *Afranius* his Army.

He hasteth in
to Spain.

How Pompey
Affairs stood
there.

28. After the Arrival of *Vibullius Rufus* in *Spain* the three *Legati* of *Pompey*, which were *Afranius*, *Petorius*, and *Varro*, did to dispose and divide their Charges, that *Petorius* was ordered to bring his three Legions out of *Lusitania*, through the Territories of the *Vettones*, and join himself with *Afranius* in the hithermost *Spain*; and *Varro* was to keep the further Province. *Petorius* accordingly halted to *Afranius*, and

and induced by the opportunity of the Place, they agreed to keep the War on foot near about *Ilerda*. *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petorius* two, besides *Scutarii* of the nearer Province, and *Cetrati* of the farther, some eighty Cohorts; and of both Provinces about five thousand Horse. *Cesar* had sent his Legions into *Spain*, together with six thousand Auxiliaries of Foot, and three thousand of Horse, which had been with him in his former Wars. And at his request he had the same number out of *Gall*, the most noble and valiant being called out of every City, besides those of the *Aquitani* and *Higlanders*, bordering upon the *Gallick* Province. Now was head-verified, that *Pompey* himself was coming through *Mauritania* into *Spain* with his Legions, and with all speed would be with him. Thereupon he borrowed Money of the *Tribunes*, and the *Centurions* of the Soldiers, and distributed it to his Army, by which largess he gained two Points. For by the Loan as a Pledge he engaged the Officers to endeavour his good success at their own Interest. And by the Largess he purchased the good Affection of the Soldiers.

Action be-
twixt the Of-
ficers and
Cesar near
Ilerda.

29. Within two or three days *Cesar* arrived with nine hundred Horse, which he had kept with him for a Guard; and having viewed the Place, the next day in a triple Body he marched toward *Ilerda*, and offered Battel in an equal and indifferent place. But, *Afranius* was not disposed to Battel, which *Cesar* seeing, drew a Trench behind some of his Legions, as they stood in Arms facing the Enemy, and fortified his Camp, though *Afranius* and *Petorius* to divert him brought down their Forces, and provoked his Men to fight. Betwixt the Town and the Hill where *Pompey's* Officers were incamped, there was a Plain above a quarter of a Mile over, and in it a rising Ground, which *Cesar* endeavoured to possess himself of, thereby to cut them off from the Town and the Bridge, which lay over the River *Sicoris*; but his Design being perceived, *Afranius* his Men came thither first, and those of *Cesar* were forced to retire to the Legions. The whole Army was well-nigh affrighted, for as all Soldiers, by living long in a place, get much of the Usages and Customs of the Country, *Afranius* his Men now fought in a fashion like those of the *Lusitanians*, who were wont to run furiously upon their Enemies, and bold to seize on a Place, not regarding their Orders or Ranks, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed manner. The Enemy now insolent upon their success, vigorously pursued, till *Cesar*, bringing out the ninth Legion, forced him to turn tail, and retire under the Walls of *Ilerda*; but the Legion pursued them, till it came into a disadvantageous place under the Hill, whereon the Town stood. Here from the upper ground it was sorely annoyed, and the Fight continued long in so unequal a Place, each Party relieving its Men with fresh Supplies. They fought some five hours, and *Cesar's* Men having spent their other Weapons, drew their Swords and made up to the Hill with such success, that they forced their Enemy under the Walls, and the Horse got up in an easie ascent, and riding betwixt the Armies, the better secured the Retreat of their Friends. On *Cesar's* side twenty Men were slain, and six hundred at least wounded. And of that of *Afranius* two hundred Soldiers, and five Centurions. But as well the one as the other thought it had the better.

*Cesar ex-
ercises him-
self out of
great
difficulties.*

His Men de-
fence the *Massi-
lians*.

30. After this followed a great Rain, which caused the Rivers, betwixt which *Cesar* was incamped, so to swell, that all Provisions were cut off from him, and he was very much distressed. And the Inconvenience grew to that height, that, on the contrary, *Afranius* his Party having plenty of all things, by reason of the Bridge of *Ilerda*, concluded the War in a manner to be at an end, and thereof they wrote Letters to *Rome*, where the News was so acceptable, that Visits were made to the Family of *Afranius* by those that congratulated for his success. Hereupon also many went out of *Italy* to *Pompey*, of whom some to be the first Messengers of the News, that they might not seem to expect the last event of the War, and come when they saw the quarrel determined. All the ways were kept by *Afranius*, and no Bridges could be made to serve in stead of those that had been broken down with the violence of the Waves. When things were come thus to extremity, *Cesar* caused some Boats to be made of light stuff, and small Timber in the Keel, and with Wicker in the upper parts, being covered with Hides, and in the night conveying them in Carts about twenty miles from the Camp, therewith made a shift to transport his Soldiers, and settle a course for Provisions. And he was cheered by news from *Marseilles* of a Defeat given by *D. Brutus* his Admiral to the Inhabitants, who sending out seventeen Gallies, besides many other Vessels, hoped to over-power him by their Numbers. But *Cesar* had taken the stoutest Men of all the Legions, as well of the *Antesignants* as *Centurions*, and put them aboard the Fleet; they themselves desiring to be employed in that service. They grappled with the *Massilians*, who in dexterity of

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tacking,

Señt. 7. tacking, and skill of their Pilots, were superiour to them, and each Ship undertaking two, they funk part, some they took, with the Men, and the rest they beat back into the Haven. The *Majilians* lost nine Ships, with those that were taken.

Pompey's Officers endeavour to remove the War.

Cæsar pursues their Army.

31. But, upon making the Bridge, fortune turned on *Cæsar's* side, for he then had the Command of the Country. Many Cities and States sent and submitted to him, and the Enemy being discouraged, resolved to transfer the War into *Celtiberia*, where the Name of *Pompey* was very precious, and that of *Cæsar* scarcely known: There they expected a good Addition of Horfe, and other Supplies, and thought to draw on the War in length till Winter. Setting forward, they were much disturbed in their march by *Cæsar's* Horfe, and the Legions in the Camp moved him by their *Centurions* and *Tribunes*, that they also might pursue them, refusing no labour nor hazard. Having with great difficulty got over the River, which he drained with Trenches as much as he could, they fetch'd a compass of some six Miles, and yet came up with the Enemy about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, and still dogging him at the heels, forced him to incamp himself, and stop his Journey. Upon discovery, both sides found the way for five Miles was open and Champion, but afterwards Mountainous and Rocky, and that it was their Interest to possess themselves of the straits, which whoever first should take, might hinder the Enemy from proceeding farther. *Cæsar* took a Circuit, and kept no High-way, the Soldier refusing no toil in passing broken Rocks and Stones, which did so hinder them, that they were forced to give their Weapons from Hand to Hand, and lift up one another for most part of the way. This course he was forced to take, because the Ways leading to *Iberus* and *Odisseja* were possessed by the Enemies Camp, and he had that good fortune that none of his Men thought much of their labour, because they hoped an end would be put to all their travel, if they could but keep the Enemy from passing *Iberus*, and cut off his Provisions.

32. It had been resolved in a Council of War by *Africanus* and *Petruus*, not to stir in the night, and when they imagined that by *Cæsar's* course he took, he was returning back to *Ilerda*, they applauded themselves in their resolution. But finding at length that he did but fetch a compass, and that the Front tended directly to the Straights, they were startled, and hurried in all haste to get first the possession of them. Now the contention was which of the two Parties should first take them: *Cæsar's* was hindered by the difficulty of the Way, and that of *Africanus* by *Cæsar's* Cavalry; and indeed if it should first get the Hills, it might happily quit itself of danger; but the Baggage and the Cohorts left in the Camp would be so intercepted by *Cæsar's* Army, that there would be no means to relieve them. It so fell out, that *Cæsar* first came to the place, and being got from amongst the Rocks into a Plain, could put his Army in order to give Battle. *Africanus* thus disappointed, got to a small Hill, and thence sent four Cohorts with all speed to possess themselves of the highest Mountain, intending to follow after with all his Forces, and by the ridges of the Hills to get to *Odisseja*. But as, by a Circuit, they endeavoured to do this, *Cæsar's* Horfe set upon them, and cut them all in pieces in the sight of both the Armies. Now was a notable Advantage offered of doing something to purpose against the Enemy, who was discouraged by this Defeat, so as in probability not to endure a Charge. And the *Legates*, *Centurions*, and *Tribunes* came to *Cæsar*, and desired him to improve it, for all their Soldiers were ready and forward to it. But he tells us he was in hope to end the Controversie without a Stroke, or any Wound of his Men, having cut off the Enemy from Provisions. Why then should he lose any of his Soldiers, though it were to gain a Victory? Why should he suffer those who had so well deserved of him to be wounded? Why should he put the matter to hazard? especially it being the part of a General no less to overcome by Policy than the Sword. He was also moved with pity toward such *Roman* Citizens as should be slain; and rather desired to accomplish his business, and work out his ends with their safety. This opinion of his was so universally disallowed, that his Men stuck not to say, That because he over-slept such an opportunity of Victory, when he would have them, they would not fight. Yet he continued resolute, and fell a little off from the Enemy to abate their fear and amazement. And *Petruus* and *Africanus*, upon the opportunity given them, withdrew themselves into their Camp.

33. To be sure *Cæsar* had shut up all Passages leading to *Iberus*, so that the adverse Party had but two Ways left open, either to return to *Ilerda*, or to *Tarricon*. Being troubled thereat, and that they were barred of all Provisions, they consulted what course to take, but were diverted by a necessity they were put upon to protect their

Soldiers

Thereby the Soldiers confess themselves obliged and would yield.

But are hindered by *Petruus*.

Cæsar's his moderation.

He forces them to submit.

Soldiers that fetched Water. They attempted to do this by raising a Rampart from the Camp to the Water-side, and upon this occasion, the two Generals being far off from the Camp, the Soldiers called to one another, and fought out their acquaintance, and they of *Africanus* his Party confessed they ought their Lives to the favour of *Cæsar*, who had spared them when they were terrified the day before. They desired assurance for the Lives of their two Generals, lest they should seem to look to their own safety and betray them; which being granted, they promised to come with their Ensigns to *Cæsar's* Camp, and thereupon sent some of their chief *Centurions* as Deputies to treat. On both sides they invited their Friends, so as they seemed to have one and the same Camp, and several Persons applied themselves in particular to *Cæsar*. And *Africanus*, upon notice hereof, left the Work he had begun, and retired into his Camp, prepared as it seemed to take patiently what should befall him; but *Petruus* was of another opinion, he put his Hould out into Arms, and with the *Preatorian* Cohort of the *Cetrati*, and some stipendiary Horfe of the Barbarous People, whom he was wont to keep about him as a Guard, hastened to the Rampire, broke off the Discourse of the Soldiers, and drove those of *Cæsar* from the Camp, killing such of them as he could light on. This done, he went weeping about to the *Maniples*, calling on the Soldiers, and beseeching them not to forsake him, nor *Pompey* their General. A concourse of Soldiers being made, hereupon an Oath they required of every Man, not to abandon or betray the Army, or the Generals, nor to Cabal in any Consultation without consent of the rest. This both Generals, Officers and Soldiers took; and hereby the minds of the Soldiers being changed, the matter was reduced to the former course of War.

34. Such effect had the choler of *Petruus*, as to cause it to be proclaimed, that whoever had with him any of *Cæsar's* Soldiers, should bring them out; and some being brought, they were publicly killed before the *Preatorium*; yet most of them were concealed by their Acquaintance, and in the night-time sent over the Rampire. But *Cæsar* took the contrary course. He caused enquiry to be made after such as came into his Camp in time of Treaty, and sent them away safe; and his moderate and mild Proceeding had such operation, that many *Tribunes* and *Centurions* staid with him, whom he advanced together with such *Roman* *Equites* as were of the better Rank. In the mean time the *Africanus* were distressed, being hindered from foraging. The Legionary Soldiers indeed had some of them store of Corn, being commanded to take with them twenty two days Provision from *Ilerda*; but the *Cetrati* and *Auxiliaries* not being in condition to furnish themselves, nor their Bodies able to carry Burthens, a great number of them fled daily to *Cæsar*. The Captains seeing in what extremity they were, resolved to return to *Ilerda*, as the most expedient course, where they had left behind them a little Corn; and this they attempted to do, but were so closely pursued by *Cæsar*, that they could not incamp themselves in any place fit for watering and forage. And seeing them surrounded with so many Difficulties, he chose rather to force them to a Composition, than to fight.

35. For this purpose he endeavoured to inclose them with a Ditch and Rampart, to hinder their Salies. They to prevent this, brought out their Legions, and im-battled themselves under their Camp; yet still he refused to fight, both for the reason now mentioned, and because the place betwixt the Camps was so narrow, that a Victory obtained would have been little advantageous to him. Notwithstanding he also drew out, and they stood im-battled till Sun-setting, and then retired into their Camps again. The next day, when *Cæsar* went about to finish the Fortifications, they tried to pass the River *Sicoris* by a Ford, but being hindered also from that by Soldiers he had disposed upon the Banks, they then sent and required a Parley; for they were now flurried up on all sides, their Horfes had been without meat four days together, and they were in extreme want of Water, Wood and Corn. They would have had the Conference private; but *Cæsar* denied to treat, except in publick. Then did *Africanus*, in hearing of both the Armies, desire of him, that he would not be offended, neither with them the Commanders, nor the Soldiers, for being faithful to *Pompey*. But now they had done their duty, and having sufficiently smarted in all respects, and suffered more in Body and Reputation than they were able to bear, they confessed themselves vanquished, and imploring his mercy, desired they might not undergo the extremity of Fortune. In answer to what *Africanus* delivered, as humbly and submissively as possible, *Cæsar* expostulated for the Injuries they and their Friends had done him, and shewed how all the Forces had been kept up in *Spain*, purposely against himself, the Provinces standing in no need of them; how the course of Elections of Magistrates had been broken to do him prejudice; and

Señt. 7.

Sect. 7. to him was denied what had been granted to all Generals; that when they had brought matters happily to an end, they might dismiss their Armies with Honour, and, at least without dishonour, return home. Notwithstanding all this, he would require only that they should dismiss their Armies, having quitted the Provinces; which was readily accepted, especially by the Soldiers, who had feared worse things. Such as had Houses and Possessions in *Spain* were presently discharged, and the rest at the River *Vorus* sent out of *Spain*; whither while they marched, *Cæsar* promised to supply them with Corn, and did accordingly perform it.

And dismiss
teth them.

Other Wri-
ters celebrate
his Generosi-
ty therein.

36. To this generosity of *Cæsar* other Authors bear witness, who had sufficient opportunity to know the Truth. They rather make the dangers he underwent in this Expedition greater than he doth himself; and *Dio* writes, That at *Rome* they gave him for lost, and many, as well Senators as others, betook themselves to *Pompey*. He adds, That at the same time *D. Brutus* gave a defeat to the *Massilians* at Sea, which if it had not happened, *Cæsar* had been ruined; but the Report of this Victory being increased by design, and arriving in *Spain*, had such operation upon them there, that changing their opinions, they settled themselves to his Party. Having promised *Afranius* and his Companions to offer them no violence in any respect, and particularly not to constrain them to fight for him against *Pompey*, he kept himself strictly to his word; for he put none of them to death, although they had killed some of his unwary Soldiers in time of Truce; neither compelled he any of them to follow him in the Civil War, but the chief being dismissed, the rest of their own accord closed with him for advantage. This did him especial service both as to his Reputation and management of his Affairs. For all *Spain*, and the Soldiers in it, except such as in *Beitica*, *M. Terentius Varro*, the Legate of *Pompey* commanded, he hereby got to his Party, which things so succeeding, he travelled as far as *Gades*, and did no other injury to any Man than in what concerned Money, a great quantity of which he raised every where as he could. Many Honours he bestowed both publicly and privately, and gave freedom of the City to the People of *Gades*, which they of *Rome* afterward confirmed. And so in the opinion of *Dio*, he requited them for the Dream he had there when he was *Quæstor*, that he lay with his Mother, and for the hope he thence conceived of having all things in his sole Power. Over *Spain* he set *Cassius Longinus*, who being *Quæstor* there under *Pompey*, had reason to understand the humour of the Nation. He himself went by Ship to *Tarraco*, and thence proceeded by the *Pyreneans*, where he erected no Trophy, knowing his Adversary to have been blamed for so doing, but near that of *Pompey* caused a large Altar to be made of smooth Stone.

37. In the mean time, at *Marcellæ*, *C. Trebonius* made Mounts, and did all things he could to annoy the Town, at that place which gave passage by Land; for three parts of it were in a manner walled by the Sea. But such was the Provision of all necessities for War, which in ancient time they had stored up in the Town, that no Hurdles made of Rods or Officers were able to resist the force of their Engines. For out of their great *Baliste* they shot Beams twelve Foot long, pointed with Iron, with such execution, that they would pierce through four Courses of Hurdles, and stick in the Earth. Besides this the *Albici* made frequent Salies, and set fire to the Mounts and *Turrets*; but they were easily preserved by the *Roman* Soldiers, who forced such as sallied out to return with great loss. While they tugged thus on both sides by Land, an opportunity was presented for a Sea-Battle, by means of *L. Nasidius*, who was sent by *Pompey* with a Navy of sixteen Ships. To these the *Massilians* joined as many with all earnestness imaginable, and with Exhortations to one another, and Prayers to their Gods, as now being to adventure for all, for the Lives of themselves, and the Liberty of their City. But *Brutus* had also increased his Fleet with those which *Cæsar* had caused to be built at *Arles*, and he had the advantage of exhorting his Men to despise the Enemy as a vanquished Party, who had been overthrown in their very strength. The *Massilians* yet were wanting in no Point of Valour, fighting for all they had, as their Friends had adured them; and their Vessels excelled in nimbleness of Swimming and Tacking. But however, they were out-done by *Brutus*, whose Ship also was so nimble, that it escaped two of theirs, which designed from contrary quarters to come upon her, so as they fell foul on each other, and did such mutual mischief, that their Enemies seeing them thus distressed, set upon, and quickly sunk them both. The Ships that came with *Nasidius* proved of no use, and quickly left the Fight, which had that issue, that of those which came from *Marcellæ* five were sunk, and four were taken. One escaped with *Nasidius* his Fleet; and one of them that remained carried Tidings of the Defeat to the City, which received the

*Cæsar de bello
Civili lib. 2.*

The *Massili-
ans* defeat-
ed at Sea by *Bru-
tus*.

News with lamentations suitable to the endeavours it had formerly used for Sect. 7.
success.

38. Notwithstanding they left not off pursuing what they had formerly done for their defence at Land. And the Legionary *Roman* Soldier was as industrious to oppose them, and protect himself in that opposition; for which purpose he raised an extraordinary Tower not far from the Wall, which was built by Stories, and by degrees with admirable Art and Industry. The Work-men were defended by the out-jettings of Matresses, and other Materials, till they brought to perfection six Stories, and a *Misculans* or Moule, which reached even the Wall itself, with such strength and shape, that it could not be forced down, nor over-powered. This Device had so great execution, that the Besieged discouraged at it, and looking for nothing but the destruction of their City, threw themselves unarmed out of the Gates, and with Lamentations and Weeping, joined with Arguments that were moving, (for they were Men Learned and Eloquent) obtained of the Legates, that all Hostility should cease till *Cæsar* himself arrived. But so perfidious they were, that after a few days when the *Romans* were grown remiss and careless, they took the advantage of the Noon-time, when all were asleep, or out of the way, and rushing out of the Gates, set fire to the Works and Engines. The *Cæsarians* were at first amazed, but recollecting themselves as well as they could, they drove them back with great slaughter, and fell to re-edify the Works with greater alacrity than before. They began a Mount of a strange and unheard-of fashion, raised with two Side-walls of Brick six foot thick apiece, and joyned together with Floors. And the Work was carried on with such speed, that the loss of their former Labour was redeemed by their incredible Dexterity and Valour. They within perceiving all things to go contrary to their expectations, and considering that the Neck of Land leading to the Town, might be so possessed with Fortifications, that their Soldiers could not stand upon their Works: That the Enemy had raised a Counter-mine against the Wall of their Town, and that Missile Weapons might be cast upon them; knowing also that there would not be any more place for deceit and treachery, they defended to the same Articles of Surrendry as had been formerly accorded.

Their perfidi-
ous humour.

They are fur-
ced to yield.

39. *Marcus Varro* in the further Province of *Spain* had all this while variously demeaned himself toward *Cæsar*. At first distrustful how matters would go with the contrary Party, he spake as kindly of him as of *Pompey*; but afterward upon report, and his own belief of *Afranius* his good success, he set himself against him every way he could both by Word and Action. He levied Soldiers, he caused them of *Gades* to provide ten Gallies, and ordered many others to be made at *Hippalæ*. He took all the Money and Ornaments out of the Temple of *Hercules*; made many reflecting Speeches against *Cæsar* and his Interest, affirming in publick, that he had been several times worsted, and that a great number of his Men had revolted to *Afranius*. He exacted much Money and Wheat from the Provincials, confiscated the Estates of such as he thought disaffected, and constrained all the Province to swear fidelity to him, and to *Pompey*; and being at length adverted what had happened, in the hither Province, he kept himself with two Legions, and all the Shipping and Provision, at *Gades*, as most safe, knowing that the whole Province affected the Cause of *Cæsar*. And that so it did he found shortly by further experience. For though *Cæsar* by good Motives was called into *Italy*, yet resolving to leave no appearance of War behind him, he sent two Legions before him, and hastened himself with six hundred Horse into the farther *Spain*. He sent also an Edict for calling an Assembly at *Corduba*, and thither the Towns sent their Deputies unanimously, and all *Roman* Citizens appeared. They shut their Gates of their own accord against *Varro*, and the *Gaditanis* agreed with the *Tribunes* to drive *Gallonus*, whom he had left Governour there, out of their City; so that of *Varro's* two Legions, one forsook him and went its way, he looking on, and then perceiving how he was distressed, he sent and yielded up the other; and afterward coming to *Cæsar* at *Corduba*, delivered up the Money lying in his Hands, and gave an Account of the Corn and Shipping that was any where provided. After this *Cæsar* gave thanks, and caused restitution to be made to his Friends; ordered the things taken out of the Temple to be carried back, and making *Q. Cassius* Governour of the Province, he left with him four Legions. From *Gades* he passed by Ship to *Tarraco*, then by Land to *Narbon*, and thence to *Marcellæ*, where he first received News of the Law made at *Rome* for creating of a *Dictator*, and that *M. Lepidus* the Pretor named him to be the Man. The *Massilians* being reduced to great straits by Famine and Pestilence, and having no hope of relief, now yielded

Varro his act-
ing against
Cæsar.

Is forced to
submit.

Sect. 7. yielded to him, and he, as he faith, was willing to save them, rather for the Name and Antiquity of the Town, than any merit of theirs. He left two Legions there, and sent the rest into Italy, he himself taking his way toward Rome.

How Matters
went in Af-
frica

40. In the mean time Matters had a contrary issue in *Africa* under the Conduct of *Curio*, who transported two Legions into that Country. The Fleet of *Pompey* he beat and dispersed, and such Ships as were in the Bay of *Utica* he drew off to his Party, by proclaiming, that such (being in number two hundred) as would not presently come, should be taken for Enemies. At *Utica* lay *Africanus Varus*, to whom King *Juba* had sent to assist that Party six hundred *Numidian* Horse, and four hundred Foot, having had acquaintance with *Pompey* by reason that his Father was his Guest, and he bare a spleen to *Curio*, for the Law he preferred when he was Tribune of the People, for Confiscation of his Kingdom. The Cavalry on each side engaged; the *Numidians* were not able to abide the Charge of *Curio's* Horse; but about an hundred and twenty being slain, the rest retired to the Camp. The next day he incamped himself near the Town, but before the Fortifications were finished, a noise there was of great Forces that were coming from King *Juba*. Yet did his Horse, before the Legions could be well put in order, drive away all the Kings Forces that came marching without fear or care, and slew a great number of the Foot, the Horse getting almost all safe into the Town by the Sea-Shore. But so it happened that the next night after, two Centurions of the Nation of the *Narfi* fled from *Curio* with twenty two of their Soldiers to *Varus*, to whom they declared, that the minds of the whole Army were alienated from him, and that it was very expedient that the Armies should come in fight, and find means to speak together: Hereupon *Varus* drew out his Soldiers the next morning, and *Curio* put his Men also into order. But it had further happened that *Curio* had carried over these Legions which *Cæsar* had formerly taken at *Corfinium*; so that a few Centurions being slain, the Companies and Maniples remained the same. Now in *Varus* his Army there was one *S. Quinctilius Varus*, who had been also at *Corfinium*, and being let go by *Cæsar*, went into *Africa*. This *Quinctilius* taking the occasion so fitly offered, went about the Army of *Curio*, and belought the Soldiers as he could, that they would not forget the first Oath they had taken to *Domitius*, and to him their *Questor*, nor bear Arms against them who had run the same Fortune, and endured the same Sieges; nor fight for those who by way of reproach had called them *Fugitives* or Turn-coats. And he added some Promises of Recompence, if they would follow him and *Africanus*.

41. Hereupon *Curio* his Army stood mute, and was much disturbed in mind, but they declared not themselves by any sign either one way or other, and each Party drew back to their Camps. In conclusion, the Legions which before were in the Service of *Pompey*, willingly embraced what was offered them; old acquaintance having made them forget what kindness they had lately received from *Cæsar*, being also of divers Countries and Nations. *Curio* seeing himself and his Affairs in such danger, after the matter had been in vain debated in a Council of War, called together the Soldiers, and in an exquisite Speech harangued upon them. He called to remembrance what they had done for *Cæsar* at *Corfinium*; how by their Fortitude he had gained the greatest part of Italy, all the rest of the Municipal Towns being drawn to follow him by their endeavours. He shewed how great folly it would be now to betray those who professed themselves wholly theirs, and that afterwards they might come into their Power who took themselves to be undone formerly by their means. He related what *Cæsar* had done in Spain, that there two Armies were beaten, two Generals defeated, two Provinces taken, and all within forty days after he came in view of them. He put them in mind that they did not forsake *Domitius*, but that he forsook them. For he thrust them out, and exposed them to all extremity. Without their knowledge or privacy he fought to save himself by flight; and then they were kept alive by *Cæsar's* Clemency. He demanded how he could bind them by the Oath of Fidelity, when having cast away his Faeces, and laid down his Authority, he himself was made a private Person, and became captivated to another Mans Power. He told them, in conclusion, what he himself had done in this Expedition, for which, though he was content to be called *Cæsar's* Soldier, yet they had filled him by the Title of *Imperator*. And if it repented them, he would willingly again resign it, lest they should seem to give him Honour, which might turn to his Reproach.

42. His Oration so wrought upon the Soldiers, that they oftentimes interrupted him, as grieving to lie under a suspicion of Revolt, and at their desire he resolved to give

Curio pun-
ished his Army
to the rout.

give Battel upon the first occasion offered, seeing that the minds of all Men were so changed. And the day following an occasion was offered, which he so firmply improved, as to put *Varus* his Army to the rout, and to force them to retire to their Camp, which he might have taken, but that his Men, not thinking of such work, but only of a Battle, were not provided of fit Instruments. Of the Adversaries were slain six hundred, with the loss of one Man on *Curio's* side, one *Fabius Pelignus*, an ordinary Soldier, who in the Pursuit fought for *Varus*, calling him with a loud Voice, as though he had been one of his own Soldiers, and had something to say to him. Being often called, as he looked back, asking him what he would have, and stood still, he made at *Varus* his Shoulder with his Sword, which was unarmed, and was very near killing him: Yet he avoided the danger by receiving the Blow upon his Target, and *Fabius* was presently inclosed and slain. Many more on *Varus* his side were wounded than were slain, who all, besides many others that feigned themselves hurt, left the Camp for fear, and went into the Town; which *Varus* perceiving, and knowing the affrontment of the Army, left a Trumpeter in the Camp, and a few Tents for show, and about the third Watch drew his Army in silence thither.

43. *Curio* now as Conqueror, the next day prepared to besiege *Utica*, the Inhabitants of which favoured *Cæsar*, and the rest in the Town being discouraged, all talked of a Surrender, and began to press *Varus* to it. But news arrived, that King *Juba* was coming to the Relief of the Place with all his Forces. This *Curio* was so confident, as not to believe at first, but when it was found assuredly that the Kings Forces were come within twenty five Miles, then he withdrew himself into a Place called *Conditus* his Camp, from *P. Scipio* his Incamping himself there formerly, which was every way convenient for defence and supply of Provisions. Hither he sent to have the two Legions and the Horse brought out of *Sicily*; and here he thought to draw out the War in length; when another report was brought, that the King himself was not come, being detained by some Controversies of the *Lepidians*; but only *Sabura* his Lieutenant was sent with some competent Forces, and was not far from *Utica*: To these Reports giving too light and easie credit, he altered his purpose, and resolved to give him Battle, being violently led to this resolution (*Cæsar* his Friend tells us) by his youthful heat, the greatness of his courage, the success of former times, and his confidence in managing of the War. He sent all the Cavalry the first night to the River *Bagrada*, where the Enemy lay indeed under the Command of *Sabura*. But the King followed after with all his Forces, and lay continually within six Miles, or thereabouts.

44. The Horse fell upon the *Numidians*, as they lay scattered, in a barbarous manner, altogether secure, and killing many of them, put the rest to flight. *Curio* himself having left a Guard to his Camp, followed, and met with his Cavalry in their return, of whom demanding who was General at *Bagrada*, and they saying *Sabura*, he omitted for half to inform himself of the rest, but told his Men, that now they saw was true what was formerly reported by Fugitives, that the King was not come, but had sent some small Forces which could not make their Party good with a few Horse; and he bade them therefore make haste to take the Spoil, and to receive the reward of their merits. The Soldiers encouraged with the sight of the Booty, which their Friends had taken, and their bragging Speeches, conceived also hope that it would be as he said, and hasted to find the Enemy, affrighted and astonished, as *Curio* believed, who commanded the Cavalry to follow him; but the Horse-men having travelled all night, could by no means do it; but some stayed in one place, and some in another, and yet this did not hinder or discourage *Curio*. Now for the Issue. *Juba* having notice of the Conflict, in the night sent immediately two thousand *Spanish* and *Gallick* Horse, which he kept for the safety of his Person, and such of the Foot as he most trusted, to relieve *Sabura*; he himself, with the rest of his Forces, and forty Elephants, followed slowly after.

45. *Sabura* suspecting that *Curio* was coming, imbatteled all his Forces, and gave order, that under pretence of fear they should retreat by little and little, till he gave the Signal of Battel, or other directions. *Curio* supposed they fled indeed, and drew his Forces down from an Hill into the Plain, having marched now sixteen Miles. *Sabura* gave the Signal for Battel, and with his Horse charged the *Romans*, who were harried and wearied, and the Horse-men being but two hundred in number, (the rest staying by the way) were spent with travel, yet wanted they no courage nor desire to fight, and on what part soever they charged, they forced the Enemy to give way; but they could not pursue them far, nor put their Horses to any round or

Sect. 7. long Carrier. At length the *Numidian* Cavalry from both the Wings circumvented the Army, and malled them down behind, being often re-inforced by Succours sent from the King. *Curio* seeing his Men so dismayed, as not to receive his Orders, commanded them, as the last hope, to fly to the adjoining Hills; but *Sabura* had also possessed these places, and so they fell into utter despair, some being slain as they fled, and others falling down without wounding. *Cn. Domitius*, General of the Horse, desired *Curio* to save himself by flight to the Camp, promising not to leave or forsake him; but he confidently replied, That he would never come in *Cæsar's* fight, having lost the Army committed to him; and thereupon fighting valiantly, was slain. A few Horse-men saved themselves. The Foot were all killed to a Man; but such Horse-men as staid behind to refresh their Horses escaped to the Camp. Such as desired to be transported into *Sicily*, when Boats were brought, sunk them by crowding in, and the rest of the Vessels would not come to Shoar, by that sight discouraged; so that but a few Soldiers and Masters of Families that could swim to the Ships got over safe. The rest yielded to *Varus*, whom *Juba* challenging as his Booty, caused many of them to be slain, and selecting a few of the rest, sent them into his Kingdom; *Varus* in vain complaining that his Faith and Promise were violated. The King rode into the Town, accompanied by many Senators, and there remaining a few days, gave such orders for things as he thought fit, and then returned into his own Kingdom with all his Forces.

46. But now was *Cæsar Dictator*, and held the Assembly for creation of Magistrates. He himself and *P. Servilius Isauricus* were created *Consuls*; for at this time was he capable to be chosen, it being now ten years from his first Consulship, and consequently he was not obnoxious to the Law published by *Sylla*, wherein was supplied the same. He took notice that credit was very scant throughout *Italy*, and money lent was not repayed. He gave order that Arbitrators should be chosen to make an estimation of Estates and Goods according as they had been valued before the War, and that at that rate Creditors should take them for their Monies. He restored the ancient course of Rogations, made by the *Prætors* and *Tribunes*, to the People; as also certain that were condemned for indirect suing for Magistracy by a Law in *Pompey's* time, when he kept the Legions about him in the City, he restored, and those who had offered him assistance at the beginning of the War, though they did not do it, he procured to be absolved by the People, that he might not seem ingrateful, nor yet assume to himself what belonged to the *Comitia*. In accomplishing these things, celebrating the Latine Holy-days, and holding the Assemblies of the People, he spent eleven days; then gave over his Dictatorship, left the City, and went to *Brundisium*, having commanded seven Legions, and all his Horse, to come thither. Such is the Account he himself gives us of what he did in his Dictatorship.

47. And other Writers in their Relations do little differ from that of his. *Plutarch* faith in his Life, That when he returned to *Rome*, *Piso*, his Father-in-law, advised him to send Messengers to *Pompey* to treat of Peace; but *Isauricus*, to flatter him, was against it. That *Cæsar*, then created Dictator by the Senate, called home all the Banished, and restored to Honour the Children of them who had been slain in *Sylla's* time, and did somewhat restrain the Usuries that did oppress them; and besides made some other Ordinances, but very few; for he was Dictator only eleven days, and then made himself Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*; and after that determined to follow the War. All the rest of his Army he left coming on the way, and went himself before with six hundred Horse, and five Legions, in the Winter Quarter, about the Month of *January*, which by the *Athenians* was called *Pogideon*.

48. *Dion Cassius* having told us how this great Man took away all the Arms, Ships and Money of the *Masilians*, and at length all the rest saving the Name of Liberty, because *Pompey* left free *Phœcia*, from which the *Masilians* descended, then acquaints us with a Mutiny of certain of his Soldiers at *Placentia*. They pretended they were spent with labours, but the matter was, they took it ill that he would not give them leave to plunder and spoil the Country; and now they thought they could ask nothing, but he would grant it, because of the need at present he had of them. But their hopes were very ill founded; for so far was he from granting any thing they mutually desired, that calling them together, he shewed them in a long Speech what it was they deserved, and not only by word but deeds; for he caused them to be accompanied with their fellow Soldiers for his own security, and then made them an example of his Justice by taking out by lot, and putting to death the boldest of them; the

Quam quidem
Oratorem vel
Cæsaris vel
Syllæ, vide
apud hunc p. p.
165. Sec.

the rest, as being of no use to him, he cashiered; but afterward received them again when they had seen and repented of their Error.

49. But while he was still in his Journey from *Marfallis*, *Dion* adds, that *M. H. milius Lepidus*, he who afterward was *Triumvir*, and at present *Prætor*, advised the People to make him Dictator, which was speedily done according to the Custom. Coming to *Rome*, he entered upon his Office, but nothing sharp or severe did he the time he bore it: On the contrary, he gave liberty to Exiles, *Milo* excepted, to return home, and ordained Magistrates for the following year, for hitherto none had been put into the places of them that were gone away; inasmuch that there being no *Ædiles*, the *Tribuni Plebis* were obliged to discharge their Duties. He made new *Pontifices* in the room of the Deceased, yet therein not observing all things required by their Laws. He gave freedom of the City to the *Gallæ* inhabiting within the *Alpes*, because they had been under his command, and then laid down his Dictatorship, though indeed he still retained all his Power, the Senate permitting, that he should do what he would. And he improved this Power in a matter of great and necessary consequence. For now did Creditors with all bitterness imaginable exact what Monies were owing to them from those who borrowed of them for Supply in the Civil War, and most of them were utterly unable to pay, at this time it being very difficult either to pay or borrow. By occasion hereof many severe Acts were committed, and great mischiefs could not but follow; for although formerly the *Tribuni Plebis* had done something to restrain Usury, yet was not thereby any provision made for paying Debts; the Debtors parting with their Pledges, and yet the Creditors exacting the Sums after the ancient manner.

50. To obviate this mischief, *Cæsar* commanded the Pledges to be valued; and that Judges should be chosen by lot to take up these Controversies. And because many Persons were said to have much Money, and to suppress it, he commanded by an Edict, that none should have in Gold or Silver more than sixty Sesterterii; which Law he did not make, but only renewed it, either that Debtors might pay something to their Creditors, or to discover who were rich; or else that no Man might have any vast Sums to raise any disturbance in his absence. However, with this Law the People were elevated, and began to require; that a Reward should be propounded to such Slaves as would accuse their Lords; but he was not only refused to add this unto the Law, but laid Imprecations upon himself if ever he gave credit to a Slave that accused his Master. All these things done, and all Ornaments taken away both from the Capitol and other places at the end of the year, and before he entered his Consulship, he went to *Brundisium*. *Dion* here mentions, according to his Custom, Particulars prefiging what afterward happened, which caused his Diviners to desire him to hasten his Journey, affirming that destruction would befall him if he staid in the City; but safety and Victory if he passed the Sea. After he was gone the Boys of *Rome* divided themselves into two Parties, of which one took the Name of *Pompeians*, and the other of *Cæsarians*; and making a show of Fight, without Weapons, those that called themselves *Cæsarians* departed with advantage over the other. While these things were done at *Rome*, and in *Spain* *M. Octavius* and *L. Scribonius Libo*, with *Pompey's* Fleet, drove *P. Cornelius Dolabella* out of *Dalmatia*, and thence to *C. Antonius*, who prepared to relieve him in a small Island, where being deterred by the Inhabitants, and pinched with famine, they took him and all his Men, except such as killed themselves, or escaped into the Continent. *Dion's* Story of *Curio's* defeat in *Africa*, otherwise agrees with that of *Cæsar*; but he adds, that *Juba* was greatly honoured for that Action by *Pompey*, and the Senators with him in *Macedonia*, and had the Title of King. But by *Cæsar* and those of his Party he was adjudged an Enemy; and *Bocchus* and *Bogud* were saluted Kings, because they were Enemies to *Pompey*. Now let us see what *Cæsar* himself writes of the coming to Blows betwix him and *Pompey*.

51. He came, as we said, to *Brundisium*, but with an Army much lessened with travel and sickness, by reason of change from the good and wholesome Air of *Gall* and *Spain*, into that of *Apulia*, and the Maritime Parts. And he found no more Shipping ready than would hardly transport twenty thousand Legionary Soldiers, and five hundred Horse; and this want of Ships he faith hindered him from dispatching the War. On the other hand, *Pompey* having had a years space to provide himself, without any trouble or molestation, had got together a great Navy out of *Asia*, and all places where he could build Ships. He had raised great Sums of Money out of *Asia* and *Syria*, and exacted Supplies thereof from all Princes and States. From several Quarters he had raised nine Legions of *Roman* Citizens, to which he added, as

* L. IIII 2

a Sup.

Sect. 7.

Cæsar goes to
Brundisium.

Pompey's Party
hath the ad-
vantage by
Sea.

Cæsar de bello
civilis lib. 3.

Sec. 7. a Supply, a great number out of some parts of Greece and Epirus. He mingled Antioch's Soldiers amongst them, and expected two other Legions to be brought by Scipio out of Syria. He had from Crete, Lacedaemon, Pontus and Syria, and the rest of the Cities, three thousand Archers, of Slingers six Cohorts, two others Mercenary, and of Horse-men seven thousand. Hereof *Drindarus* brought six hundred *Gales*; *Archeolagus* five hundred out of *Cappadocia*; and *Cato* out of *Thrace* had sent the like number with his Son *Sadalis*. From Macedonia came two hundred commanded by *Mefepole*, a Person of much worth. From *Alexandria* five hundred *Gales* and *Gymnasts*; which *A. Gabinus* had left as a Garrison with King *Phylus*. Pompey the Son with the Navy had brought eight hundred of his own Slaves, and of those belonging to his Cattel. *Tarcondarim*, *Castor*, and *Domitius*, had sent three hundred out of *Gallogrecia*; of whom one came in Person, and the other sent his Son. Two hundred did *Antiochus Comagenus*, to whom Pompey had given great Gifts, send out of Syria, amongst whom most were those *Cesar* called *Hippocoles*, or Shooters on Horse-back. To these he added *Dardani* and *Bessi*, partly mercenary, and partly procured by his Power and Favour; besides *Macedonians*, *Thebans*, and those of other Nations and Cities, whereby he filled up the said number. For Corn he provided great quantity out of *Thessaly*, *Asia*, *Crete*, *Cyrene*, and other Regions. He appointed the Winter Quarters at *Dyrrachium*, *Apollonia*, and all the Maritime Towns, to keep *Cesar* from passing the Sea; and for that purpose disposed of his Soldiers all along the Sea-Coast. Now of the Egyptian Ships Pompey the Son was Admiral. Those that came out of Asia were commanded by *D. Lelius* and *C. Triarius*. *C. Cassius* had the command of those of Syria; and *C. Marcellus*, with *C. Pompeius*, of those of Rhodes. Of the *Lithurian* and *Achaian* Navy, *Scribonius Libo*, and *M. Octavius*, had the Charge. But *M. Bibulus* was General for Maritime Affairs, with chief Command.

52. *Cesar* at *Brundisium* having persuaded the Soldiers to leave all their Slaves and Baggage behind them in hope of Victory, and his liberality, shipped seven Legions, and in safety landed his Men at a place called *Pharsalus*, not daring to venture into any known Port, which he believed to be possessed by the Enemy. Being landed, he sent back his Ships to *Brundisium* to bring over the other Legions, but in their return thirty of them fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, who sensible of his neglect of guarding the Passage, and in wrath, let them all on fire, and therewith consumed both owners and Mariners, hoping by this Example to terrify the rest. This done, with greater diligence than had been usual, he possessed all the Sea-Coast from *Salona* to *Oricum* with Men and Ships of War, he himself in the depth of Winter refusing no labour, but watching on Ship-board, nor expecting any Supplies, if he could meet *Cesar*. *M. Octavius*, with something better success by Sea, came and drew *Hissa* from *Cesar's* Party, and not being able to prevail with the Inhabitants of *Salona*, he besieged the Town. The Place was indifferently well fortified by Nature, and their Industry, but the Inhabitants being wearied and spent with Wounds, still at length to the last Refuge of infranchising all their Slaves above the Age of fourteen, and cutting the Hair of their Women to make Engines. Their Resolution being known, *Octavius* begirt them with five Camps and Intrenchments, and they endured the want of Corn and other inconveniences. But the Siege continuing a long time, and this making the Besiegers remiss and negligent, they took the opportunity of the Noon-time, and placing their Women and Children on the Walls to make a show, they themselves, and such as they had enfranchised, made a Sally, and with violence broke through all the five Camps, and with great slaughter forced *Octavius*, and his Men remaining, to betake themselves to their Ships, and leave the Place. He despairing of taking the Town, and Winter approaching, retir'd to Pompey at *Dyrrachium*.

53. Now did *Cesar*, as he tells us, think fit to send to Pompey about a Peace, and the Party on which he pitched to carry the Message was *Vibullius Rufus*, whom, being one of Pompey's Lieutenants, *Cesar* had twice taken, once at *Corfinium*, and a second time in Spain. His Instructions were to let him know, that in his opinion it was time to give way to Fortune, and lay down Arms, either Party having had such losses as might instruct it to prevent greater Inconveniences. That this was the only time to treat of Peace when both was confident of his own strength, and seemed to be of equal Power. That for Conditions, seeing they could not agree of them themselves, they ought to seek them from the Senate and People of Rome; and in the mean time it was convenient that both should take an Oath before their Armies within three days next following, to lay down their Arms, send away their Auxiliaries, in which they confided, and consequently submit to the Decree of the People: And for alliance,

Sec. 7. rance, on his side, he would presently discharge his Forces, as well them in the Field, as in Garrison. *Vibullius* halted to Pompey; chiefly to let him know of *Cesar's* coming, and he, upon the News, with all speed made towards *Apollonia*, lest he should possess himself of the Maritime Cities. In the mean time *Cesar* took in *Oricum*, *Apollonia*, the Town of the *Belindenjës*, and also *Epirus* submitted to him. Pompey upon notice of these things halted toward *Dyrrachium*; but his Army was so affrighted with the News, that it seemed rather to fly than march, many of the Soldiers casting away their Arms. When he came near the Town, he opened the Trenches, and incamped himself; but still his Men were in such fear, that *Labiennus* stepped out first, and swore never to forsake him whatsoever should happen. Then was the same Oath taken by the Legates, the Tribunes, Centurions, and all the Army.

54. *Cesar* understanding his Passage to be stopped to *Dyrrachium*, incamped himself upon the River *Aspius*, in the Confines of *Apollonia*, and there determined to winter under Skims, to expect the coming of his other Legions out of Italy, and protect such Places as had well deserved of him. And Pompey did the like, pitching his Camp on the other side of the River, whither he assembled all his Troops and Foreign Aids. Now did each Party mutually obstruct the Designs of the other. For *Bibulus* lay with his Fleet at *Oricum*, and kept the Sea and the Ports, so as *Cesar's* Army could not land from *Brundisium*; and then again, the Sea-Coast was all along so watched and guarded by *Cesar's* Men, that he could neither get Water nor Wood, nor his Ships to Land upon occasion; inasmuch as he was brought into such distress, that he fetched his Water and Wood from *Coreyra*; nay at one time, the Weather being very tempestuous, they were forced to content themselves with the Dew which by night fell upon the Skins that covered the Decks of their Ships. All these extremities they patiently bore, and would not leave the Coasts; and yet they fought by a pretence of a Treaty to draw *Cesar* to a Truce, who requiring that his Messengers might have safe conduct to Pompey, when that was denied, he saw that their drift only was to avoid present danger, and began to think of prosecuting the War. In the mean time *Bibulus*, having contracted a Sickness by extremity of Cold and Labour, resolving never to be friends with *Cesar* for the loss of the *Edility* and *Pretorship*, ended his days on Ship-board. Now, *Cesar* tells us, he made again several offers for a Treaty, but the Conference was still broke off; once Pompey laying, that in case it proceeded to an Issue, he should be thought to enjoy his Life and the City by *Cesar's* favour; and at another time *Labiennus* affirming, that no Composition could be made without *Cesar's* Head.

55. This made him the more to long for the Arrival of his other Forces from *Brundisium*, and they seeming to him to have omitted several convenient Gales, he wrote to them, and required them to take the first opportunity, which the Soldiers willingly did by the conduct of *M. Antonius*, and *Ensius Calenus*, for the love they bore to him. Three Legions of old Soldiers, one of new, and eight hundred Horse, by favour of the Wind, safely arrived, though they were pursued by *Caponius*, Admiral of the *Rhodian* Navy, of which sixteen Vessels perished by the turning of the Wind, and the roughness of the Weather. Only two of *Cesar's* Ships lagged behind, whereof one yielded to *Othacilus Crassus*, upon a Promise of Life, but the Men being inexperienced young Soldiers, were put to death before his face; those of the other being old Soldiers, stoutly defended themselves, and escaped. About this time *Scipio*, though he had received several losses about the Mount *Ananus*, which separates Syria from *Cilicia*, yet had taken upon him the Title of *Imperator*. This done, he imposed heavy Taxes upon the Cities and Potentates of these Tracts, and from the *Publicans* of his Province took all the Money in their hands for the two years past, and by way of Loan that of the following year; and from the whole Province he exacted a number of Horse-men. He left then the *Parthians* behind his back, who had lately slain *M. Crassus*, and besieged *M. Bibulus*, and drew the Legions out of Syria. At his departure the Soldiers gave out Speeches, as if they would not march against a Citizen and Consul; but however, he brought the Army to *Pergamus*, and quartered it about in Winter in divers rich Cities; and for the better affording of his Men to him, gave them great Largesses and Gifts; nay, and besides, some Cities to plunder. In the mean time he most heavily oppressed the Province with Impositions. Upon Slaves as well as Free-men he imposed a Tax by Poll, and any Name or Pretence that could be invented for raising Money was most acceptable, they being esteemed the worst Men that would domineer, and cruelly exact most from such Cities and Villages as they were set over. The poor Province besides this was oppressed

The great Preparations of Pompey against Cesar weak Army.

Who pusheth over seven weak Legions to Pharsalus.

The notable Valor and Industry of the Inhabitants of Salona.

Cesar takes in several Towns.

Bibulus vigils on at Sea.

Dies.

Cesar's other Forces arrive from Brundisium.

Scipio moves against him out of Syria.

Sec. 7. preſſed with Exactors, who made their own Markets; moreover with hard and heavy Uſury, which oftentimes accompanied War; and yet they ſtuck not there to make Leavies, and to require Loans. Nay *Scipio* gave order, that the Treafure of *Diana's* Temple at *Ephesus* ſhould be taken out, with other Images of that their Goddeſs. Which had been done, but that he received *Pompey's* Letters, who thereby let him know, that *Cæſar* had paſſed the Sea with his Legions, and deſired, that, ſetting all things apart, he ſhould haſten to him with his Army. Hereupon he determined concerning his Journey into *Macedonia*, and ſet forth a few days after.

56. *Cæſar* now being joined with *Antony*, notwithstanding the endeavours of *Pompey* to the contrary, reſolved to march further up into the Province. At the deſire of ſome of the Inhabitants of *Theſſaly*, he ſent thither that Legion called the *Seventh* and *twentieth*, conſiſting of young Soldiers, with two hundred Horſe, and five Cohorts, and a few Horſe into *Ætolia* upon the ſame Invitation. Moreover two Legions called the *Eleventh* and *Twelfth*, he ordered into *Macedonia*, of which Province, that which was called the *Free* had profeſſed a great deal of forwardneſs to his Service. *Ætolia* was eaſily gained; but the *Theſſalians* ſtood divided in their opinions; and when *Cn. Domitius Calvinius*, who commanded the Legions, came into *Macedonia*, word was brought him that *Scipio* would ſpeedily be with him. And accordingly he marched with great fury toward him, but when he was come within twenty Miles, he ſuddenly turned his courſe toward *Cæſius Longinus* in *Theſſaly*, and with ſuch ſpeed, that ſame did not prevent his Arrival. *Cæſius* thus ſurprized, made away towards the Hills which incloſe *Theſſaly* and *Ambracia*. *Scipio* as earneſtly purſued him; but in his heat he received News from *Favonius*, whom he had left at the River *Haliacmon*, (which divideth *Macedonia* from *Theſſaly*) with eight Cohorts to keep the Baggage, that *Domitius* would ſpeedily be upon him, and that he was not able of himſelf to hold the Place. Upon receipt of the Letters he altered his purpoſe, and haſted back day and night to help *Favonius*, whereby it happened, (both *Scipio* and *Domitius* arriving together) that as the Induſtry of *Domitius* did help *Cæſius*, ſo did *Scipio's* ſpeed deliver *Favonius*.

57. *Scipio* after this paſſed the River *Haliacmon*, as to fight with *Domitius*, who embracing the occaſion with alacrity, he was diſcouraged, and pitifully retreated to his former Poſt, fearing that the following day he ſhould either be conſtrained to fight, or with ſhame keep himſelf within his Camp. After this *Domitius* drew him to a loſs by an Ambuſhment, wherein *M. Opimius*, who commanded his Horſe, was taken. *Cæſius* the Son of *Pompey* in the mean time, who commanded the *Egyptian* Fleet, by *Cæſar's* conſent had good ſucceſs at Sea, where he broke into the Haven of *Noricum*, notwithstanding all endeavours uſed to hinder him, and burnt his Enemies Ships both there and at *Liſſus*, and the Towns themſelves he endeavoured to maſter, but with no ſucceſs. At this time his Father lay at *Aſparagus*, a Place belonging to *Apollonia*, and thither *Cæſar* marched with his Forces, late down near him, and offered him Battle. This he thought not fit to accept of, which put *Cæſar* upon new Councils. He retreated toward *Dyrrachium*, with deſign thereby either to conſtrain him to fight, to force the Town, or elſe cut from him all Proviſions which there were laid up for the whole War. This laſt he effected, though *Pompey* at firſt thinking he had retired for want of Proviſion; upon finding his error, laboured to get thither before him. Being thus cut off from this Town, *Pompey* incamped himſelf in a convenient place to receive Proviſions by Sea. *Cæſar* now doubted that the War would prove tedious, and therefore the Sea-Coaſts being blocked up by *Pompey's* Fleet, he took order for Grain to be imported out of the *Mediterranean* Tracts of *Epirus*. And theſe Regions being far off, he appointed Store-houſes in certain Countries, and impoſed carriage of Corn upon the Places adjoining to them.

58. This done, he entred into ſuch a courſe as the nature of the Place where *Pompey* was incamped did prompt him to. His Camp was incloſed with many high and ſteep Hills. Theſe Hills he took and built Forts upon them; then, as the condition of the Ground would bear, he drew Lines from one Hill to another, and ſo determined to incloſe *Pompey* with a Ditch and Rampire. This he did being ſtraitned for want of Corn, that he might now freely forage about without fear of *Pompey's* Horſe, in which he was wrong; but chiefly he hoped to abate the exceeding great reputation he had amongſt Foreign Nations, when it ſhould be noiſed about that he was beſieged by *Cæſar*, and durſt not fight. Yet, for all this, *Pompey* reſolved to venture that, rather than quit the Commodity of the Sea, and *Dyrrachium*, where all his Proviſion

Cæſar ſends Forces into the Province.

Pompey the Son ſits ſucceſs at Sea.

Cæſar beſieges the Father in a ſtrange manner.

ſion of War whatſoever was to land. He reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of as many Hills as poſſible, and to keep as much of the Country with good and ſufficient Guards, thereby to diſtract *Cæſar's* Forces, as it fell out, taking in no leſs than twenty five miles in Circuit, in which he foraged, and there cauſed many things to be ſet and planted by hand which ſerved for Food for his Horſes: Moreover, liſ Works excelled, for he abounded with Men, and had on the inſide a leſs compaſs to fortiſe. He reſuſed to fight, but he forely galled *Cæſar's* Men with his Archers and Slingers, ſo that almoſt all of them made them Coats of Quilt, ſtiſſening, or Leather, to keep them from danger. Mutual Contention gave occaſion to many Skirmiſhes and Encounters; to be ſure, in the opinion of *Cæſar* himſelf, the War was carried on in a ſtrange and unuſual manner. And this was not only in reſpect of the great number of Forts and Caſtles, but of the whole Siege and Conſequents thereof. For the weakeſt are wont to be beſieged, and Sieges are made to cut off the Enemy from Proviſions; but *Pompey* was the ſtronger of the two, and received Proviſions by Sea. *Cæſar* on the other hand was in great ſcarcity, and yet his Soldiers, he tells us, bore it with ſingular patience, remembering how, notwithstanding ſuch great want endured both in *Gall* and *Spain*, they had gone away Conquerors of many great Nations. They were content with *Barly* and *Peaſe* inſtead of *Wheat*, and of a certain Root called *Chara*, which they made uſe of in the room of Bread. This, when *Pompey's* Soldiers jeered them, and objected their ſcarcity and miſery, they would commonly throw at them, and ſcatter in divers places, to diſcourage them in their hopes.

59. But afterward the Caſe quite altered, Summer coming on. For *Pompey's* Army could ſcarcely be kept alive, eſpecially for want of Water, *Cæſar* having either turned another way, or dammed up all the Rivers and Brooks of the Country. On the contrary, *Cæſar's* Army was in extraordinary good health, having plenty of Water, and all Proviſions, except *Wheat*, of which there was good expectation, Harvest being ſo near at hand. After this followed ſeveral Skirmiſhes, wherein *Pompey* had far the worſt, and was forced to quit a Mount he had ſeized, to ſuccour his Men, and return to his old Fortifications. *Cæſar* now by his Officers drew to his Party ſeveral Countries of *Greece*, and underſtanding that *Scipio* was come into *Macedonia*, ſent to him to procure a Peace, which he would have perſwaded him he might eaſily conſtrain *Pompey* to accept; having the Command of an Army. But this not ſucceeding, *Cæſar* applied himſelf more ſtraightly to block up *Pompey*, which brought him into ſuch diſtreſs, that his Horſes having conſumed all the Leaves of Trees, and all the Barley, there remained no more ſuſtenance for them, and now they were not able to go on their Legs. Hereupon he reſolved to break out, eſpecially after he had been informed of the condition of *Cæſar's* Fortifications by two *Allobroges*, Brothers, who having cheated the Soldiers of their Pay, revolted to him. He gave order to his light Armed Soldiers and Archers to defend themſelves with Bains and Faggots of Oſiers, and drawing out threeſcore Cohorts, ſhipped them, and fell upon a Fortification of *Cæſar's* by the Sea, which was not completed. This was done with ſuch execution, that all the Centurions of the firſt Cohort were ſlain, except the firſt of the Maniple of the *Principes*; and though both *Cæſar* and his Officers endeavoured to put a ſtop to the Proceedings of the Enemy, yet the Iſſue of the Attempt was, that *Pompey* got out of the Fortifications, and Incamped upon the Sea, in ſuch ſort as he might freely go out to forage, and have no leſs acceſs to his Shipping, than he had formerly. *Cæſar* perceiving the loſs he had ſuſtained, and that this courſe of War had not ſucceeded according to his expectation, reſolved to change it, and late down cloſe by *Pompey*. He deſigned to cut off a Legion which had taken up a Poſt by a Wood; but in the Attempt his Men were intangled within the Fortifications of the old Camps lately deſerted, and therein ſo over-powered by the Supplies ſent in by *Pompey*, that he loſt, by his own conſeſſion, nine hundred and threeſcore Soldiers, beſides Horſe-men of note, ten Tribunes, and thirty Centurions, beſides thirty two Military Enſigns. But the greateſt part periſhed in the Trenches, and on the River Banks, preſt to death, as the driven by the fear and flight of their Fellows, without any Blow or Wound given them.

60. *Pompey* hereupon was ſaluted *Imperator*, and ſo ſuſſered himſelf to be ſeized, though he uſed not the Title in any of his Miſſives, nor had any Lawrel in the Bundle of Rods carried before him. *Lælius* having begged the Priſoners, cauſed them all to be ſlain; and *Pompey's* Party took ſuch aſſurance, that not thinking any more of the Courſe of the War, they carried themſelves as already Victors, nor at all conſidering the ſlowneſs of *Cæſar's* Men to be the cauſe of their Succeſs, nor the diſadvan-

Pompey breaks out.

And *Cæſar* loſeth.

Sect. 7.

Who alienates
the course of
the War.Retreats to *Apollonia*.Takes *Gomphi*
in *Thesfalie*.

trage of the Place, nor that the Army was divided into two parts, in such fort, that neither of them was in a capacity to relieve the other. They did not remember the common chances and casualties of War, wherein oftentimes very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of sudden fear, or of scruple of Religion procure great and heavy losses, as often as, either by the negligence of the General, or the fault of a Tribune, an Army is disordered. As if they had overcome by down-right Force and Valour, and no alteration could after happen, they magnified this days Victory by Letters and Report throughout the World. But *Cæsar* being driven from his former Purposes, resolved to change the whole course of the War, to omit the Siege, and withdraw the Garrisons. He cheered up his Army as well as he could, by putting them in mind of their manifold Victories in *Italy* and *Spain*, and other Successes, which, put together, over-balanced by much the late disaster. Having disgraced and displaced certain Ensign-bearers, the Soldiers were earnestly desirous, by a fresh Engagement, to redeem their credit; but he thought it not fit to put it to the trial, till their minds were settled, and he resolved to make a fair Retreat to *Apollonia*. This he did with such speed, that *Pompey* could not overtake him, only some of his Horse came up with the Reer, but with loss were repulsed. *Pompey* followed a full Journey, but some of his Men rising hastily, had left a great part of their Baggage behind them, and induced by the nearness of their last nights lodging, left their Arms, and went back to fetch those things that were behind. *Cæsar* took this Advantage which he had expected, and continued his diligence; so that *Pompey* being tired the first day, and afterward striving in vain, and making great Journeys, and yet not overtaking him, the fourth day gave over the Pursuit, and betook himself to another Resolution.

61. *Cæsar*, for accommodating his Wounded Men, for paying his Army, feeding his Allies and Confederates, and leaving Garrisons in the Towns, was necessitated to go to *Apollonia*; but in performing these things, made all hast imaginable. For he desired to be with *Domitius* with all possible celerity, lest he should be engaged by *Pompey's* Arrival. If *Pompey* followed after him, he should by this means draw him from the Sea-side, and from such Provisions of War as he had stored up at *Dyrrachium*, and so should compel him to equal Conditions. If he should go over into *Italy*, then having joyned his Army with *Domitius*, he would go and succour that Country by the way of *Illyrium*. And if he should besiege *Apollonia* or *Oricum*, and so exclude him from all the Sea-Coasts, he would then besiege *Scipio*, and force *Pompey* to relieve him. *Pompey* conjectured as *Cæsar* purposed, that he might attack *Scipio*, and therefore thought it requisite to halt to himself; but if he would not depart from the Sea-shore and *Coryra*, as expecting more Forces out of *Italy*, he then resolved to fall upon *Domitius*. Each halted to relieve his Friends, and surprize his Enemies; but *Cæsar* had turned out of the way to go to *Apollonia*, whereas *Pompey* had a ready way into *Macedonia* by *Conducta*. The News of *Cæsar* being defeated at *Dyrrachium*, did much incommode his Affairs; for thereupon several States drew off from his Party, and the Ways were so stopped, that no intercourse could be had betwixt him and *Domitius*, till he met with him at *Hegirium*, a Town situate upon the Frontiers of *Thesfalie*. The first Town of this Country by the Way leading out of *Epirus*, was *Gomphi*, the Inhabitants of which formerly had offered themselves and all they had to be disposed of at his pleasure; but upon the Rumor of his overthrow, *Androthene*, *Prætor* of *Thesfalie*, had drawn the multitude of Servants and Children out of the Country into the Town, and sent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for Aid. *Cæsar* knowing of what consequence this Town would be, and to strike terror into the rest, resolved to storm it, and making the Attack after three of the Clock in the Afternoon, notwithstanding the extraordinary height of the Walls, took it before Sun-set, and gave it to the Soldiers to be rifled. Then presently removing, he went to *Metropolis*, by his halt preventing all Messages and News. The Inhabitants at first Manned their Walls; but understanding by the Captives in *Cæsar's* Camp what had happened to *Gomphi*, yielded, and saved themselves. And this their happiness being compared with the desolation of *Gomphi*, had that effect, that there was not one State of *Thesfalie*, *Larissa* excepted, which was kept in by *Scipio*, but yielded obedience to *Cæsar*; who now being got into a Place plentiful in Corn, which was almost ripe, resolved to attend *Pompey's* coming, and there to prosecute the remainder of the War.

62. A few days after, *Pompey* came into *Thesfalie*, and taking the Legions all into one Camp, he made *Scipio*, with whom he had joyned, Partraker both of his Honour and Authority, commanding the Trumpets to attend his Pleasure for matters

of

Sect. 7.

All Men give
him for lost.

of direction, and that he should use a *Prætorian* Pavilion. *Pompey* being strengthened thus with the addition of another Army, all Men gave *Cæsar* for lost. His Enemies were in pain till their assured Victory was obtained, that they might return into *Italy*, and into heavy contests they fell, who should be successively Consuls, concerning Rewards and Preferments, and especially who should have *Cæsar's* Priesthood; some begged the Houses and Goods of such as were with *Cæsar*; besides, a great controversy grew in open Council, whether *L. Hirtius* should not be regarded at the next Election of *Prætors*, being absent, and employed by *Pompey* against the *Partians*. Other things they disputed, as not thinking so much of the means how to overcome, as how to use the Victory. As for *Cæsar*, Provision of Corn being now made, and his Soldiers well relieved after a sufficient time passed from the Battel at *Dyrrachium*, he thought fit to try what Will *Pompey* had to fight. Every day he drew out his Men farther and farther from their Trenches, to imbolden them; and because he was much inferior to his Enemies in the number of Horse, he commanded certain lusty young Men of them that stood before the Ensigns, being nimble and swift in running, to fight amongst the Horse-men. They by their daily practice had learnt the use of that sort of fight; so that *Cæsar* tells us, one thousand of his Cavalry, in open and Champion places, upon occasion, would undergo the Charge of seven thousand of theirs, and they were not much terrified with their Multitudes. Now they made a fortunate Encounter; but *Cæsar* thinking *Pompey* would not be drawn to Battel, resolved to shift his Camp, and be always in moving, hoping by often removals to be better accommodated with Provisions, and upon a March to find some good occasion to fight; besides, he thought he should weary *Pompey's* Army with continual Journeys, it being not accustomed to travel.

63. But when the Tents were taking down, it was discovered, that the Enemy was advanced from the Hill, where he was formerly incamped, somewhat farther from his Trenches; so that it seemed they might fight in an equal and indifferent place. Thereupon *Cæsar* stopped his March, and drew out his Forces to fight, and *Pompey*, as afterwards it was known, was resolved to give Battel, for all that were about him moved him to it; and some few days before he had given out in Council, that he would overthrow *Cæsar's* Forces before the Armies came to joyn. He told them (who wondered at it) that the Cavalry had, upon his desire, promised him, when they drew near, to attack *Cæsar's* right Corner on the open side; so that the Army being circumvented behind, should be amused and routed, before *Cæsar's* Men should cast a Weapon, and thereby the War should be ended without danger of the Legions, or almost without any Wound received. *Labiennus* seconded his Speech, and further encouraged them by affirming, that this was not the Army wherewith *Cæsar* performed such things in *Gall* and *Germany*, which was either dead, gone home, or a very small piece of it was remaining; but was gathered from the Leaves made in the hither *Gall*, and most of them out of the Colonies beyond *Padus*, and yet all the flower and strength of them was taken away in the last two overthrows at *Dyrrachium*. Affirming this, as not speaking rashly, but having been himself present at the Battels in *Gall* and *Germany*, he took a solemn Oath, not to return into his Camp, but with Victory, exhorting the rest to do the like. *Pompey* commending him, took the same Oath, neither was there any that refused it, all being now cockure, and conceiving Victory already in their minds, as not imagining that any thing should be spoken vainly by so skillful a Commander, especially in so important a matter.

The ordering
of *Pompey's*
Army before
the Battel of
Pharsalia.

64. In the left Corner of *Pompey's* Army stood the two Legions which had been in the beginning of the War, taken from *Cæsar* by decree of the Senate, the one being called the *First*, and the other the *Third*, and with them stood *Pompey*. *Scipio* had the middle Squadron, with the Legions he brought out of *Syria*. The Legion of *Cilicia* joyned with the *Spanish* Cohorts, which *Africanus* brought, made up the right Wing. The rest of the Troops were interlaced betwixt the Squadron and the Wings. In all they amounted to one hundred and ten Cohorts, and fifty five thousand Men, besides two thousand old Soldiers, and Men of note, which *Pompey* had dispersed over all the Army. The remaining seven Cohorts he left in the Camp, or disposed about the Forts near adjoining. The Right Wing was flanked with a River, having high and cumbersome Banks, and therefore he put all his Horse together with his Archers and Slingers in the Left. *Cæsar* observing his former Custom, placed the *Tenth* Legion in the Right Wing, and the *Ninth* in the Left, though they were much weakened in the Fights at *Dyrrachium*, but to the *Ninth* he joyned the *Eighth*, so as he seemed to make one of two, and commanded them to succour each other. In all he had about Eighty Cohorts, which made up twenty and two

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Sect. 7.
Of *Cæsar*.

thousand Men; and two Cohorts he left to keep the Camp. The Left Wing he assigned to *Antonius*, the middle Battle to *Cn. Domitius*, and the Right Wing to *Pub. Sylla*, and stood himself against *Pompey*. Having well observed all things, and fearing lest his Right Wing should be inclosed by the Multitudes of the Enemies Horse, he speedily drew five Cohorts out of the Third Battle, and of them he made a Fourth to encounter their Cavalry; shewed them what he would have done, and admonished them that the success of that day rested in the Valour of those Cohorts. He put them all in mind of his favours and his carriage towards them from time to time, and especially how they themselves were Witnesses, that he had several times fought for Peace: Neither was he willing at any time to spend the Soldiers Blood, or deprive the Common-wealth of either of those Armies.

The manner
of the Fight.

65. There was so much space left between both the Armies, as might serve either of them to meet upon the Charge. *Pompey* commanded his Men to receive the shock of *Cæsar's* Soldiers without moving from the Place. This he did by the advice of *C. Triarius*, to the end that the first violence of the Soldiers being broken, and the Battle diffused, they that stood in perfect order might have the advantage of them that were dispersed. Besides, it was hoped the Piles would not fall so forcibly upon the Army standing still, and that *Cæsar's* Soldiers, having so far to run, would by that means be out of breath. This in *Cæsar's* opinion was without reason, there being, he saith, a certain incitation and alacrity of Spirit planted in every Man naturally, which is inflamed with a desire to fight; which no Commander ought to repress or restrain, but rather increase and set it forward. However his Soldiers, upon sign of Battle, running out with their Piles ready to be cast, and perceiving that *Pompey's* Men did not make out to meet them, whom they looked upon as Men of experience, and exercised in former Fights, they stop their course, and almost in the mid-way stood still, that they might not come to Blows upon spending of their strength: Then, after a little respite they ran on again, threw their Piles, and presently drew their Swords, as *Cæsar* had commanded them. *Pompey's* Soldiers were not now wanting on their part, but having received the shock, cast also their Piles, and betook themselves to their Swords, keeping their Ranks. His Horse-men did not forget the Orders they received, but from his Left Wing, with the Multitude of Archers, made such a Charge, that *Cæsar's* Horse was not able to sustain it, and they put themselves into Squadrons to inclose the Army. Now did *Cæsar* give the Sign to the six Cohorts to advance, who came with such fury upon *Pompey's* Men, that none of them were able to stand before them, but fled as fast as they could to the highest Hills, whereby the Archers and Slingers, being left naked, were put to the Sword; and now the Cohorts, notwithstanding any resistance, charged the Left Wing upon their Backs. At the same time *Cæsar* commanded his third Battle, which as yet stood still, and was not removed, to advance forward; and these Men being fresh and sound, and relieving such as were faint and weary, and others charging them upon the Backs, *Pompey's* Party was no longer able to endure it, but all turned their backs, and fled. Thus it fell out according to *Cæsar's* opinion, and as he had spoken in his Incouragement to the Soldiers, that the Victory would grow from the six Cohorts placed in the fourth Battle against *Pompey's* Horse-men.

Pompey flyeth.

66. As soon as *Pompey* saw his Horse were beaten, and perceived the Party he most confided in to be amazed and affrighted, he distrustful the rest, and forthwith left the Battle, conveying himself on Horse-back into the Camp: With a loud voice he commanded the Centurions, which had the Watch at the *Pretorian* Gate, to defend it diligently, to prevent any hard casualty that might happen, saying, That he would go about to the other Ports to settle the Guards; but into the *Pretorium* he went distrustful the main Point, and yet expecting the Event. And he was followed into the Camp by his Soldiers, to whom *Cæsar* would give no respite; but notwithstanding the great heat, it being now mid-day, perswaded his Men to force it, which they did without very much trouble, it being chiefly defended by *Thracians* and *Barbarians*, for the Soldiers were weary and wounded, and fought how to shift for themselves. Neither could they that stood upon the Rampire endure the multitude of Weapons, but, fainting with Wounds, forsook the Place, and fled to the high Mountains adjoining, being led thither by the Centurions and Tribunes. In the Camp were found rich Furniture, and the Tents were strowed with fresh Herbs and Rushes, and many other superfluities there were, which discovered their extream luxury and assurance of Victory; and yet they upbraided *Cæsar's* patient and miserable Army with riot and excess, to which there was always wanting such Requisites as were expedient for necessity.

IV

Sect. 7.

ry uses. When *Cæsar's* Men entered the Camp, *Pompey* having cast off all Imperial Ensigns, got on Horse-back, and from the *Decuman* Gate fled to *Lerissa* with all the half he could make, whence with the same speed he posted night and day, till he got to the Sea-side, with a Troop of thirty Horse. Then went he aboard a Ship of Burthen, complaining, that his opinion only deceived him, being as it was betrayed by those that first fled, from whom he had chiefly hoped for Victory.

Pompey's Soldiers submit
to him.

67. *Cæsar* having got the Camp, perswaded his Soldiers not to look after Booty, but to finish the War he had begun about. Then began he to inclose the Hills with a Fortification, which caused *Pompey's* Party to desert the Place, being without Water, and take the way toward *Lerissa*. With four Legions he followed them, and coming a nearer way, after six Miles, Imbattled his Forces, whereupon they betook themselves to an high Hill, under which ran a River. Now *Cæsar's* Soldiers were pendent with continual toil all this day, and night was at hand; yet for all this he prevailed with them to cut off the River from the Hill, by a Fortification, to keep them from watering that night. This being perfected, they began to fend about, treating upon Conditions to yield themselves, and some few of the Senators escaped away in the night. As soon as it was light *Cæsar* caused them all to come down into the Plain, and to cast away their Arms, which done without refusal, they cast also themselves upon the Earth, spread their hands abroad, and shedding many Tears, desired mercy. He comforted, and commanded them to stand up, and having spoken something of his clemency a little to ease them of their fear, gave them all their Lives with safety, commanding the Soldiers to hurt none of them, and that they should want nothing which was their own. After such wonderful diligence used, he sent for other Legions which had rested in the Camp, and that day went to *Lerissa*. He tells us he lost in the Battle not above two hundred Soldiers, but of Centurions, valiant Men, he lost thirty. Of *Pompey's* Army were slain about fifteen thousand, and twenty four thousand yielded themselves. Such Cohorts as were in the Forts yielded to *Sylla*, and many fled into the next Towns and Cities. Of Military Ensigns were brought out of the Battle to *Cæsar* one hundred and fourscore, with nine Eagles. The News of this Victory arrived in good time in the Western Parts, where, at Sea, *Cæsar's* Affairs went down the wind. *Cassius* in *Sicily* burnt his Ships in divers places, and if the Report had not come seasonably, *Messana* had been taken.

Pompey flies
into *Ægypt*.

68. But *Cæsar* resolved, that all other things he was to set aside, and to pursue *Pompey*, lest he should leave Forces and renew the War. He made forward every day as far as his Men were able to go, and the fame of his Victory flew before him, which caused the Cities to exclude *Pompey* and his Party as they went by Sea; and *Pompey* leaving off his purpose of going into *Syria*, directed his course toward *Pelusium*. There by chance was King *Ptolemy*, a Child within years, making War against his Sister *Cleopatra* with great Forces, whom a few Months before, by means of his Allies and Friends, he had thrust out of his Kingdom. *Pompey* sent to him, that in regard of the ancient Hospitality, and the Amity he had with his Father, he would receive him into *Alexandria*, and by his Wealth and Power support him, now fallen into misery and calamity. And they that were sent, when they had done their Message, began to speak liberally to the Kings Soldiers, and to desire them to stand by *Pompey*, not despising the lowe ebbe of Fortune to which he was brought. Their Speech was so properly applied, that amongst these Men there were many that had been *Pompey's* Soldiers, whom *Gabinus* had received out of his Army in *Syria*, and brought to *Alexandria*; and upon ending of the War had left them with *Ptolemy*, the Father of this Boy. But these things being known, such as were Protectors of the King, and Guardians of the Kingdom in his minority, either induced by fear that the Army should be gained, (which afterward they affirmed) and thereby *Pompey* might seize upon the City and *Ægypt*, or despising his Fortune, (for the most part it happening, that a Mans Friends become his Enemies, when low) gave a good Answer openly to such as were sent, and willed him to come to the King; but secretly plotting among themselves, sent *Achillas*, a principal Commander, and a Man of great boldness, together with *L. Septimius*, a Tribune, to kill him. They gave him good words, and he himself knowing *Septimius* to have led a Company under him in the War against the Pirates, went aboard a little Bark with a few of his Soldiers, and there was slain by *Achillas* and *Septimius*. In like manner *L. Lentulus* was apprehended by commandment of the King, and killed in Prison.

And there is
killed.

69. *Cæsar* having staid a few days in *Asia*, and heard that *Pompey* was seen at *Cyprus*, conjectured, as it was, that for his friendship and correspondency with the
* M m m m m 2 Kingdom

Se^{ct}. 7. Kingdom of *Ægypt*, he was gone thither, where he might be furnished with other advantages. He proceeded therefore to *Alexandria* with two Legions, eight hundred Horse, ten Gallies of *Rhodes*, and a few Ships of *Asia*. In the Legions were not above three thousand and two hundred Men, the rest being either wounded in Fights, or spent with travel; yet trusting to the fame of his great Performances, he doubted not to go with these weak Forces, thinking every place would entertain him safely. But coming to *Alexandria*, where he heard of *Pompey's* Death, his having Bundles of Rods carried before him gave great offence to the Multitude, which at his landing, and afterward, was very tumultuous, crying out, that the Kings Authority was diminished. Hereupon he gave order for other Legions, inrolled out of *Pompey's* Soldiers, to be brought him out of *Asia*, he being stopped in *Ægypt*, as he saith, by the *Etesian* Winds, which are against them that Sail from *Alexandria*. He now conceived, that the Controversie between the King and his Sister belonged to the Cognizance of the People of *Rome*, and consequently of himself as Consul, and the father, for that in his former Consulship there was a League made by Decree of the Senate with *Pholomy* the Father: In regard hereof he let them know his pleasure, that they should rather plead their Cause before him, than decide the Controversie by Arms. At this time one *Photinus*, an Eunuch, had the Administration of the Kingdom, who disclaiming that the King should be called to plead his Cause, drew the Army secretly from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, and made *Achillas* General, giving him Instructions what he would have done. Now old *Pholomy* by his Will had left his eldest Son and his eldest Daughter his Heirs and Successors in his Kingdom, and had charged the People of *Rome* by all things Sacred to see it duly observed. *Cæsar* was endeavouring to take up the Quarrel by a friendly and peaceable Arbitrement, when he was disturbed by the coming down of the Kings Forces. His own were not such as to hazard a Battle without the Town, but he stood upon his Guard, and commanded the Soldiers to Arm. He procured also, that *Discolides* and *Serapion*, two Persons eminent for their Embassies at *Rome*, as well as for other Employments, to be sent from the King to *Achillas* to know his Purpose, whom, as soon as he saw, he commanded to be put to death. Hereupon *Cæsar* endeavoured to get the King into his own Hands, to make use of the Authority of his Name and Title amongst his People, and to make it appear, that this War was moved rather by the private Practices of some seditious and designing People, than by his Order and Commandment.

The Alexandrian War.

The Alexandrian Army.

70. *Achillas* his Forces were not to be despised, either for their number, or fashion of Men, or experience in War. For of them he had twenty two thousand in Arms. They consisted of the Soldiers of *Gabinus*, who by this time were grown into an habitual Custom of the Life and Liberty of the *Ægyptians*; and having forgot the Name and Discipline of the People of *Rome*, had married Wives, and most of them had Children. To these were added such as were gathered from the *Thebes* and *Robbers* of *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, besides many banished Men, and others condemned to die. For *Alexandria* always afforded a receptacle for all the *Roman* Fugitives; and there they had a certain Condition of Life for upon giving up his Name a Man was presently inrolled a Soldier. And if a Slave chanced to be apprehended by his Lord, he was presently refused by the concurrence of Soldiers, who being all in the same condition, did strive and struggle for him as for themselves. These Troops thus constituted, would when they pleased cause the Kings Friends to be slain, they would rob Rich Men of their Goodsto enlarge their pay, besiege the Kings House to expel his Ministers out of the Kingdom, and send for others home, and that according to an old Custom and Privilege of the *Alexandrian* Army. But beside, there were two thousand Horse that had been of ancient continuance in many Wars, and had brought back *Pholomy* the Father, and restored him to his Kingdom; had slain *Bibulus* his two Sons, and made War with the *Ægyptians*; such experience they had in War.

71. *Achillas* trusting to these Forces, and condemning them that belonged to *Cæsar*, attacked that part of the Town where he lay, and endeavoured by all means to break into his House. This caused a most fierce Encounter, and another as fierce happened at the Port where *Achillas* endeavoured to seize on all the Shipping, whereby he would have cut off all Supplies that might have been sent to *Cæsar*. This caused *Cæsar* to besit himself, which he did to such purpose, that the Vessels he got into his Power, and burnt them all, not being able to keep so many things with so few Forces, and presently landed some Soldiers at *Pharus*. This *Pharus*, he tells us, was a Tower which took its name from an Island wherein it stood; the Island was of a great

The Island *Pharus*.

great height, and the Town built with strange Workmanship. The Island lay over against *Alexandria*, and so made it an Haven. But former Kings had enlarged it nine hundred Paces in length, by raising great Moles in the Sea, and by that means brought it so near the Town, that they had joyined them both together with a Bridge. In the Island dwelt *Ægyptians*, who made up a Village resembling a Town, and robbed all such Ships as by Error or Tempt were cast upon the Place, none being able to get into the Haven by reason of the narrowness of the Entry, without the leave of such as held *Pharus*. *Cæsar* afraid of this, while the Enemy was engaged in fight, landed his Men, and seized the Place by a Garrison, so that Corn and all other Succours might come to him; for he had sent to all the confining Regions for Aid. He caused also several Places near him to be fortified in the City, while in the mean time the younger Daughter of *Pholomy*, out of hope to obtain the Crown, now in question, conveyed her self out of the Kings House to *Achillas*, and both jointly undertook the management of the War. But they presently fell out about the chief Command, to the great advantage of the Soldiers, whom they both cared with Largesses. While they were thus busied, *Pholitus*, Governour of the young King, and Superintendent of the Kingdom, sent Messengers to *Achillas*, desiring him not to desist, or be discouraged. Upon discovery and apprehension of such Messengers, *Cæsar* caused him to be slain. And these were the beginnings of the *Alexandrian* War.

72. Thus long we have heard *Cæsar* himself relate his own Acts; for indeed we generally believe we hear or read him, when we peruse those Writings which bear his Name. Yet *Julius Lipsius* it seems thought these Commentaries not to have been written by him, saying, That the reason why most Eloquent Men esteemed that Book as a Pattern of Eloquence, was, because they presumed it was *Cæsar's*, and if it had not been *Cæsar's* Name, peradventure the Book would not be in such request. Now there is nothing of this nature more certain, than that *Cæsar* left Commentaries of his Achievements, both in the Gallick, and Civil War with *Pompey*; not only *Suetonius* affirming this, but *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Cicero* commend them for extraordinarily good. It is known sufficiently, that *Cæsar* excelled or equalled in Language the most famous Orators of his time. But indeed the broken and loose manner of the Composition of these Commentaries, as now we find them, hath given occasion to Learned Men to question, whether they be his true and genuine Works the Author oftentimes rather endeavouring to speak, than speaking. They object, that they are obscure and intricate, here bare, and there superfluous, and far different from that terse and *Attick* Style of *Cæsar*, which *Cicero* so exceedingly commends. Therefore *Lipsius* doubted, whether he should not ascribe these Books to *Julius Cæsar*, having found in a certain Piece called *Margareta Poetica*, many fragments cited out of them, but always in the Name of *Julius Cæsar*. Moreover, *Johannes Salsherianensis*, in his *Polaricum*, or his Works *De Nugis Curiarum*, produceth many Testimonies found in these Writings, but from *Julius Cæsar* too. *Vincenius*, in his *Spectulum*, describing the Bridge of the Rhine, celebrated by *Cæsar* in his fourth Book, commends *Julius Cæsar*, not *Cæsar*, for Author. And *Rodericus Sanctius*, in the third part of his History of Spain, and the thirty third Chapter, commends the Authority of *Julius Cæsar* for the History of the *Alexandrian* War, in Passages now found in the Book commonly ascribed to *Flutius*.

73. It is therefore thought, that this *Cæsar* tampered with the Commentaries of *Cæsar*; and if he did not wholly alter, yet he interpolated them, that, as *Claudius Cæsar* said, The Author indeed appears, but the *Stylus* is evident. In an ancient Copy of *Lexinius Torrentinus*, at the end of the seventh Book, was found written The Epiphemerie or Journal of C. Julius Cæsar, concerning the Gallick War, here ends. *Julius Cæsar* of Constantinople, a Man of the Rank of Clarissimus, read it. He cut off, and cast away many things, and particularly the History which *Servius*, in his second Book upon *Virgil*, recites from *Cæsar's* Journal, for now it no where appears. *Virgil* saying, That having plucked the Enemy from his Horse, he grasped him with his Right Hand, *Servius* notes, That he had this out of the History. For C. Cæsar being taken by the Enemy, and carried away armed as he was, one of the Enemies that knew him met him, and said insulting, Cecos Cæsar, which in the Language of the Galles signifies Dismiss; and so it came to pass that he was dismissed. This *Cæsar* speaks of in his Journal, where he commemorates his own felicity. For these Reasons, both *Lipsius* and others thought, that in those Commentaries we now make use of, the Matter and Narration was *Cæsar's*, but not the Words. If we consider what formerly we have seen objected by *Monetus*, concerning the Errors either of *Cæsar*, or such as meddled with

Whether the Commentaries going under the Name of *Cæsar* were his.

Se^{ct}. 7.

In Folio: tituli lib. 1. Dial. 9.

ypid. Giffordii Hist. Galliarum veterum cap. 1.

Sect. 7. with his Writings, it will induce to think they might have the more reason for their opinion, and it tends not to the dispute of *Cæsar*. Presuming however at the least, that the Matter and Story is his, it's convenient to examine what other Writers furnish us with that may attest or qualify his Narrations.

What other
Writers say of
this War.

74. What ever he speaks concerning his desire of Peace, and making means to obtain it, Writers censure as well him as *Pompey*, for designing high things, and of ambition more than any other Principle, driving on the War to such extremity. *Pompey* was not forward to pursue *Cæsar*, so as he might have done after the advantage he had got at *Dyrbachium*, *Cæsar* saying to his Friends, that his Enemies had won the Victory, had they known how to overcome. And indeed *Pompey's* Followers generally behaved themselves as if the War was then at an end, in so much that some of them went to his Wife *Cornelia* to congratulate with her upon that account, and some took care about Possessions, and suing for Offices in *Italy*, crying out, that he should return thither. But now when he had *Cæsar* in chase, he thought it not honourable to fly from him, especially to desert *Scipio* his Father-in-law, and other Senators dispersed through *Greece*, who upon his retreat must fall into *Cæsar's* Hands. Yet he did not purpose to fight him; only to besiege, and cut him off from Victuals. *Plutarch* tells us plainly of a Report raised amongst the *Equites*, that if *Cæsar* was overcome, they must also reduce *Pompey* to a private Man again; that this confirmed him in his resolution, and was the cause why he would no more employ *Cato* as one who intended to make him resign his Authority. This was melted out by his Companions, who seeing him loiter, said, he made not War against *Cæsar*, but the Senate and his Country, that he might ever retain his Authority, and have them for a Guard, and his Servants about him, to rule and command the World. The Taunts of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who called him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, raised him much envy, as also the Speeches of several others, amongst whom *Africanus* ranted against him, impatient to have *Cæsar's* Offices disposed amongst themselves, with other Places of Dignity in the State. So, as *Plutarch* writes, they hurried him to a Battle, contrary to his Judgment of fighting *Cæsar's* Army, which had taken a thousand Towns by Assault, had subdued above three hundred several People, had won infinite Battels against the *Germans* and *Gauls*, was never overcome, had taken a Million of Men Prisoners, and had slain as many in several Battels. This fatal one was fought on the Plains of *Pharsalus*, (not of *Philippi*, as *Florus* silly relate, and with him *Mamilius* and *Virgil*) betwixt that Town and the River *Empæus*. The word of *Pompey* was, *Unconquered Hercules*, and that of *Cæsar*, *Victorious Venus*. It's said, that *Cæsar* gave order to his Horse-men to cast their Darts upwards into the Faces of their Enemies, which made the young Gallants not only smarm, but being astonished at the manner of Fight, to cover them with their Hands, and run away.

Cæsar raised
to the highest
pitch from a
very low estate.

75. But thus, by the Valour of his Soldiers, as well as his own Conduct, was *Cæsar* raised from the extremity of his wants, and the disgrace of his former losses, to the chiefest Height of Earthly Glory and Power; so that what was wont to be said of his Country, that the Fortune of the People of *Rome* was great, but still grew greater from troubles and difficulties, might be applied unto him. Now had *Pompey*, by his over great Power and Interest, brought the Common-wealth to that pass, that it could not subsist but by the person of Servitude, as *Seneca* words it, or by being in the Hands of a single Person, who caused Servitude or Liberty as he w^{as} inclined. It's said, that at *Mytilene*, in his flight, he had much discourse with *Cratippus* the Philosopher, (the same to whom *Cicero* sent his Son to study) who in their talk made it evident, that his course of Government had brought a necessity of changing the State from the condition of a Common-wealth, to that of a Just Monarchy. When he was come into *Ægypt*, and had sent to the King to be received, a Council was called by the Governours to consult what was to be done, during which he rode at Anchor, expecting their resolution. Some would have him received, and some not; but *Theodotus* of *Chios*, who taught the King Rhetorick, to these his Eloquence, affirmed, that neither the one nor the other was to be done; for by receiving him they should make *Cæsar* their Enemy, and *Pompey* their Lord, and by denying him they should disoblige him, and displease *Cæsar* for letting him escape. In conclusion, he persuaded them to send to kill him, for thereby they should win the favour of the one, and not fear the displeasure of the other; and some say, that he added this saying, That a Dead Man bites not. This being determined, they gave *Achillas* order to do it, who took with him *Septimius* and *Salvius*, another Centurion, with three or four Soldiers, and persuaded him to come out of his

his Ship into a Fishers Boat, the Shore being filled with Armed Men. None in the Boat speaking friendly to him, he told *Septimius* he thought he should know him, having served formerly with him, at which the other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gave him no other answer, nor shewed him any courtesy. Seeing this, he took a little Book he had in his Hand, in which he had written a Speech he intended to make to *Proton*, and began to read it. When they drew nigh the Shore, he took hold of the Hand of *Philip*, his enfranchised Slave, to rise more easily, and then *Septimius* coming behind him, thrust him through with his Sword. Now *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew theirs. *Pompey* did no more, but took up his Gown with his Hands, and covered his Face, then patiently and manly he received the Wounds they gave him, only fighting a little. Thus died he, fifty nine years old, the next day after that of his Birth. A great Man, as not only the Sir-name given him, but his Actions, in the Eastern Countries, and others, declared; but he was over-matched by his Rival, and was, however, too formal and flight to overcome *Cæsar* and his Fortune.

Pompey's Head
brought to
Cæsar.

76. Having stricken off his Head, they cast his Body over-board, as a miserable Spectacle for all that had a desire to see him. *Philip* his Freedman remained by it till they had all gazed their fill, and then with an old Fishers Boat he found on the Shoar scarcely burnt it, being assisted by an old *Roman*, who had dwelt long in the Country, and prided himself in this Honour of doing to him this last Office. Not long after came *Cæsar* into *Ægypt*, and *Pompey's* Head was presented to him, but he turned aside, and would not see it, abhorring him that brought it as a detestable Murderer. He took his Ring with which he sealed his Letters, and whereon was engraven a Lion holding a Sword, and burst out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* (*Plutarch* adds) he put to death. King *Proton* was overcome in Battle, vanished away, and was never heard of. *Theodotus* the Rhetorician escaped *Cæsar's* Hands, and wandered up and down *Ægypt* in great misery, despised by every Man, till *Marcus Brutus*, who slew *Cæsar*, subduing *Asia*, met with, and put him to death after cruel Torments. The Ashes of *Pompey's* Body were afterwards carried to *Cornelia* his Wife, who buried them in a Town of hers by the City of *Alba*. This is *Plutarch's* Account, who blames this great Captain especially for being hector'd by his Officers into a Battle, and deceived by his Father-in-law *Scipio*, who, it is said, intending to keep the greatest part of the Money he had brought out of *Asia* to himself, halted and persuaded him to fight, by telling him there was no Treasure left.

77. *Dion Cassius* relates the same Story as *Plutarch*, concerning *Cæsar* his weeping at the sight of *Pompey's* Head. He adds, that he lamented, called him his Son-in-law, and related what they two had done together. That he was so far from owning his Murderers to have done him any Service, that he blamed them for the Fact, and gave the Head to others to be honourably interred. As hereby he deserved Praise, so in the opinion of the Writer he deserved to be laugh'd at for his counterfeiting. For having above measure coveted Domination, hated *Pompey* always as his Adversary upon that account, devised all manner of things against him, and undertaken this War for no other reason, than that having removed him out of the way, he might obtain the Sovereignty, and being for no other thing come into *Ægypt*, than to destroy him, if he was yet alive; he pretended a mis of him, and to be troubled at his Death. He being so made away, *Cæsar* thinking there was nothing of Hostility now behind, spent his time in *Ægypt* in gathering up money, and deciding the Controversie betwixt *Proton* and his Sister *Cleopatra*, and became intangled in the *Alexandrian* War, as we have shewn in the History of that Kingdom. In the mean time *Pharnaces* was at work in *Pontus*, where being encouraged by the late Civil War, he had attempted to seize on his Fathers Kingdom. And another, both *Civil*, and, as *Dio* terms it, *Foreign* War was begun by *Cato* and others in *Africa*. For he being left by *Pompey* at *Dyrbachium* to guard the Passage from *Italy*, upon his overthrow, betook himself from *Epirus* to *Coreyra*, with whom joined such as had fled from the Battle, or were of that Party; for though *Cicero*, and some other Senators, went frait to *Rome*, yet most of them with *Labiænus* and *Africanus* (who both despaired of pardon from *Cæsar*, the one because he had revolted from him, and the other because having once been pardoned he had again taken Arms against the Conqueror) went to *Cato*, and under him, as General, renewed the War. To them joined *Octavius*, who had plyed about the *Ionian* Sea, had taken *C. Antonius*, and many Towns, but his Men, after the Battle of *Pharsalus*, fell off from him. So did *Cn. Pom-*

Cato General
against *Cæsar*.

Sect. 7.

pey, who with the Egyptian Fleet had made incursions into Epirus, and attempted Orizum, as also Brundisium, though without success, after the defeat of his Father, and the departure of the Egyptians; whereupon he betook himself to Carthage, to whom also repaired C. Cassius, who had vexed many Parts of Italy and Sicily, and fought often prosperously both by Sea and Land. Cato using these Persons as his Councillors and Assistants, passed into Peloponnesus, with hopes of seizing on that Country, knowing yet nothing of the Death of Pompey. But Q. Fulvius Calenus marching against them, they set sail, and went to Cyrene, where, hearing of Pompey's Death, they then differed in opinion. Cato, who by no means would bear the Domination of Caesar, resolved for Africa, and was followed by such as despaired of safety, where they omitted nothing they could devise against Caesar. Most of the rest were dispersed, as it happened; and some went straight to Caesar, and obtained pardon, amongst whom was C. Cassius.

78. Calenus, before the Battle of Pharsalam, being sent into Greece by Caesar, attacked the City of Athens, but could not force them to yield, till News arrived of his Success. Then they submitted, and Caesar forgave them without any injury offered to them, or any fine imposed, saying, That they having grievously offended, were preferred by the Dead; by which saying he hinted, that he spared them for the Glory and Virtue of their Ancestors. After this most other Towns of Greece reconciled themselves to him, and Megara paid dear to Fulvius for its contumacy. At Rome, before the Controversie was determined, all openly spoke well of Caesar, for fear of his Soldiers there left, and of Servilius his Colleague. When they believed the defeat of Pompey, they caused the Statues of him and Sulla to be demolished at the Rostra; but fearing he might yet recruit himself, they thought they had done too much. But when they understood for certain of his death, then what was it they would not do for Caesar, the principal Citizens striving who should exceed in flattery, and hoping to obtain Preferments for so doing, whereas it was known they were driven to it by the exigency of Affairs? They gave him Power to determine of those of Pompey's Party as he pleased, and they made him Lord of Peace and War against all Men whatsoever, though he neither consulted the People nor Senate. This Power he had taken to himself before in the management of the late Wars; but this is to be observed concerning these Times, and in reference to Caesar and his adopted Son, that the Romans desiring to seem still Free Citizens, and their own Men decreed those things in their behalf, which they were already possessed of, and gave such things as they could not keep. Now was he voted Consul for five years together, Dictator not for half, but an whole year, and to have Tribunitian Power for his Life; so as to sit amongst the Tribunes, and do their Work, which had not been granted to any before him. Having delivered the Provinces to the Consuls by lot, yet they decreed, that Caesar might grant them to Prætors without forfeiture, and so they returned both to Consuls and Prætors again, contrary to their former resolution. They ordered him a Triumph over Julia, and the Romans that served him, as if the Victory was already obtained, when Caesar knew not as yet whether there would be such a War. Now though he was out of Italy, yet he presently took the Dictatorship, and made Antony his Magister Equitum, who as yet had not been Prætor. And after this Magistracy, he was made Consul, the Aegurs making a clamour, that it was not lawful for a Magister Equitum to hold above six Months. For this they were laughed at to purpose, in that having, against all Precedent, made the Term of the Dictatorship to be Annual, they would be so accurate as to that of his Magister Equitum.

79. While Caesar was busied in the Alexandrian War, great Tumults happened in Italy, and at Rome. In Italy Milo raised Commotions, being the only exil'd Person whom Caesar did not restore; but he was suppressed and slain at Apulia, by the Arms of Servilius the Consul. At Rome M. Cæcilius presumed to contradict what Caesar had ordained concerning Creditors, being displeased that he had not been made Prætor of the City formerly by him, which Office he now obtained. He raised all grievous Commotions, and at length was slain by those of Caesar's Party. Yet with these Men did not the Disturbances of the City receive an end; for Antony the Magister Equitum was burdensome to them, wearing the Prætexta, and having six Lictors, when there was neither Consul nor Prætor to be seen. Indeed he attended the Senate, and thereby was represented a sort of a Commonwealth; but when they saw him girt with a Sword, and Guarded by a great number of Attendants, they began to think what sort of Person the Dictator himself would

Honours decreed by the Senate to Caesar.

Disorders at Rome, and in Italy.

Sect. 72

would prove, who though he had hitherto made no other show, than that of clemency, yet they thought a Man in full possession differed in humour from one who endeavour'd to clear his way to his designs, by an obliging demeanour. But above all, they were plagued by the outrageous carriage of L. Lepidus, and P. Cornelius Dolabella, the Tribune Plebeii, the latter of which being once a Patriarch, had made himself a Plebeian, to obtain the Place. By publishing Laws, and making Slaughters to enact and confirm them, they harried the Citizens. Dolabella not expecting pardon from Caesar, for great were his demerits, and therefore not caring what he did to be remembered after his death. Till Caesar's arrival in Italy they would not give over, but then when they expected punishment, he betook himself to his wonted clemency. Finding all things quiet, he not only forgave his Enemies, but preferred some of them, amongst whom Dolabella himself, to the Dignity of Consul, although he had never been the Prætorship.

80. Caesar might sooner have come to Rome, if Cleopatra had not held him fast in Egypt, which hold she was forced at length to let go after some nine Months, and give way to a greater violence, which hurried him out of her Embracements. This proceeded from Pharnaces the Son of Mithridates, who was King of the Bosphorus Cimmericus, but inflamed with an earnest desire of recovering his Father's Dominions, having the opportunity of the Civil and Egyptian Wars. He seized Colchis without any trouble, and all Armenia in the absence of Deiotarus, besides some Cities of Cappadocia and Pontus, which were subject to the Jurisdiction of Bithynia. Caesar had not yet settled matters in Egypt, as he desired, and hoping to reduce him in order by others, had sent away Cn. Domitius Calpurnius against him, with command to recover Asia, and receive the Forces that were there. Calpurnius joyed to himself Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes, and went straight against Pharnaces, who had his abode at Nicopolis, on which he had seized. Pharnaces affrighted at his coming, desired a Truce, that the matter might be composed by a Message, but Calpurnius contemned, and would not hear him, but resolute to fight, was worsted in the Engagement, and Winter now drawing on, returned into Asia. Pharnaces elevated by this Success, took in the rest of the Cities of Pontus, stormed Amisus, and marched for Bithynia and Asia, with hope of having his Father's Success. But he was stopped in his career by the revolt of Asander, to whom having committed the charge of Bosphorus, the Man being in hope to have it granted to himself by the Romans, endeavoured to curry favour with them. He purposed to go against him, but was diverted by News that Caesar himself was coming into Armenia, who, Ptolomy being now dead, and Domitius overthrown, thought it not honourable for him to make any longer stay in Egypt. Pharnaces was more affrighted with his vigorous Spirit, than his Army, and before he drew near, sent often to him about a Peace, labouring by all means to evade the present danger. He pleaded that he had given no assistance to Pompey, and hoped to pacify Caesar, who would hasten into Italy and Africa, not doubting but after his departure easily to renew the War. Caesar, sufficiently apprehensive of his Design, gave good words to the Messengers that came the first and the second time, on purpose to deceive him; but to those that were sent the third on the same errand, he objected, amongst other crimes, his ingratitude to Pompey his Benefactor. Using all expedition, on one and the same day he came and fought the Enemy, who distressed him at first with his Horse and Chariots that bore Scythians. But the Legions obtained for him the Victory, and Pharnaces, flying to the Sea, and endeavouring to break into Bosphorus, was repulsed and slain by Asander.

81. In this Victory, though none of the most eminent, Caesar so much prided himself, as in none more, and that for the celerity of his Expedition; so that writing to Antipater at Rome he expressed his Achievement in three words, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, I came, I saw, I overcame. He gave the Spoil, which was great, to his Soldiers; and whereas Mithridates had at this Hill Scythians overthrown Triarius, and erected a Trophy in the Place; because it was esteemed wickedness to demolish it, as consecrated to the Gods of War, he opposed against it another over Pharnaces after a certain manner to deface it. He recovered all that Pharnaces had taken from the Romans, or their Friends, and restored them to the former owners, part of Armenia excepted, which he bestowed on Ariobarzanes. He made some amends to those of Amisus, by making them free; to Mithridates of Pergamus he granted a Tetrarchy, with the Name of King, and committed to him the War against Asander, to revenge the treachery committed against his Friends; and that Mithridates might become Lord of Bosphorus. He left Domitius to take order for other matters, and went into Bithynia, thence into Greece, and so failed into Italy; for, such was his Expedition against Pharnaces,

Returneth into Italy.

* N n n n n and

Pharnaces invades some Countries of the East.

Caesar overcometh him.

Prised himself in his Victory.

Sect. 7.

and his Return, as *Dion Cassius* hath described it. But *Josephus* further acquaints us, (which we must not pass over) that taking *Syria* in his way from *Aegypt* he restored *Hyrcanus* to the Priesthood in *Judea*, though *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobolus* (who being let out of Prison by him, and sent home, had been poisoned by *Pompey's* Party) sued to him for the Government. He made also *Antipater* (whom *Hyrcanus* had sent to join with *Mithridates of Pergamus* with three thousand Horse, and who did good Service in the *Alexandrian War*) Governor of *Judea*. And he promoted his own Kinsman *Sextus Caesar* from a *Quæstorship* to the Government of *Syria*, which *Scipio* the Father-in-law of *Pompey* had enjoyed the year before.

82. *Caesar*, upon his return into *Italy*, by all means he could, raised Money, as formerly he had practised. What had been promised to *Pompey* hexacted, and imposed new Leavies upon other pretended occasions. At *Tyre* he took away all that was consecrated to *Hercules*, because they had received the Wife and Son of *Pompey* in their flight; and from many Princes and Kings he received Crowns of Gold, because of the Victories he had obtained. And this he did, our Writer tells us, not out of any dishonest humour, but because he was at vast charge, and now must be at greater, for the paying of his Armies, setting forth his Triumph, and in other matters, wherein his Magnificence was to be shown. He was intent upon raising Treasure, because, as he was wont to say, there were two things whereby Power was obtained, preserved, and increased, and these were *Soldiers* and *Money*, of which the one procured the other; for by Money Soldiers were maintained, and by Soldiers Money was raised. Sometimes he was wont to think and speak after this manner. And when he came to *Rome* this was the only course he followed. He otherwise offended no Man, but such Gifts as were given him in Gold, Images, or other things, he gladly received, and raised much Money by Loans, not only from private Persons, but also from Cities, and exacted them no otherwise than as due to him, by constraint and force, though he never intended to make restitution, alledging, that he had spent his own Estate upon the Common-wealth, and now was upon necessity to be in debt. He not only herein offended Strangers, but his own Friends, who buying such Goods and Estates as he had published, and hoping he would not exact the price, now found they were mistaken; and he valued not their Indignation. For he pleased them again by Offices and Employments, and the Multitude he obliged, by remitting all the Urful which had been due from the time he undertook the Expedition against *Pompey*, as also Rent for the hire of Houses, and other ways. That he might gratify many Persons, he designed ten *Pretors* for the following year, and increased the number of such as served about their Sacred things, above what was prescribed by the Laws. The Colleges of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Quindecimviri*, he increased by one added to each, though, as was decreed, he had resolved to have all Offices of Priests in his own Hands. The Horse-men and Centurions of his Army, and such as held lesser Commands, he honoured several ways, and some of them by bringing them into the Senate in the Places of such as were dead.

83. But while these things he did, he was much disturbed by his Soldiers, who though they had been rewarded as they had deserved of him, yet were not contented, and their expectations not being answered, grew mutinous. The greater part of them lay in *Campania*, whence he purposed to transport them into *Africk*. They almost killed *Sallust*, who was made *Pretor*, that he might obtain the *Senatorial* Dignity, and when he fled towards *Caesar* to acquaint him with their disorder, they pursued, and slew two Senators out-right, or two *Pretors*, as *Plutarch* names them, *Calpurnius* and *Galba*. When *Caesar* knew it, he thought first to have sent his *Pretorian* Troops; but fearing that they also should be drawn into the Mutiny, he staid till the Soldiers came into the Suburbs. Then he sent to know what they would have, and what the reason was of their coming. They answered, they would declare it to *Caesar* himself; and it being the Custom to wear their Swords in the City, he permitted them to come with them, without their other Arms. With many words they related what Labours they had undergone, what Dangers they had incurred, what Rewards they had both expected and deserved, and now they required to be dismissed, and vehemently urged it; not that they desired to return to a Private Life, being used to War and Spoil, but to terrify him, now involved in them all the Military Oath, as if standing in no further need of their assistance, and promised Pay and Rewards to those that had served their full time: Herewith they were struck with great amazement.

Raish Mo-
ney all ways
possible.

His Soldiers
mutiny.

z.

Whom he re-
duces by cal-
ling them
Quirites.

amazement, especially that he should call them *Quirites*, and not *Soldiers*, and fearing some ill thing was determined against them, they desponded, and earnestly besought him to receive them again, promising all obedience, and alone by themselves to dispatch the War. They making these Intreaties, and a certain Tribune, whether at their request, or to gratify *Caesar*, is unknown, interceding in their behalf, he said he dismissed them all that were there, and moreover all others that had served their time; for he had nothing for them to do. Yet he would reward them, that they should not say he made use of them in his need, and afterwards was ingrateful, although they had refused his Service, and to dispatch the remainder of the War, when they were neither destitute of strength, nor of any other thing.

84. This he craftily spoke, for he had great need of them, and to all he assigned Grounds, partly such as were publick, and partly his own, but in a dispersed manner, lest being in one place they might disturb their Neighbours, or attempt some seditious things. Such Money as he had promised for performance of some notable Facts, he undertook to pay down, or afterward with Interest; and by such discourse made them so obnoxious, that they not only not murmured, but gave him thanks. Now, faith he, you have all I owed you, neither will I for the time to come force any of you to the War; but if any of you will assist me in what is behind, I will willingly receive him. Having heard this, they were wonderful joyful, neither was there one who did not give his Name. He selected some he knew most turbulent that were able to live by Husbandry, and received the rest, taking this course also with some other Troops. Such as were most fierce, amutinous, and fittest for mischief, he took along with him out of *Italy*, and exposed them to dangers in *Africk*, both thereby to promote his Service against the Enemy, and to rid himself of ill Men. For though he was of a most gentle humour, and desirous to gratify his Soldiers, above all other Mortals, yet he most grievously hated all Mutineers, and most severely punished them. These things happened that year wherein he in effect again was *Dictator*, though *Calenus* and *Vatinius* at the latter end of the year bore the Name of *Consuls*.

He goes into
Africk.

85. In the middle of Winter he passed over into *Africk*, and thereby coming unexpectedly upon his Enemies, had the better success. For in all his Affairs he used celerity, and gained much by his sudden expeditions, which indeed was the cause why he excelled all Captains of his time in the Glory of Martial Actions. *Africk* had formerly been no great friend to him, and after the destruction of *Carthage* he esteemed it an Enemy. For *Varus* and *Juba* did there what they pleased, and now *Cato* and *Scipio* having joined with them, they drew in *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to their assistance, and hearing there were stir in *Spain*, sent *Cn. Pompey* thither, that by the power of the love that People bore to his Father, he might make it their own, and then they might return with him into *Italy*. *Varus* at first, as most experienced in *Africk*, contended with *Scipio* for the chief Command, but *Cato* declined it, and it was devolved upon *Scipio* as the greatest Person in Dignity, and one who for his very Name was acceptable in that Country, where it was thought a *Carrio* could not miscarry. *Caesar* perceiving his Soldiers also to be of this humour, carried over with him one *Scipio*, Sir-named *Salutator*, and, they not expecting him in Winter, arrived at *Adrumetum*, not being able to reach *Utica* with his Ships. At his going alhoar his feet slipped, and he fell flat upon his face, at which his Men were affrighted, as an ill Omen; but he, without any hesitation, stretch'd out his Hand upon the Ground, and grasped it, as having fall'n on purpose, and, kissing it, said, *I hold thee, O Africk*. Attempting to take *Adrumetum*, he was repulsed, and driven to another Place called *Rafina*, where he took up his Winter Quarters, and thence made War. For the following year he entered upon the *Consulship* and *Dictatorship*, both the third time, having *Lepidus* for his Colleague. This Man, as soon as he was declared *Dictator* by him, he sent from being *Pretor* into the hither *Spain*, and granted him a Triumph at his return, though he had overcome no Man, nor so much as fought, only it was pretended he was present at the Actions of *Longinus* and *Marcellus*. *Lepidus* in his Triumph brought in nothing but the Money, of which he had spoiled the Provinces. But *Caesar* having thus required him, now, as was said, took him for his Colleague.

86. In *Africk* Fortune now seemed to change her aspect upon his Affairs. His Men going out on foraging, before they had worn off the disorder into which the Sea had brought them, were many of them cut off by *Petereus* and *Labinus*, who laying hold on the advantage, drove them to an Hill, where they might have been all taken or destroyed, but that their Enemies were discouraged by the many Wounds they had received. However, they resolved to besiege them, and perish they must,

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Sect. 7.

Where he is
disfilled.

Sec. 7. if *Cæsar* did not relieve them, who now, as he had reason, was very melancholick, considering that *Scipio* and *Juba* were coming with all their Forces, that he had not strength to grapple with them all, had not necessities wherewith to subsist, neither could he get away, his Enemies stopping him both at Sea and Land. When he was in this perplexity, he was rescued out of danger by one *P. Sittius*, who being driven out of *Italy*, joyned many banished Persons with him, and passing into *Mauritania*, having obtained of King *Bocchus* a Band of Men, resolved to assist *Cæsar* in his War, though he never had been gratified by him, nor so much as known to him. Yet did he not think he could do him much Service, being at a great distance from him, and having but a small Force; but observing the time when *Juba* led his Army out of his Kingdom, he brake into *Numidia*, and waited it, together with *Getulius*, (part of his Kingdom) which constrained *Juba* to return back when he had gone half his Journey. So far was *Cæsar* from being in condition to defend himself from both, that he was not able to grapple with *Scipio*, especially because his Horses would not endure the fight, and smell of his Elephants, which caused him to fend not only for Soldiers out of *Italy*, but for Elephants too, to make them familiar to his Horses. In the mean time the *Getuli* embraced his friendship, the Example of whom some Neighbouring People followed, induced by the request he made them, and by remembrance of *Marinus*, to whom *Cæsar* was akin. And now Succours came to him out of *Italy*, though with great difficulty and hazard, both by reason of Enemies, and tempestuous Weather.

87. He resolved now to fall upon *Scipio*, before *Juba* could come and joyn with him. He beat him from a Mount he had seized near the City *Usaita*, and driving also *Labienus* from another Post, blocked up the Place. *Scipio* was fearful to engage till the coming of *Juba*, whom, to draw on, he promised all *Africk* that was held by the Romans. This Promise he wrought upon him, that leaving a Party to oppose *Sittius*, he began his March against *Cæsar*, who in the mean time, by fair Promises, drew many, both Romans and Africans, to revolt from *Scipio*, but by all means he might use, he could not oblige him to fight. *Scipio* also attempted to draw off *Cæsar*'s Men, but without success, not promising them any Rewards, but only moving them to preserve the liberty of the Roman People. But the Arrival of *Juba* altered the Case. Now they resolved to fight *Cæsar*, who declined all Engagements till more Forces could arrive out of *Italy*, which was but by degrees, for they were raised without halt, and Shipping was wanting for their transportation. At length, encouraged by their arrival, he drew out his Army to give Battel, and they also drew out and faced him; but yet they engaged not, though they looked on one another several days, but then retired to their Camps. *Cæsar* seeing they were not to be drawn from their Fortifications, removed to *Thapsus*, thereby either to fight the Enemy, if he came to relieve it, or else to take it destitute of Succours. *Thapsus* was situate in a kind of a Peninsula made by the Sea, and a Fen, and a narrow neck of Land gave access to it, wherein was a Lake, the Way lying narrow on each side. *Cæsar* made Fortifications in these Straits, and *Scipio* and *Juba* endeavoured to cut them off by other Works from the Continent, and where they could not at present do this, they placed Elephants to keep off *Cæsar*'s Soldiers, being wholly intent upon the Works. But *Cæsar* fell upon *Scipio*'s quarter, and drove the Elephants by Darts and Stones upon the Labourers, whom putting to flight, he pursued, and took the Camp. Herewith was *Juba* so struck, that he would neither fight, nor take care to preserve his own Camp, but fled again into his Kingdom. There none would receive him, and the rather, because they had been defeated by *Sittius*. Despairing then of safety, he fought a single Combat with *Petruus*, who hoped also for no pardon, and they both died together. *Cæsar*, he being fled, became Master of their Fortifications, and made great slaughter of their Men, not sparing those who yielded themselves. * Then took he the rest of the Cities, with the *Numidians*, over whom he set *Sallustius*, not to govern, but pill them as it proved. That part of *Libya* lying about *Carthage*, and by the Romans called *Africa*, was now titled *The Old Province*, having been formerly subdued; and *Numidia*, but now brought under, had the Name of *The New Province*. *Scipio* escaped to Sea, and purposed to go into *Spain* to *Pompey*, but being cast upon *Mauritania*, for fear of *Sittius*, he killed himself.

88. Of the Generals of the Party against *Cæsar*, now *Cato* only remained, who lay at *Utica*. This City they persuaded him to be Governour of, and he could not but be acceptable to the Inhabitants, whom he saved from ruin, when *Scipio* would have had the Place destroyed, as having taken *Cæsar*'s part. He had given place to *Scipio*, as the greater Man in Dignity, but advised him to delay, and not to fight

His great success against *Juba* and *Sittius*.

Cato Governour of *Utica*.

so great a Commander as *Cæsar* was, for which he received several taunts from him by Letters, as well as when offered to pass into *Italy* with his Forces to draw *Cæsar* out of *Africk*. *Cato* repented then that he had made him General, because he saw he would indiscreetly prosecute the War, and if he overcame, would not moderately use the Victory against his Fellow-Citizens, and he declared, that if so it happened, he would not stay at *Rome*, but fly from his cruelty, who even now did proudly threaten many Persons. But the news of *Scipio*'s defeat arriving, put *Cato* upon other thoughts. He attempted to fortify the City, and persuaded three hundred Roman Merchants, who lived there, to stand upon their guard; but they again, out of fear of *Cæsar*, forsook him; so that resolving to die, and not accept the mercy of the Conqueror, if it should be offered, he laboured all he could to save such Senators as were with him in the City. And by his Industry he got Ships for them all, and sent them to Sea. When the three hundred Merchants told him they would fend to *Cæsar* to crave pardon for him in an especial manner, and if they could not obtain it, they would fight for him to the last breath in their bodies; he thanked them for their good will, but answered, that they should fend quickly to beg pardon for themselves, but none for him. His reason he said was, because Men that be overcome, and have offended ought to make fate and crave pardon; but for himself, he was never overcome in his life; had overcome others as much as he desired, and in Justice had always excelled *Cæsar*, who was indeed the only Person that was now overcome and captivated; that thing now being evident to all the World, which he had always denied to have practised against his Country.

89. The Person that was chosen by the three hundred to go and intercede with *Cæsar*, was *Lucius Cæsar* his Kinsman, who intreated *Cato* to help him to make the Speech he should speak in behalf of them all; but in *Cato*'s behalf he said he would kiss his Hand, fall down on his Knees, and intercede for him. He told him he should not; for if he would save his life by *Cæsar*'s favour, he could do it, if he would go to him, but he would not be obliged to a Tyrant for injustice. For he said it was injustice in him to take upon him as a Lord and Sovereign to save a Mans life, when he had no real Authority to command; But he considered with him what to say in behalf of the three hundred. When *Lucius Cæsar* was gone, to whom he recommended his Son and his Friends, he charged his Son by no means to meddle with State Affairs, because to deal uprightly like *Cato*'s Son, the corruption of the Time and State would not abide it, and if he observed the time, he could not do like an honest Man. At night he embraced him and his Friends more lovingly than he was wont to do, whereby he made them suspect as formerly what he designed. His Son at Supper took from him his Sword, which he missed not when he arose, but lying down in his Bed read *Plato*'s Dialogue, called *Phædo*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul. Then, missing his Sword, he was very angry it was taken away, and would not be quiet till it was again restored to him. When he had it, and felt it to be sharp, he said he was now where he would be, and laying it down naked by him, took his Book again, and read it over, as was said, twice together. Then slept he so soundly, that his Men in the Antichamber heard him snore. When it grew day, and the Birds began to chirp, he took his Sword, and thrust it into his Breast; but the Wound not dispatching him quickly, by reason his Hand was swollen with a stroke he gave one of his Servants on the Face in his passion about his Sword, he fell down upon his Bed, and cast to the ground a little Geometrical Table; with the noise of which, his Servants affrighted, cried out, and his Son and Friends coming in, found him all in Blood, and most of his Bowels coming out of his Body. Then did his Physician endeavour to put in his Bowels again, and to sew up his Wound; but he coming to himself, thrust him from him, tore them with his own hand, and enlarging the Wound, immediately died.

90. His death being known, the three hundred Merchants, and all the People of *Utica*, to whom he had restored all their Money in his Hands, were presently at his Door, called him their Benefactor and Reliever, and said, That he only was a Freeman, and had an invincible mind. This they did even when they heard that *Cæsar* was not far from *Utica*, and neither fear of the present danger, nor desire to flatter the Conqueror, nor any private quarrel amongst themselves, could keep them from honouring his Funerals; for sumptuously decking out his Body, they paid their last respects to him by the Sea-side, where in *Pharoch*'s time was to be seen his Image, holding a Sword in his Hand. This done, they took the best course they could to save themselves and the City. *Cæsar* having heard that *Cato* died at *Utica*, and sent all others away, knew not what to think of his meaning; but in a little time, hearing he

Sec. 7.

Plutarch in *Cato*'s misour.

Kills himself.

* *Plutarch* writes, That in a place of one day he took three Camps, (reckoning that of *Assinus* with the other two.) flew fifty thousand of his Enemies, and lost but fifty of his own Men.

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Sect. 7. had killed himself, it was reported he said, *O Cato! I envy thee thy Death, because thou hast enjoyed me the Honour of saving thy Life.* But Men doubted for all this what he would have done, and especially by reason of a Book he afterwards wrote against *Cato*, wherein he heaped up a number of Accusations against him. But some believed he wrote it not out of any malice to him, at least that was deadly, but rather out of civil ambition upon this occasion. *Cicero* had composed a Treatise in praise of this Person, and called it *Cato*, which Book was much esteemed, both because of the Eloquence of the Writer, and the excellent Subject which it handled. *Cæsar* was much offended at it, thinking, that to praise him of whose death he was the cause, was to accuse himself; and therefore he took Pen in Hand, and composed another Treatise in answer to it, which he called *Anti-Cato*. Both these Books had favourers a long time after, some defending the one for the love they bare to *Cæsar*, and others the other for *Cato's* sake. But so died *Cato*, than whom none was more studious of Popular Government, a Man of a most firm and constant mind, who by his death obtained great Renown with his Countrey-men, especially those of his own Party, and from the Place where he died, obtained the Surname of *Uticensis*, the rather to distinguish him from his Great-Grand-father, who was called *Censorius* from that Office which he bore.

Cæsar punishes
some, and
spares more.

91. *Cæsar* dismissed his Son unhurt, as he did many more who betook themselves unto him. *Africanus* and *Festus Sylla* fled into *Mauritania*, despairing of pardon, and falling into *Sittius* his Hands, *Cæsar* put them to death as Captives. Though *L. Cæsar* was both his Kinsman, and came voluntarily in to him to beg his pardon, yet because he had been against him all the War, he made him be called to his Tryal, and when he feared to give Judgment of death against him himself, caused the Process to fall, but procured him to be slain privately. And it was his Custom in Fight, or some other way, to bring about the destruction of such as he liked not, or had ill deserved of him, being not willing to punish them all openly. However, when he had taken *Scipio's* Cabinet, he burnt all the Letters therein contained, without reading them, and pardoned many that had borne Arms against him, either for their own sakes, or at the request of such as interceded for them, giving liberty to every of his Friends and Fellow-Soldiers to exempt one, whom they would name, from punishment. And though *Plutarch* writes concerning *Cato*, as we have seen, yet *Dio* thinks he ought not to doubt but he would have spared him. For he saith he had him in so great admiration, that when as afterward *Cicero* composed a Book in his praise, he took it not ill he had so done, though the Author had also been in the War against him, but satisfied himself in answering the Book in another Treatise, which was called *Anti-Cato*. Whatever they thought at *Rome* of these things, they of the Senate were fearful to be flow in expressing the sense they had either of his Merit, or his Power. They decreed, That for his Victory Sacrifice should be offered forty days; that in his Triumph already granted, he might use White Horses, and the Apparitors be both now had with him, and which he used in his first and second *Disastrophis*. They created him *Master of Manners*, as if the Name of *Censor* was too mean, for three years, and *Dictator* for ten. They ordered he should sit in the same Seat with the *Consuls* in Senate, and always speak his opinion first; that in all Horse-races he should distribute the Rewards, confer Places of Magistracy, and other Honours want to be bestowed by the People; that a Chariot should be set up to him in the Capitol over against *Jupiter*; that he should be placed upon a Globe of the World with this Inscription, *He is a Demi-God*, and that the Name of *Cæsar* being obliterated, his should be set upon the Capitol, as if he had finished that Temple for which he intended to call *Cæsar* to account. Many other things they decreed, but these *Dio* mentions, because he approved and received them, rejecting the rest.

He labours to
take off their
jealousie.

92. He knew sufficiently, that they were decreed more out of flattery than good will, and was sensible that they were fearful of him that he would abuse his Power, and act with such heat and insolence as *Sylla*, *Marine*, and *Cinna* had done before him. Being returned to *Rome*, he endeavoured to take off their jealousy by two Speeches he made, the one to the Senate, and the other to the People, promising to treat them no otherwise than as an Indulgent Father is wont to do his Children, and to use his Power for their protection, and not the destruction of such as had fought against him. And as for his late Victory, he magnified it, declaring, that he had thereby laid so many Countries to the Empire of *Rome*, that he could furnish them yearly with two hundred thousand bushels of Wheat, and twenty hundred thousand Pound weight of Oyl. By his words they were a little eased of their fear, but they could not fully trust him, till they saw them made good by his Actions. Now *Dio* tells us,

he

he triumphed four days together, and that with all possible show of Magnificence, over the *Gallæ*, *Ægypt*, *Pharaces*, and *Juba*, though others mention only three Triumphs, omitting that over the *Gallæ*. The Spectators were well pleased at the sight, but it grieved them to see *Asinæ*, once called *Queen of Egypt*, led amongst the Captives, and to behold the Spoils of the Citizens that had fallen in *Africa*. Yet considering the greatness of the things performed, they had him in admiration, and he was not displeased, but bore well the insolent liberty of the Soldiers, who jeered him for his familiarity with *Cleopatra*, and his having been abused by *Nicomede*, and said, That if he laid down his Power, he must perish by the strictness of the Laws; if he continued it, he must turn Tyrant. But he regarded nothing they said, but touching the matter of *Nicomede*. About it he was much concerned, and offered to purge it by Oath, for which he was derided. On the first day of his Triumph his Chariot broke as he passed by the Temple of *Fortune*, built by *Lucullus*, and he was forced to make use of another. But he mounted the steps of the Capitol upon his Knees, and he would neither have Chariot placed there, nor the Inscription lately mentioned, of *Demi-God*. *Asinæ* was dismissed, but *Vercingetorix*, *Dio* tells us, with others, was put to death.

He Triumphs

He feasts the
People.

93. He feasted the People with great Magnificence, (*Plutarch* saith, at two and twenty thousand Tables) adding Wheat and Oyl above the ordinary Custom; to the three hundred *Nommi* he had promised them a Man, he added another hundred, and to the Soldiers he gave two *Sesquicia* apiece. Here formed the abuse committed in giving Corn at the publick charge; for finding it to be procured in confusion, and seditionously he cut off about one half of the Expence. The last night of the Triumph, after Supper, he went with his Shoes on, and his Head bedecked with all sorts of Flowers, into his *Forum*, whither all the People in a manner accompanied him, many Elephants bearing Torches before them. For he had built a *Forum* which bore his Name, more beautiful than the *Roman*, though the *Roman* had this advantage by that new one that it was called the *Great*. This, with a Temple to *Venus*, his *Progenitrix*, as he reported, he dedicated, he set forth Shows, built an *Amphitheatre*, and in Honour of his Daughter, exhibited Huntings, and Games of *Gladiators*. Other sorts of Sports there were, and the Sons of *Patricians*, according to the Custom, played the Tragedy of *Tro*, and other real Tragedies were acted, many Persons being killed, for which the People were angry with him, as also for the vast expence, wherewith the Soldiers were also so far moved, that angry that the Money was not bestowed on themselves, they had fallen into a Mutiny, had not he himself laid hold on one of them, and delivered him to punishment. And *Dio* writes, That two other Men had their Throats cut in a way of Sacrifice by the *Pontifices*, and the *Salus* in the *Campus Martius*, though neither *Sibylla* had commanded, nor any Oracle was extant concerning such a thing.

Which is dis-
tinguished.

He makes
Laws.

94. Now did he make many Laws. He committed Judicature to the *Senators* and *Equites* alone, to have Justice daily administered; some *Plebeians* having been formerly employed herein. Both by Laws and his own observation he repressed the profuse way of living of Rich Persons. And because the City was manifestly exhausted, by reason of multitudes quitting it, he proposed Rewards to those that had many Children. Finding that by his long Command in *Gall* he had had opportunity to aspire after Domination, and to establish his Power, by a Law he ordained, that no *Pretor* should have command above a year, nor a *Consul* above two years, from the execution of his Office. And whereas the form of the year was much now out of order, the Months being observed according to the Revolution of the Moon, he reduced it, *Dio* tells us, to that state in which it stood in his time, intercalating sixty and seven days, though others fallily speak of more. This account he himself had learnt at *Alexandria*, although it varied so much from the form of a Year, that every *Alexandrian* Month consisted of thirty days, and they added five days to every year. Others have written, That in framing this Account, which after him hath been called *Julian*, he used the skill of *Sosigenes*, an excellent Mathematician of *Alexandria*, for *Astronomical* Calculations, and of *Flavius* the Scribe, in rectifying the Calendar. Now those five days, and two others besides, which he took from one, he fitly added to the other Months; and that Day which ariseth out of the parts of a Day, he added to every fourth Year, three Years being omitted; so that now, saith *Dio*, there can be no error as to the Hours of a Year, except very small, so small, that every one thousand four hundred and sixty one Year shall need the Intercalation, but of one Day. How true this is, let them that use the *Gregorian* Account, if they should think it worth their while, consider.

Reforms the
Calendar.

Sect. 7.

Sect. 7.

He goes into
SardiniaFights with
Pompey's Sons.Very hardly
gets the Vic-
tory.At Gades fur-
nishes to him.

95. *Cæsar*, though he did all these things, yet was so wise as to do nothing on his own Head, without communicating his Designs with the Principal of the Senate, and sometimes with the whole Order. As hereby he declined ill will, so he procured it by relieving condemned Persons, particularly such as were found guilty of ambitious seeking for Offices, for making unworthy Men Senators, and especially for harbouring *Cleopatra* in his own House, who was come to *Rome* with her Husband; and he valued not the infamy, but entered them amongst the Kings, that were the Friends and Allies of the *Romans*. But the pleasure he took in such Society was disturbed by News out of *Spain*, where *Cn. Pompeius*, Son of *Pompey* the Great, swayed all as he pleased, having ingratiated himself with the Soldiers by his obliging demeanour. *Cæsar* hoping to dispatch this War by his Officers, had sent a Fleet thither from *Sardinia*, and after that an Army, but his Captains were discouraged, and stood at gaze, expecting and requiring his coming. And when he saw it was necessary, he was there before either they or the Enemy in the least imagined it, hoping by such expedition to terrify *Pompey*, who now had laid Siege to a Town called *Uti*. *Cæsar* endeavoured to divert him by besieging *Corduba*, but there fell sick, and when he came to raise the Siege, durst not abide his coming. Having recovered his Health, and received more Forces which followed him, he abode as well as he could the Inconveniences of Winter, and want of Provisions, being now, though Dictator, made Consul again for the following year; for *Lepidus* assembled the People, being then *Magister Equitum*, which Title, being Consul, he assumed contrary to the practice of their Fore-fathers.

96. *Cæsar* having no hope of taking *Corduba*, it was so well Manned, thought, and laid Siege to *Astegna*, which he heard was full of Corn; and *Pompey* thinking it strong enough to hold out, and not willing to expose his Soldiers to the cold, came not to relieve it; so that the Town-men yielded. Being Master of this, other Cities submitted themselves to him; and *Pompey*, wandering up and down, and fearing all the rest would revolt, resolved to come to a Battle. Both Armies had Auxiliaries of *Spaniards* and *Moors*, but the *Romans* alone sustained the Charge; for those on *Cæsar's* side were excited to do their utmost by hope to put an end that day to all their labours; and they with *Pompey* fought out of desperation, most of them expecting no pardon, as having had their Lives formerly given them when they were overthrown with *Africanus* and *Varro*. And with so great animosity they fought, that had not *Bogud*, who stood with his Men without the Battle, turned himself to fall on the Camp of *Pompey*, they had either all died upon the Spot, or Night must have taken up the Controversie. But *Labiens*, when he perceived the Design of *Bogud*, leaving his Place to go to oppose him, *Pompey's* Men thought he fled, and let fall their courage so much, that though afterward they saw their error, yet could they not recover their former condition, but fled into the City *Munda*, or into their Camp. Such as got into the Camp valiantly resisted the Enemy, and were not slain till they had killed as many of the Assailants. They that got into the Town held it long out, and it was not taken till they were all destroyed by frequent Sallies. So great slaughter was made of *Romans* in the Battle, that at night when *Cæsar's* Soldiers were to raise a Wall to keep them in that none might escape, they made one of dead Bodies. How true forever this Story is, related by *Dio*, others affirm this the greatest Battle that was fought in this Civil War. That *Cæsar's* Men were so distressed, that he was glad to run himself into the Crowd, and ask them if they were not ashamed to be beaten and taken Prisoners, and to yield themselves to the young Boys, meaning *Pompey's* two Sons. That with much ado, and not without all the Force he could make, he got the day, killing thirty thousand of his Enemies, and losing a thousand of his own best Soldiers. When the Fight was over, being in his Tent, he told his Friends, that he had often before fought for Victory, but now for the saving of his own Life. Some say his Army had run, but that he snatching a Target out of a Soldier's Hand, went and engaged the Enemy himself, and had two hundred Darts thrown at him; whereat his Officers being ashamed, went on, and got the Victory.

97. After this he had all the Cities of *Spain* given up to him, whence he raised as much Money as he could possible, not abstaining from things consecrated at *Gades* unto *Hercules*. *Cn. Pompey*, after a conflict with *Cecennius Lento*, wherein he was worsted, got into the Woods, and there perished. And so ended this Civil War, by a Battle fought on the day of the *Bacchanalia*, as *Plutarch* writes, who adds, that some reported that it was on the same day four years that *Pompey* went out of *Rome* to begin it. A War so destructive to the *Roman* People, that *Cæsar* before his going into

Sect. 8.

At his return
he gives great
offence.

Rebours,

And Sovere-
ign Power
given to him.

into *Spain*, making a Census, found at the Lustrum but one hundred and fifty thousand Polls of Citizens; whereas at that before had been found three hundred and twenty thousand. Whether the great danger he escaped made him over-joyed, and this excessive Joy transported him above his usual and common temper; but whereas after his other Victories in the Civil War he neither sent Messengers nor Letters, as rather concealing and grieving at the ruin of his Fellow-Citizens, now he did it as if he had overcome some barbarous King or Nation. More than this, he triumphed, and yet not content with this, and giving a Dinner again to the People, as in a common Festival, he gave the Honour of Triumpling to *Fabius* and *Pedius* his Lieutenants, who had done nothing by their own Conduct. But the laughter they moved made some amends, for they made use not of Ivory, but Wooden Images and Vessels in their Pomp. This gave extraordinary great offence, and more than any thing he had done before, when the Spectators considered that he made all this noise for having destroyed the Sons of the greatest Man in *Rome*, who had been overcome by Fortune, and had plucked up his Race by the Roots. It was odious that he should triumph for the Calamities of his Country, and rejoice at a thing for which he had but one excuse to God and Man, viz. That he was compelled to do it.

98. But now again the Senate goes to work, and considers not what it was he deserved, but what the State of Affairs required they should do for his further Honour. And many extraordinary things they voted. Amongst others, that he should have the Name of *Deliverer*, and so he was entered in the *Fasts*, That a Temple should be erected to Liberty; And that he should have and enjoy the Title of *Imperator*, not only in the ancient sense, as it was common to him, with others who obtained it after Victories, nor as it gave *merum Imperium*, or an absolute Command; but they conferred it on him now first of all, in that meaning as a Steward it belonged to such as had Sovereign Authority, and as proper to himself. To that flattery they proceeded, that they commanded his Sons and Nephews to be named *Imperatores*, though he had no Son, and was old; although indeed from this *Julius* proceeded the Name of *Imperator*, as also that of *Cæsar*, and as a peculiar Name of Sovereign Authority was derived down to all *Imperatores*, (*Emperors*, as we call them) who enjoyed them both joyed together. Other things they decreed, which made him a Sovereign Prince or King in effect. They subjected all Magistrates, even *Plebeian*, to his Power; made him Consul for ten years, and ordained that he alone should command the Armies, and raise Money.

O o o o o

S E C T.

S E C T. VIII.

From the *Aboluteness* of Julius Cæsar, to the end of the second Triumvirate, and the *Aboluteness* of Octavius Cæsar, or Cæsar Octavianus.

The space of fifteen Years.

Cæsar makes great change in the Consulship.

1. CÆSAR, before he came to the City, entered his fourth Consulship alone, but did not bear it all the year, but after his return divested himself of it, and created Consuls *Q. Fabius* and *C. Trebonius*, of whom it happened, that *Fabius* died the last day of his Magistracy, and *Cæsar* substituted *C. Caninius* for the remaining hours; whereupon *Cicero* jested, writing in one of his Epistles, That during this Consulship of *Caninius* no Man dined; yet no harm was committed in it, for he was wonderfully vigilant, who in his whole Consulship never slept. Thus bold did *Cæsar* make with the Laws and Customs of his Country, in abdicating the Consulship of his own accord, without being commanded by an Edict to do, and in the matter of *Caninius* he seemed to play with so serious and noble a Dignity. But from this time forward it grew cheaper, and yet few held it an whole year, and some more, some fewer Months and Days as it happened. This *Dio* observes, who adds, That in his time scarcely any was Consul for an whole year, nor above two months, with a Colleague. But in other things they differed nothing from the ancient Custom, and the number of years was reckoned by their Names who were Consuls at the beginning.

Fourteen Pretors and forty Questors.

Nine hundred Senators.

2. So he ordered the Consulship. Other Magistrates he pretended he would not meddle with, but leave them to the People to be named according to the ancient Custom, but it was but a pretence; for he made them, and without any fortition they were sent into the Provinces. In other Offices the same number was observed, but fourteen Pretors and forty Questors were made. For he had no other way to gratify those to whom he had promised great matters, and this caused him to admit many into the Senate without any distinction, whether the Man was a *Soldier* or a *Libertine* by original; so that the number of Senators by this means arose to nine hundred. Many also he brought into the Ranks of *Patritians*, *Consulares*, and of those who had born other Offices; which became a Custom with those who were afterwards Emperors. Nay some that were called to Judgment for corruption, he absolved not without suspicion of taking Money, which was increased in that he publicly sold public Places, as well Sacred as Profane. To his Friends he gave away much both in Money and Lands, which was pleasing to them that made their ends: Others took it very ill, and testified their resentment, as they might, by word of Mouth, or by Libels. The management of public Money was now translated from the *Questors* to the *Ædiles*, and afterwards returned no more unto them, but at length was committed to Persons of Pretorian Dignity. Of these *Ædiles* of the Treasury two were this year created.

Ædiles made Treasurers.

Sixteen Pretors.

3. For the following year *Cæsar* was Consul again with *Antonius*, and sixteen Pretors were made; and so continued for many years. The Tribunal being taken out of the middle of the Forum, and put into another place, where it afterward continued, the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey* were restored and placed by it, which caused *Cæsar* to be very well spoken of, as also that he granted the Glory and Inscription of the Work to *Antony*. He made some Laws, and extended the *Pomerium*, and yet in such Actions seemed only to imitate *Sylla*; but in that he fully forgave them that had born Arms against him in the War, and granted part of their Estates to their Sons, he thereby greatly taxed the cruelty of *Sylla*, and obtained a Name not only for Valour, but for Clemency; it being a difficult thing indeed for one and the same Man to please the People, and be commended for his carriage both in Peace and War. He was praised also by some for restoring the two ancient Cities of *Corinth* and *Carthage*, which had miscarried at the same time, by sending *Roman* Colonies thither, and continuing to them their old Names. While *Cæsar* was doing these things, the People of *Rome* were earnestly desirous, that the death of *Craffus*, and the loss of that Army should be revenged, and they had great hope to subdue the *Parthians*.

For what Cæsar was commended.

Six Ædiles.

Sixteen Pretors.

But that in *Cæsar's* absence the City might not be without Magistrates, nor if it chose them it self, fall by that means into seditions, they resolved to name all sorts of Officers for three years; for so long they reckoned the Expedition would hold. Of them *Cæsar*, by virtue of a Law, was to name half, but indeed the whole. This year six *Ædiles* were made; of whom two *Patritians* called *Cereales*, and four *Plebeians*; which number continued till the time of *Dio*. Sixteen Pretors were created, and all the Magistrates designed that were to serve the following year, and for the next the Consuls and *Tribuni Plebis*, but none for the third as had been intended. For these two years, *Cæsar* being still to be Dictator, named two that should be his Magistri Equitum, whereof *Octavius* a Youth was one, and for himself he appointed *Dolabella* to be Consul. *Antony* being Consul to the end of the present year, and *Lepidus* having given him the Government of *Gallia Narbonensis*, with the neighbouring part of *Spain*, he made other two Magistri Equitum in their room. For by this means he satisfied those to whom he was obliged. Therefore to the College of fifteen Priests he added one, and three to that which consisted of seven Persons.

King Deiotarus defended by Cicero.

4. *Cæsar* being now Consul the fifth time, with *M. Antonius* (whom he much favoured, and promoted, for that in his Tribuneship he so much stood for him) to shun (a) envy in the City, thought upon making War upon the *Getae* and *Dace*, which had made inroads into *Pontus* and *Thrace*. About this time young *Cæsar*, the Son of *Cæsar*, (by (b) *Strabo* called *Scondarius*) by the Daughter of *Deiotarus* the King or Tetrarch of *Galatia* (to whom *Pompey* gave *Armenia* the Less, which Gift the Senate having confirmed was taken away by *Cæsar*, because he took part with *Pompey*) came to *Rome* to accuse his Grand-father. He was sent by his Father and Mother, together with *Phidippus* a Physician, and *Deiotarus* his Slave, who was corrupted by their promises to feign an accusation against his Lord, that he would have killed *Cæsar* when he entertained him in his Tetrarchy. *Deiotarus*, Father, and Son, who reigned together, had at that time four Ambassadors in the City, who offered their own Bodies to *Cæsar* for the safety of their Masters. But *Cicero* being mindful of the friendship and familiarity he had had with the old Man, made an Oration for him in *Cæsar's* House, wherein he premised, that it was so unusual a thing for a King (a real King; for as for the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, who were called to account by the impudent *Ephori*, they were indeed no Kings, having nothing but the Title, and therefore this can make nothing against this truth) to be questioned for his Life, that before that time it was never heard of. *Deiotarus* being accused by *Cæsar*, put to death his Daughter as she had deserved, together with her Husband *Callor Scondarius*, that noble Chronographer, concerning whom *Gerard John Vossius* is to be consulted, in his Treatise of Greek Historians. *Cæsar* in his last Consulship, to (c) gratify *Hircanus* the High-Priest, and *Ethnarchus* of the *Jews*, as also the Nation, granted to him to enjoy, and govern the City of *Jerusalem* as he pleased, which he might also fortify with Walls. To the *Jews* he granted also a freedom from the charge of Portage and Toll, with an abatement of the public Revenue in the second year of letting it out to Farm. In this second Julian year his Colleague (d) *M. Antonius* procured by a Law, that the Month *Quintilis* should in honour of his Name be after it called *July*.

The Month Quintilis called July.

5. *Cæsar* prepared himself to go against the *Parthians*, but was sent to another World by the Fury of certain Persons who envied him his Honours, and bore it ill that he was greater than themselves; and thereby out of concord raised new Seditions, and procured more Civil Wars to the *Roman* State. Their pretence was by cutting him off to restore the People to liberty; whereas, in the opinion of our Historians, they both wickedly destroyed him, and cast the Common-wealth again into Seditions; when it began to make use of the most proper sort of Government, the Sovereignty of the People having a specious Name and Repute, upon the account of equality, but having nothing else agreeable with the Name and Repute. On the other side he affirms, that the Name of Monarchy might be unpleasant to the Ear, but that it is for the benefit of all to have the Government in the Hands of a single Person; it being an easier matter to have one good than many, and less harmful to have but one, than many bad ones to command. But so matters went at this time the great ones envied *Cæsar*, and he through their cunning drew more envy upon himself. They heaped Honours upon him to make him odious, and to appear over-big, and he was so imprudent as to receive them, when he had as much before as amounted to Sovereign and Absolute Authority, imagining that he was esteemed worthy of them, as is incident to all Persons that receive flattery. They improved

Cæsar imprudently receives too many Honours.

(a) Sueton lib. 14.
Julius.
Appian bell. civil. lib. 21.
(b) lib. 12.
Sueton in vit. Cæsar.
Vita Gerard.
Vossius de hist. historicis Græcæ lib. 2. ult.

(c) Joseph. Ant. jud. lib. 14.
cap. 17.
(d) Appian bell. civil. lib. 44.
Cæsar. de dit. Nat. cap. 51.
Dio lib. 44.

Sect. 8. this against him to the utmost, and still added more and more by the weight of them to destroy him. They voted that he should always wear even in the City a Triumphal Robe; that he should always sit in a Curule Chair, except at the celebration of Games; for then he should sit on the Bench with the *Tribuni Plebis*; that he should hang up *Opima Spolia* in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, as if he had killed some General of the Enemies with his own Hand; that his Lictors should use Laurel; that having finished the *Latin Ferie*, he should from the *Albanian Mount* enter the City in a Chariot. Besides, they gave him the Name of *Pater Patrie*, stamped Money with his Image, ordered publick Sacrifices on his Birth-day, and his Statue to be set up in all Cities, and in all Temples at *Rome*. At the *Rostra* they erected to him two Statues, whereof one was adorned with a *Crown*, and the other with an *Obdional Crown*, as if he had rescued his Fellow-Citizens from destruction, and delivered the City from a Siege. Moreover they raised a Temple to new Concord, and therein commanded an Annual Feast to be kept, upon this account, that he had restored Peace unto them.

6. *Cæsar* having accepted of these Honours, they put him upon filling up the *Pontifical Fovius*, and digging through the *Isthmus of Peloponnesus*, and building a new *Curia*, which should be called *Julia*, as was one Tribe, as well as the Month on which he was born named *Julius*. They made him *Censor* alone for his Life; and gave him the same privilege as the *Tribuni Plebis* enjoyed, that who ever injured him either by word or deed, should be esteemed guilty of Sacrilege, and of a peculiar crime; and if he should have a Son he should be made *Pontifex Maximus*. When he had received these things very willingly, they added to them, that he should make use of a gilded Chair, and they erected to him such a Statue, as had been formerly raised to the Kings. A Guard was appointed him of *Equesters* and Senators; every year they ordained that Vows should be made publicly for his Health, that an Oath of swearing by his Fortune should be framed; that what ever he should do should be confirmed; that every five years should Feasts be celebrated in his Honour as to an *Heroe*. Moreover they decreed a third sort of College of Priests, who should celebrate the *Lupercalia* to be instituted and called *Julii*; that one of the Days of the Shows of the *Gladiators* should be consecrated to him, whether held at *Rome*, or elsewhere in *Italy*. These things also pleasing him, they commanded his Golden Chair and Golden Crown set with Gems (which Honour was wont to be given to their Gods) to be brought upon the Theatres by the Multitude; nay, they openly gave to him the Surname of *Jupiter*, and ordained a Temple to be built to his clemency, and made *Antonius* the Chief Priest in it to preside as some *Flamin Dialis*. While they decreed these things, they permitted a Sepulchre to be built for him within the *Pomerium*, and these Decrees to be written in Pillars of Silver with Golden Letters, which they placed under the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; by which they sufficiently admonished him, and that openly, to think himself but a Man. At first they decreed him Honours, which they thought he would bear with modesty; but after that they found he rejoiced in them; though he refused some, they heaped them one upon another, some out of desire to flatter him, and others out of design that they might expose him to censures. For there were found such as would have it permitted to him to lie with what Women he would, for he made use of many, though now he was above fifty years of Age. But the greater part did it upon design that being brought into greater envy and reprehension, they might the more easily work his destruction, which the event did manifest. And yet was he altogether secure, not imagining they meant him any harm, and therefore he accepted not of the Guard of *Equesters* and Senators, but removed the Armed Attendants upon his Person.

7. But having incurred odium by accepting of these Honours, another thing happened, either through his unadvisedness, or by accident, which made the Load insupportable. On a certain day when in the Senate many other, and the greatest Honours were decreed to him, and that by consent of all, except *Cassius* and his Party (the ill will of whom towards him was sufficiently known; and yet his clemency was such, that he bore with them) the Senators came in their Body to him, to tell him what they had decreed, as he sat in the Porch of the Temple of *Venus*, (for they voted in his absence, that it might appear that they were not compelled) and he rose not up, but sat still when the Senate presented it self. *Dio* tells us, That this he did, either through some fatal error, or not minding what he did for joy; or how it's uncertain; but it raised exceeding great prejudice and indignation against him, not only in the Senators, but the rest of the People also, and gave the most ground for excuse to those that murdered him. For as for that Excuse, which afterward

Cæsar still more and more incurs odium.

afterward was brought in his behalf, that he was then troubled with a Loofeness, and durst not rise for fear it should come upon him, it was not believed, because afterward he went to his House on foot; but they concluded he so demeaned himself out of pride, and they hated him upon that account, when they themselves had made him proud by heaping so many extravagant Honours upon him. There was another thing still which increased that suspicion they had of him, which was, that he suffered himself to be created *Perpetual Dictator*; and this added so much to the fury of his Enemies, that now they conspired against him. To push him further on; and to turn his very Friends against him; amongst other devices, they gave him the Title of *King*, and so published him. This he indeed refused, and rebuked such as saluted him by it; but for all that, doing nothing whereby he shewed that he took it ill, they privily put a Diadem upon his Image that stood by the *Rostra*. This was removed from it by *C. Epidius* and *L. Cestius Flaccus* the *Tribuni Plebis*; and for that he was so far moved in choler against them, that though they said nothing to his disparagement, but praised him to the People as not desiring such Honours, he hardly contained himself from doing them mischief. But when afterward, as he returned on Horse-back, (in Ovation on the *Latin Ferie*) some saluted him and called him *King*, and to which he said, That he was not *King*, but *Cæsar*, and these same *Tribuni Plebis* setting the Man that first gave him the Title, a Day to answer it; he was greatly enraged against them, as designing something against his Person, but yet he deferred the revenge. At length these same Persons, by a publick Writing, complained that they were not suffered, neither was it safe for them to act freely in behalf of the Common-wealth. For this, in the greatest displeasure imaginable, he brought them into the Senate, accused them, and demanded Sentence against them, and there were not wanting who moved it should be Capital; yet he spared their Lives, but by the assistance of *Holvinus Cinnus* their Colleague, deprived them of their Tribuneship, and turned them out of the Senate. Of which they pretended to be glad; for now being eased of the danger and burthen of their Office, they could in safety be lookers on.

8. This opened the Mouths of his Enemies wider than ever; that whereas he ought to have punished them who called him *King*, he fell upon the *Tribuni Plebis*. And the suspicion of his affecting the Title was confirmed by another thing which shortly after happened. In the Solemnity of the *Lupercalia*, as he sat at the *Rostra* in his Golden Chair, adorned with a Royal Robe, and a Royal Crown, *Antony* with his Collegues the Priests, came and saluting him *King*, set a Diadem on his Head, and told him that the People by him presented him with it. *Cæsar* only answered, That *Jupiter* alone was King of the *Romans*, and sending the Diadem into the Capitol, did not blame them for so doing, but caused it to be registred in the publick Acts, that he had refused the Kingdom offered him from the People by their Consul. This caused a Belief, that the thing was done by agreement, and that *Cæsar* desired the Title, but would be compelled to receive it. Such is the Account given us by *Dion Cassius* concerning the hatred which he incurred, and those things which procured his sudden death, with whom other Writers agree. *Plutarch* attributes the main cause of his being mortally hated to his earnest offer after the Title of *King*, and thence, he saith, his Enemies took the Advantage, though it was pretended by some of his Friends, that it was written in the *Sibylline Books* how the *Romans* might overcome the *Parthians*, if they made War against them under a Kings Conduct, otherwise they were unconquerable. He adds, That when his Flatterers saluted him with that Title, as he returned from *Alba*, the People was offended, and he was angry, saying he was not *King*, but *Cæsar*, and every one keeping silence, he went home very sorrowful. That many Honours being decreed to him in Senate, the *Consuls* and *Prætors*, accompanied with the whole Body, went to him into the *Forum*, where he sat at the *Rostra*, to tell him what they had done, but he declined to rise up to them, as if they had been private Men; saying, that his Honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged. That this did not only offend the Senate, but the People also, to see him slight the Magistracy of the Common-wealth; so that all that might depart went away very sorrowfully. Thereupon he arose and went home to his House, and tearing open his Bosom, made his Neck bare, and cried to his Friends, that he was ready to offer his Throat to any that would come and cut it. It was reported, that afterwards to excuse his folly, he imputed it to his *Difate*, saying, That such

The main cause of his being mortally hated.

Scd. 8. such as had the Falling-sickness were not themselves, when standing on their Feet they spake to the People, but were seized with a trembling of the Body, giddiness, and a sudden dimness of sight. But this was not true; for he would have risen up to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his Flattering Friends, would not let him, bidding him remember he was *Cæsar*, and let them reverence him, and do their Duties.

9. Concerning the *Lupercalia*, *Plutarch* premitteth, that in old time this Feast was said to be the Feast of Shepherds or Herd-men, and that it was much like to that of the *Lycians* in *Arcadia*; That at this time in *Rome* it was celebrated by several young Noble-men, and some Magistrates that governed them, who ran naked through the City, striking in sport them they found in their passage, with Leatheren Thongs, Hair and all on, to make them give way; That many Noble-women, as well as others, went on purpose to stand in their way, and put forth their Hands to be stricken, persuading themselves, that being with Child, they should have good Labour, or being barren, that it would cause them speedily to conceive. *Cæsar* sitting at the *Rostre* to behold the sport in a Golden Chair, and Triumphal Robes, *Antony* now Consul being one of them that ran the Course, the People making him a Lane, came to *Cæsar*, and presented him with a Diadem wreathed about with Laurel. Hereupon there arose a Cry of rejoicing, not very great, made only by a few appointed for the purpose. But *Cæsar* refusing the Diadem, all the People shouted for Joy. Then did *Antony* offer it him again the second time, and there was a second shout of Joy; but still by a few; but when he refused it again the second time then all the whole People shouted. *Cæsar* having made this Experiment, found that the People did not like of it, and thereupon rising, commanded the Diadem to be carried into the Capitol. *Plutarch* adds further, That when the Tribunes had pulled the Diadems from his Statues, and sent to Prison those who first called him *King*, the People followed them, rejoicing at it, and called them *Brutus*, in memory of *Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquinius*. That *Cæsar* was herewith so offended, that he deprived them of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, spake also against the People, calling them *Brutus* and *Cæman*; whereupon they betook themselves to *M. Brutus*, who was descended from the former *Brutus*, was of as Noble a Family as any in *Rome*, and Son-in-law of *M. Cato*. *Dion Cassius* writes, That he was not descended from that ancient *Brutus* the Enemy of *Tarquin*, who had no Children but the two Sons, *Youths*, whom he slew. *Plutarch* confesseth there was such a Report; and it was said that this *M. Brutus* was descended of a mean Family. But he cites the Authority of *Posidonius* the Philosopher, who wrote, that *Junius Brutus* slew indeed two of his Sons, who were Men grown, but that there was a third Son, but a little Child at that time, from whom the Family was derived; as also, that of this Family there were certain Famous Men in his time, who in Stature and Countenance much resembled the Image of *Junius Brutus*.

10. However, the Enemies of *Cæsar* made use of the descent, as serving their purpose to excite him to an Act which might be suitable to that Original. To this purpose they wrote frequent Letters, sometimes called him by Name, and said they wanted another *Brutus*. Under the Statue of the ancient *Brutus* they wrote, *That they wished he lived*; and upon the Tribunal of *Marcus*, where he exercised the Office of *Pretor*, *Brutus thou sleepest, and art not Brutus*. *Cæsar* had been kind unto him as well as merciful, having not only pardoned him after the Battle of *Pharsalus*, but preferred him to the *Pretorship*, and designed him *Consul* the fourth year after, being confident that he would not be transported by ambition, or any other passion, to do any thing ingrateful or dishonourable. But these Papers and Speeches having moved him, *Cassius*, who had married his Sister, took the advantage to persuade him against the Tyrant, as he termed him; not only being an Enemy to the Power of *Cæsar*, but also his Person. For he contended before him with *Brutus* for the *Pretorship*, and having heard them both, *Cæsar* confessed that *Cassius* had the juster Cause, but said that *Brutus* should have the Place. He hated him for denying him the first Place, and would not thank him for the second, though he made him the second *Pretor*. And it begat also a quarrel betwixt him and *Brutus*, though upon this occasion, knowing how fit a Person one of his Reputation would be to patronize the Fact, he reconciled himself unto him; his Friends agreeing to the Conspiracy, so as *Brutus* would become the chief. *Brutus* his thoughtfulness about this Affair did so disturb him in the night, though he carried it wonderfully cunningly

The Conspirators draw him into them
M. Brutus.

in the day, and did so distract him, that *Porcias* his Wife perceiving it was some extraordinary matter, and that he would not reveal it, because he thought her not able to bear Tortures, if it should come to it, gave her self a Wound in the Thigh, and convincing him that she could endure pain, got it out of him, and confirmed him in his resolution, as the Daughter of *Cato*. Many of the Conspirators, if not most, had been some way or other obliged by *Cæsar*. They were above sixty in number, and generally of *Pompey's* Party; but *Decimus Brutus*, one of his own Party, was drawn in, who had received from him extraordinary Kindnesses, and should have been *Consul* the second year following.

And Decimus Brutus one of his own Party.

11. The matter was in great danger of coming out, though the constancy of the Conspirators was very wonderful, and *Cæsar* himself was so secure, that he would believe nothing, but punished such as went about to tell him any such thing. They distrusted the Success, and the greatness of the Enterprize caused them to defer it till they perceived that the *Quintimvir*, who said it was predicted in the Books of *Sibylla*, that a King was to subdue the *Parthians*, would make the report to the Senate, and require a Sentence which might be agreeable to the Prediction. This startled them, especially *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and others who being Magistrates were to be for it, without either contradiction or silence, and caused them to put their Design in execution. It was resolved it should be done at an Assembly of the Senate, for thither *Cæsar* would not fail to come, and there they might also meet him without suspicion, all the Noblest and chiefest Persons of the City being present. The Place was to be a *Porticus* joyning to the Theatre of *Pompey*, in which were Seats to sit on, and wherein the City had dedicated the Statue of *Pompey* for his care and charge. The Time should be on the *Ides*, or fifteenth of *March*, for luckily had the meeting of the Senate been on that day appointed; so that it seemed to be resolved above, that *Cæsar* then should die in revenge of *Pompey's* death. When the Day was come the Conspirators met at the House of *Cassius*, to bring his Son into the *Forum*, who that Day was to put on his *Toga Virilis*, and thence they came in a Troop to the Place, and expected the coming of *Cæsar*. But such had been the Dreams of himself and his Wife *Calpurnia*, and such Omens had happened with ill Prefages in Sacrifices, and the Gestures of the Birds, that he thought not to go out of his House, being also indisposed, but to send *Antony* to adjourn the Senate. The Conspirators fearing the Consequence of this delay, sent away to him *Decimus Brutus* his great Friend, as he was accounted, (and so great a Friend by *Cæsar* himself, that in his last Will and Testament he had appointed him to be his next Heir) to draw him into the Snare. He laughed the Sooth-sayers to scorn, and told *Cæsar* he would affront the Senate, or make them believe he did so, considering that by his commandment they were assembled, ready to grant him all things, and to declare him King of all the Provinces out of *Italy*, in which he should wear his Diadem in all Places both by Sea and Land. He asked him what the World would say, if the Senators should be told, that they must depart, and come again when *Calpurnia* should have better Dreams? He urged, that they would think and speak of him as a Tyrant; and if he could not be reconciled to the Day, that he would go himself in Person, and dismiss the Senate. With this he took him by the Hand, and treacherously brought him out of his House.

Who draws him into the Snare.

12. In his way some that met him endeavoured to reveal the Conspiracy, and amongst the rest one put a Bill into his Hand, containing the whole Matter, which he had learnt being familiar with *Brutus* his Confederates. Perceiving him to give all the Petitions that were presented him to his Men about him, he prayed him to read it himself, and that speedily, for it contained things of weight, which concerned him nearly. He took it of him with much ado, (for he got near to him, notwithstanding the Croud, of which others could not) but could never read it for the Multitude of Persons that saluted him, but held it still in his Hand, till he came to the Place of the Assembly. However this happened, whether by reason of the diversion he had by the Croud, or his own neglect; so secure and careless he was, that seeing one who had bid him beware of this Day, he jested at him, and asking him what was become of his Predictions, said the Day was come, and he was safe; to which the Man replied, That indeed it was come, but not ended. Some of the Conspirators would have had *Antony* and *Lepidus* also slain; but for *Antony*, *Brutus*, who indeed most generous of any of them, interceded, hoping, he said, he would become a better Man, and joy with them for Liberty, when he should see *Cæsar*

Sect. 8. taken away. And it was agreed, that left by killing many they should give occasion to say, that what they did was not out of love to the publick Liberty, but for Rule and Domination, that they should not be killed, and they pretended they would be satisfied with *Cæsar's* Death. Now *Lepidus* was with the Army in the adjoining Country, but *Antony* was in Town, and they resolved that he was by no means to be suffered to be present. Therefore when *Cæsar* went into the House, *Decimus Brutus* (*Dio* saith *Trebonius*) took him aside, and diverted him from going in with a long Story.

And divers
others,

13. *Cæsar* coming in, all the Senators stood up to do him reverence. Being fate, they came about his Chair, and *Cimber Tullius* first applied himself to him, pretending to petition him to call home his Brother from banishment. He denying his Suit, and putting him off till another time, they all came about him, and began to move him, but he rejecting them, and in displeasure putting them away from him, *Cimber* took his Gown and pulled it from his Shoulders, which was the Sign given to his Companions. *Cæsar* cried out, that this was violence, and then *Cæsa* standing behind him, struck him on the Neck with his Sword, but the Wound was not great nor mortal. *Cæsar* turning straight, catched hold of his Sword, and, some say, struck him in the Arm with his Writing Instrument, and both cried out, *Cæsar in Latin, O vile Cæsa, what dost thou*, and *Cæsa* in Greek to his Brother, *Brother help me*. Then did *Cæsar* endeavour to break from them, but was hindered by one stroak after another, for they compassed him in on every side, and he could turn him no where but he was stricken at by some, and still had naked Swords in his Face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a Wild Beast taken by Hunters. Seeing this, and that *Brutus* amongst the rest made at him, who gave him a Wound under his Belly, he struggled no more, but covered his Head with his Gown, and with his Left Hand drew his Skirts down to his Knees, that he might fall decently; and down he fell at the Base whereon *Pompey's* Image stood, which all ran of gore Blood, till he was slain. The Report was, that he had three and twenty Wounds upon his Body, though none mortal but the second on his Breast; for it was agreed amongst them, that every one should give him a Wound, because all their Hands should be in the Murder, and divers of the Conspirators were hurt, so many striking at one Body. But to so violent and bloody a Death came this great Man, one of the greatest Spirit and Presence of Mind that we can read of, and yet of a courteous and merciful Disposition, in the fifty sixth Year of his Age. He who had fought fifty Battels, and procured the Death of a Million and one hundred ninety two thousand Persons, as *Pliny* reckoneth, in that Senate which he himself for the most part had chosen, in the Court of *Pompey*, and at the Feet of *Pompey's* Statue, so many of his Officers looking on, but not stirring, with such confusion were they struck at the fight, by the hands of most Noble Citizens, many of whom he had to his utmost gratified; and so lay he, the Tumult and Confusion being so great, that for some time not a Friend nor Slave came near his Body, till at length it was by three of his meanest Slaves put into a Litter, and carried home, his Arm hanging out.

Lib. 7. c. 15.

14. So great a Man he was, that *Plutarch* * being judge, there was none of the greatest, and most admired Captains, to whom the *Gallick* War alone did not demonstrate him equal in Commendations, both as General, and as a Soldier. For, whether we consider the *Fabii, Scipios, Metelli*, his Contemporaries, or those that went before him, as *Sylla, Marius*, and both the *Luculli*, and even him whose Glory for all Warlike Abilities reacheth to the Skies, *Pompey* himself, the Actions of *Cæsar* excel all their Exploits. For, sometimes he obtained greater Glory, for the inconvenience of the Places wherein he made War, sometimes for the greatness of the Countries which he subdued, sometimes for the multitude and strength of his Enemies overthrown, sometimes for the perfidiousness and barbarism of the Nations subdued, sometimes for clemency shewed to the Conquered, or other-whiles for his Liberality towards his Fellow-Soldiers; but always in respect of the number of Battels, and of those that were slain. For having carried on the War in *Gall* not fully ten years, he took above eight hundred Cities, subdued three hundred several sorts of People, and having engaged at several times with three Millions of Men, killed the third part, and took the other alive. So great was the affection of his Soldiers

While *Cæsar*
is murdered.

diers to him, and their care to please him, that whereas otherwise they were nothing better than others, yet being invincible for his credit, they would not refuse any danger. This disposition in them he first bred, and then maintained, by conferring Honours and Rewards upon them, wherein he spared nothing; then by undertaking all dangers with them, and refusing no labour. His boldness indeed, and courage, considering that it proceeded from incredible desire of Glory, they admired not so much; but his labour and toil which he endured above his strength did astonish them. For, he was of a thin habit of Body, pale and tender, had a sickly Head, and was subject to the falling-sickness, or *Epilepsie*, which first took him at *Corduba*. But he took not an occasion of laziness from his want of health, but by Expeditions, most difficult Journeys, slenderness of Diet, and by continuing abroad in the open Air, fought to drive away his Disease, and keep his Body healthful. Most commonly he slept as he was carried in his Chariot or Litter, so that his sleep was not idle. On the day time he was carried about the Forts, Cities and Camps, with a Sword sitting by him, who wrote down what he dictated, and a Soldier with a Sword standing at his Back. He made so great Journeys, that in his first Expedition from *Rome*, in eight Incampings he came to the River *Rhodanus*. From his Childhood he had learn'd and practised tiding, so that putting his Hands behind him upon his Back, he would sit an Horse in his full speed, which was very much for one that had his Disease. Moreover, in that Expedition he exercised himself so, that riding, he would dictate several Letters to two Secretaries or more. He was a Man ambitious of Power, and unsatisfied with any thing on this side Sovereignty, but Victory pleased him, not revenge nor cruelty, in which respect *Cicero*, to note his ambition, and yet acknowledge his goodness of Nature, compared him to *Pisistratus*.

15. The Conspirators conscious of the greatness of the Fact, fearing the worst, secured themselves in the Capitol, it being in the Senate strongly debated, how it should look upon the thing, and consequently upon them. But for *Antonius*, the Consul (who also resolved when he should be able, to punish it, though now he betrayed no such intention) the Fact had been approved of, as done upon an Usurper and a Tyrant, though they had not long before taken a Solemn Oath for his Preservation, and decreed such vast Honours to him. *Antonius* by putting them in mind, that if he were judged deservedly slain, all his Acts were to be null'd, and consequently the assignment of several Offices, which he had of late made to several of them, effected that no more was done than to decree an *Amnesia* or Oblivion for all that was past, for which *Cicero* much laboured. The Offices were confirmed with this reason entered, because it was requisite for the good of the Commonwealth, and the day following the Senate meeting again, decreed Provinces to the Murderers, viz. to *M. Brutus* Crete, *Africk* to *Cassius*, to *Trebonius* Asia, to *Cimber* Bithynia, and *Gall* about *Pados* to *Decimus Brutus*. After this, *Cæsar's* Testament was opened, wherein he made Heirs three Nephews of his Sisters, *C. Octavius* of three parts in four of his Estate, (not of half only, as it's found in *Livy's* Epitome) and *L. Pinaris* and *Q. Pedius* of the other fourth part. *C. Octavius* he adopted into his Name and Family, and most of those that killed him he named amongst the Guardians of his Son, if one should be born to him. As second Heirs, if the former should not possess the Inheritance, he named *Decimus Brutus* and *M. Antonius*. He also in his Will gave no small matter to the *Romans*, to be divided Man by Man; as *Plutarch* writeth. This moved the People out of measure to indignation against the Conspirators, *Antonius* the Consul vehemently stirring up the multitude in his Funeral Oration. They were driven to that rage, that after the burning of the Corps they were hardly dissuaded from firing their Houses, and they tore in pieces one *Cinna*, whom they mistook for another of that Name that was one of them.

Octavius his
Heir.

16. Now the series of Affairs bringeth us to *Cæsar Octavianus*, the adopted Son of *Julius*. He was Grand-son to his Sister *Julia*, which Woman was Wife to *M. Antinius Balbus*, and by him had a Daughter that was married to *C. Octavius*. He was born in the Consulship of *Cicero*, and lost his Father (who governing *Macedonia*, died suddenly before he could stand for the Consulship when but four years old. He accompanied this his great Uncle in the last Spanish War, who ever kept him close to him in their Travel, and was now sent

* P P P P P

by

Antonius in the
last Span.
War, in the
last 42.

Vide Apia.
in *Agro.*
Patruus l. 2.
c. 58.
Dionis l. 44.

Sutton in *Jes*
l. 1.
Flor. l. 4. c. 41.

Señ. 8. by him to *Apollonia* to study, intending to take him along with him in the *Parthian* War. There he heard of his death, and the Inheritance left to him. His Mother and Father-in-law *Marcus Philippus*, were unwilling he should take the Name of *Cæsar*, as subject to much envy; but after some pause he resolved to the contrary, and assuming the Name of *Cæsar Octavianus*, made use of the good affections of his Uncles Friends in *Greece*, who accompanying him to the City, he was met by a vast number of others from *Rome*. Here, after he had accepted of the Adoption, and confirmed it by the Authority of the *Pretor* as the Custom was, he went to *Antony*, whom he expected to have his Friend and Assistant in prosecuting his Uncles Enemies. But after some waiting, he entertained him with great contempt, and though he had got a great quantity of *Cæsar's* Money, yet he denied to let him have any, fearing he should grow into too much esteem. *Cæsar* hereupon fold his own Inheritance to pay the Legacy given to the People, which procured him much love, his Uncles (or Fathers, as now he must be called) old Soldiers flocked to him, whom he accepted of out of fear of *Antony*, who now every day became more odious, both to him, to People and Senate.

Purchaseth
the love of
the People.

Antony practi-
ceth for his
own advance-
ment.

17. The Senate suspected *Antony* as intending to set up himself, and he intended nothing more, for which cause he resolved to have some Province assigned to him, wherein he might get Power. To carry favour then he propounded to be considered *Sexsus Pompey*, who yet remained of the Sons of *Pompey* the Great, (that beloved Man) that in requital for his Fathers Estate confiscated, he might have an allowance out of the Publick, and command of the Seas, with that Navy he formerly had. This being received with great applause, was enacted; and so *Pompey* was called back into *Sicily*, where he afterwards waged a great War against *Cæsar*. *Antony* periwaded *Dolabella* his Colleague, (a young Man whom *Cæsar* having ordained to be Consul after his departure out of the City, when he was dead, took the Office, and inveighing against his Benefactor, would have had the day of his death titled the Birth-day of the City) though he loved him not, to ask *Syria*, not of the Senate, but the People, hoping that after him he should not be denied such a request. The difference increaseth betwixt him and *Cæsar*, he desired to have the six Legions which lay in *Macedonia*, and obtained them, deceiving the Senate by a false rumour, that the *Gætes* hearing of *Cæsar's* death, had invaded that Province. He baited them, by preferring a Law against any one's being *Dictator*. It was his design to bring these Legions over into *Italy* to awe and command all, and that he might effect this, he preferred by force a Law for changing of Provinces, and thereby procured to his Brother *C. Antonius Macedonia*, which formerly had been assigned to *M. Brutus*, and to himself the nearer *Gall*, (or *Gallia Cisalpine*) which before was given to *Decimus Brutus*.

18. The Senate would in no wise grant this, whereupon he betook himself to the People. When he had brought over his Legions, part of them revolted to *Cæsar*, who now out of fear went up and down *Italy*, gathering Soldiers out of the Colonies his Father had planted. With a considerable Army at length *Antony* marched into *Gall*, whence he commanded *Brutus* to be gone, who gave way to him then, but departed to *Mutina*, resolving there to stay and endure a Siege, for that he had some considerable strength, and expected Assistance. Here *Antony* straightly besieged him, which the Senate hearing of, by *Cicero's* working especially, (who now began to speak and write his fourteen Orations, in imitation of those of *Demosthenes*, called *Philippicks*) declared him an Enemy to the State, which proved a means for the bringing in of and preferring of *Cæsar Octavianus*. For though the Senate cared not at all for him, as being generally of *Pompey's* Faction, yet they resolved to make use of him for his Armies sake, and therefore erected him a Statue, made him a Senator, though but nineteen years old, decreed, that he should be considered towards preferment as ten years older, and gave him equal Power with *Hirtius* and *Paula* the Consuls, whom now they sent to relieve *Brutus*. They took *Bononia*; but *Antony* being bold, for that he had got the better in some skirmishes, went and met *Paula*, whom he overthrew, but returning carelessly into his Camp, was worsted by *Hirtius*. A little after a great Battle was fought near *Mutina*, wherein *Antony* was quite defeated, and fled to *Lepidus* then *Proconsul* in the further *Gall*. Both the Consuls died of Wounds; *Hirtius* in *An-*

The hatred of
him proce-
edeth young
Cæsar's pre-
ferment.

Appl. m.
L. 117.
D. 1. 45.

Appl. at fr.
D. 1. 46.
Plutarch in
Antony.
Cicero Philippi-
cus, in O. 14.
v. 1.

A. M. 3552.
Antony's P. C. 712.

Antony's Camp, and *Paula* at *Bononia*. *Brutus* being at this time spared by *Cæsar*, thought of departing with his ten Legions to *M. Brutus* and *Cassius*; now in *Greece*, but his Soldiers, moved by the difficulty of the Journey, revolted, the six new raised Legions to *Cæsar*, and the four of old Soldiers to *Antony*. He then purposing with a small Attendance to pass through *Gall*, was taken at *Aquile*, and betrayed by *Capenus Sequanus*, Governour of the Country, who sent his Head to *Antony*. Before this, *Trebonius*, another of his Complices in *Cæsar's* death, excluding *Dolabella* (whom the Senate had judged an Enemy) from *Per-gamus* and *Smyrna*, was taken by him in the latter Place, and after grievous torments, had his Head cut off, which the Soldiers kicking about as a Foot-ball, did so abuse, as no Face was to be seen on it. Not long after the Death of *Decimus Brutus*, *Mimmius Basso*, another of the Conspirators, was slain by his Slaves, whom he had gelded in a great rage.

Yet having
no need of
Cæsar, the Se-
nate again
frightened him,

19. Now the Senate having no need of young *Cæsar*, slighted him exceedingly, decreasing the Honour due to him unto *Brutus*, whom he had relieved, giving him very bitter taunts, and denying him a Triumph. Being sensible hereof, and how most of them were of *Pompey's* Faction, he began to tamper with *Antony* by Letters, as also with *Lepidus*, for a Conjunction, and sent four hundred Soldiers into the City, in the Name of the Army, to demand the Consulship for him. Hereat the Senate straining hard, one *Cornelius* a Centurion laying his Hand upon his Sword, said, *This shall do it, if you will not*. Then called he *Antony* and *Lepidus* into *Italy*, whereat the Senate much startled, and too late blaming their own rigidity, decreed him Consul, and whomsoever he would take to himself. So he invaded the Consulship, a month and five days before he was twenty years old, and took *Q. Pedius* for his Colleague. Then by a Law was Fire and Water forbidden to all that had an Hand in the death of *Cæsar*, and their Goods were sold. The Senate was now so changed, either through good advice or fear, that in stead of slighting, they advanced him above all example. They resolved, that after his Consulship he should take place of all Consuls, and though formerly they were displeased with his levelling Forces, being a private Man; now they desired him to add to his Army, and decreed to him the Legions of *Decimus Brutus*. The City was committed to his care, and Power given him to act what he pleased, though without the pre-scription of the Law, which he retained fifty six years till his death. Not long after came *Emilius Lepidus* and *M. Antonius* into *Italy*, whom he met about *Bononia*, and after a three days conference entered into a Confederacy with them, which is famous by the Name of the *Triumvirate*.

Which pro-
ceedeth the
Triumvirate,

The Terms of
the Combination.

* contrivis-
amur augere,
druplicati.
Potentiam in-
significum cer-
clatum est
vires,
Nam miles qui
fricabat consil-
filius est.

These Forces
were created
up and down
the City.

20. The terms of this Combination were, That *Cæsar*, for the remainder of the Year, should leave the Consulship to *Ventidius*, who formerly in the Social War, when a Boy, was led in Triumph, and after that rubbed the heels of * Mules for his living. That a new Authority of three Men should be erected to take away civil dissensions; which they three should execute for five years with Consular Power, (for the Dictatorship was waived, because of a Law lately preferred against it by *Antony*) with Authority to dispose of all Offices for that Term. That *Antony* should have, as a Province, all *Gall*, except that of *Narbon*, which *Lepidus* was to have with *Spain*; and to *Cæsar* was *Africa*, with *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, assigned; other Places beyond the Seas being left to another time. They agreed further, That their Enemies should be destroyed, wherein the Case of *Cicero* moved the greatest Controversie. For *Antony* would not meddle, except he in the first place should be slain; *Lepidus* was content, but *Cæsar* stood much against it, yet on the third day he assented, an exchange being made; for he yielding up *Cicero*, *Lepidus* permitted his Brother *Paulus*, and *Antony* *L. Cæsar*, his Uncle by the Mother's side, to be pro-scribed. Lastly, it was agreed, That *Lepidus* should be Consul the following Year, in stead of *Decimus Brutus*, designed formerly by *Julius Cæsar*. He guarding *Rome* and *Italy*, the other two were to make War upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who now (though at first without any Decree of the Senate) had seized on *Macedonia* and *Syria*. *Cassius* in *Laodicea* besieged *Dolabella*, who being judged an Enemy by the Senate for the death of *Trebonius*, when the City was taken caused his Page to cut off his Head, and so ended his Life, being a Man of no great solidity. He was Son-in-law to *Cicero*; but after the divorcing of *Thulia* they fell into great enmity, whereupon the Orator proved a

Señ. 8.

Appl. m.
L. 120.
Cicero Philippi-
cus, 11.

Appl. at fr.
L. 119.
Sueton. in An-
tonio.
Patricial. l. 2.
C. 62.
L. 120.
L. 120.

Vid. Dist. 1.
lib. 46.

L. 120.
Appl. m.
L. 46.

Item lib. 46.
D. 1. 46.

Gilius lib. 5.
cap. 4.

* P P P P P

back

Sect. 8. back Friend to him in the Senate, reigning amongst the Fathers and the People with his Eloquence.

21. The first effect of the *Triumvirate* was a *Proscription* of some three hundred Persons of *Equestrian* and *Senatorial* Ranks. Though the pretence was to revenge *Cæsar's* Death, yet many were murdered for their rich Estates, others out of malice, and some for their convenient Houses and Gardens. Amongst those of greatest note was *Varro*, who now living to see and feel a second *Triumvirate*, yet escaped with his Life. *Cicero* the Man most aimed at by *Antony* for opposing him so vehemently in the Senate, upon the *Triumvirs* their coming went to Sea; but the Winds being contrary, and because he could not endure the shaking of the Ship, he returned, saying, *He would die in his Country often preferred by him*. Being weary both of his Flight and Life, he came to a Village a little more than a Mile distant from the Sea. Here his Servants, terrified by several Prodigies, partly by persuasion, and partly by Force, put him again in his Litter, and were carrying him back to the Sea, when hearing of those that came to seek for him, he caused the Litter to be set down, and quietly stretched out his Neck to *Popilius Lenus*, whom formerly by his Oratory he had saved from Condemnation. He ill-favouredly enough cut off his Head and Hands, which he presented to *Antony*, and for so doing received a great Reward. After the Head had been sufficiently gazed on by him and his Wife *Fulvia*, (who set on her Knees, pulled out the Tongue, and pricking it with Needles, otherwise shamefully shewed her spite) it was to the grief of all Men set up in the Pleading Place, or *Rostra*. To such an end came this most famous Man, the Father of *Roman* Eloquence. He was born at *Arpinum*, on the third of the *Nones of January*, in the 648 year of the City, *C. Attilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, being Consuls, the same wherein *Pompey* the Great was born, on the *Calends of October*. His Father was of *Equestrian* Rank, and issued, as some said, from *Tullius Attius*, a Noble King of the *Volsci*. He first deserved the Triumph of the Gown, and the Laurel of the Tongue. And as *Cæsar* the Dictator wrote of him, he obtained a Laurel greater than all Triumphs, (though he had once decreed to him for his good Service in the Field) by how much the more 'tis a greater and more excellent thing to enlarge the Bounds of *Roman* Wit, than of Empire. He died on the seventh of *December*, when he had lived sixty three years, eleven months, and five days. His Brother *Quintus* and his Sons were slain, but his own escaped; for that he had sent him before-hand unto *Athenæ*.

22. All Places in the City were full of Slaughters. The ordinary rate of one Head brought to the *Triumvirs*, if by a Free-man, was one hundred thousand *Seesterces*; if by a Slave, half so much, with the Liberty of the City. This corrupted many, so as forgetting both Duty and Natural Affection, they betrayed those for whose preservation they ought to have laboured. Yet now many rare, and admirable Examples, of the Love of Wives to their Husbands, and yet Slaves to their Masters, appeared; fewest of Children towards their Parents. Yet *Oppius* his Act seemeth to stand for many, who, *Æneas* like, carried out his old and decrepit Father, and conveyed him to the Sea, sometimes leading, and sometimes carrying him on his Back, till they both escaped into *Sicily*, whence afterwards returning, the People, out of a sense of his Piety, made him *Ædile*, and for that he wanted Money to set out the usual Games, the Artificers willingly wrought for him without Wages, and the Spectators by a Contribution made him rich. Of such proscribed Persons as escaped, some fled to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who received them kindly; but most of them to *Sextus Pompey* now in *Sicily*, who sent out Vessels to hover upon the Coasts for them, and furnished them, when came over, with Necessaries. But the *Triumvirs* wanting great Sums for carrying on the War against *Cassius* and *Brutus*, by reason that few would buy Confiscated Estates, condemned also, though not the Persons, yet the Goods of many Rich Women, as well as Men.

23. *Cassius*, after he had got *Syria* into his Power, thought of making an Expedition into *Egypt* against *Cleopatra*, (who now was going with a great Power to the Aid of *Cæsar*, and his Followers) but was recalled by *Brutus*; for that *Antony* and *Cæsar* (who having attempted something against *Ptolemy* in *Sicily*, put it now off till another time) were coming against them with forty Legions, whereof eight had already passed the *Ionian* Sea. Therefore leaving

And *Cassius* and *Brutus* take advantage of their Treachery.

Syria to his Brothers Son with one Legion, he sent some into *Cappadocia*, who killed *Ariobarzanes*, as one that had conspired against him, and brought him a Mass of Money. Exacting Money with much rigour, he came into *Asia*, and meeting *Brutus* at *Smyna*, they consulted about the War. *Brutus* moved that they should pass over into *Macedonia*, and there encounter their Enemies; but *Cassius* prevailed that the *Rhodian* and *Lycian* should first be reduced, who refused to contribute any thing, and were powerful at Sea. It seeming good not to leave any Enemy at their back, this was performed, and vast Sums of Money by that, and other means raised. The *Xanthians* standing out, as they had done in former times against *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, were scarce any of them left alive; and the *Rhodians* had little besides their Lives left unto them.

24. After this, both the Armies met at *Philippi*, that City of *Macedonia*, to which, being built by *Philip* to restrain the *Thracians*, as we have formerly shewn, *St. Paul* wrote his Epistle. Here appeared on either side nineteen Legions. *Antony* and *Cæsar* brought into the Field thirteen thousand Horse; but *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand, who coming thither first, incamped on a high and convenient Ground near the Sea, whence they could have Provisions in abundance. The other Party was exceedingly straitened for Necessities, having only *Macedonia* and *Thessaly* open to it, for that *Pompey* cut off all intercourse from *Africa*, as *Marcus* and *Emobarbus* from *Italy*, by their Navies. This made *Antony* desirous to fight above measure, which the Enemy knowing well enough, refused to engage, till *Antony* making a way through a Fen to intercept his Provisions, and a Work being raised by *Cassius* against him, this procured a Fight, wherein *Cassius* had the worst on his part, and his Camp was taken by *Antony*. On the other side *Cæsar's* Wing was worsted, and his Camp also taken by *Brutus*. *Cassius* departing to an Hill not far off, expected the event of the Fight on his Partners side, and because, for the Dust, he could not discern what Horse it was that made towards him, sent *Titinius* to discover. He being received with joy by those that were bringing Tidings of Victory, stayed so long, till *Cæsar*, fearing the worst, and that the Messenger was intercepted, killed himself, or caused his *Libertus*, or Freed-man, to cut off his Head. Scarcely was it laid, when *Titinius* coming, followed him by his own Hands, whom, as he said, he had killed by loitering.

25. *Brutus* presently caused his Collegues Body to be buried out of fight, left the Army should be dejected; and then had no mind to fight, desiring rather to starve the Enemy, who now was in desperate condition by want of Necessaries, till fearing a defection, for that some had revolted already, or till being forced by the earnestness of his Soldiers he led them out to Battle. Both Parties, though Country-men, were so greedy of engaging, that they neglected to use any misive Weapons, and betook themselves to their Swords, fighting with great animosity, till at length *Brutus* his side was born down, and put to the rout. He escaped to an Hill, where remaining all night, when in the morning he saw no way of escaping, (*Antony* having made him sure, left he should renew the War) he set his Swords point to his left Pap, where the motion of the Heart is felt, and forcing it into his Breast, expired. This was the end of these two Men, by the same Weapons, as some write, wherewith they killed *Cæsar*, who had given them their Lives, and received them into favour after the Battle of *Pharsalam*. While they sought liberty by his death, by that very means they lost that which they accounted such, being indeed no other than a liberty for the common sort to run into extravagancies, and for particular Men to abuse their credulity, and by flattery to procure Power, which they then would improve (even *Pompey* himself, as well as *Sylla*, *Cinna*, *Marinus* and *Cæsar*) further than their Commissions extended. With them perished the hopes of that called a Common-wealth, which thenceforth never was more seen. As for the succeeding Bickerings which the *Triumvirs* had with young *Pompey*, they were but inconsiderable in comparison of this War with *Cassius* and *Brutus*, who having under their Power all the *Roman* Empire from *Macedonia* to the River *Euphrates*, with above twenty Legions, twenty thousand Horse, two hundred long Ships, and infinite Sums of Money, so long as they remained, the Common-wealth seemed (though not at *Rome*) as yet to be surviving.

Sect. 8.

Cæsar returns
to Rome.Antony follows
into Egypt.The Peruvian
War between
Cæsar, and the
Brother and
Wife of An-
tonius.Cæsar pro-
ceeds to the
west.Antony's car-
riage to the
East.

26. *Cæsar* being indisposed, (for he had not his health this Expedition, and therefore was not in the first Fight) returned into *Italy*. *Antony* went into *Asia* to gather up Money for the payment of Largeſſes promiſed to the Soldiers. Here he ſqueezed out of the poor Inhabitants that little which was left them by *Cæſus* and *Brutus*, the Followers of whom he alſo reſtored as he met with them, except ſuch as had an hand in *Cæſar's* death. In *Cilicia* he met with *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, on whom he preſently doated, having formerly had much affection for her when yet a Girl, at ſuch time as he accompanied *Gabinus* into that Kingdom. Thither he now followed her, having firſt ſent a Party of Horſe to plunder *Palmyra*, a Town ſituate near *Euphrates*, and laid moſt heavy Tributes and Impoſitions upon the Provinces. After *Cæſar* had recovered, according to their agreement at parting he ſet himſelf to divide Lands to the Army in *Italy*, which hereby was put into a great commotion, the number of Soldiers being ſo great, that multitudes of Inhabitants were turned out, and many Towns emptied to give place to thoſe new comers, who committed many outrages, and had not purchaſed thoſe Lands by any Service to the State, (as was complained) but by ſerving to inſtrall it to the Dominion of three Men. *Fulvia*, the Wife of *Antony*, and *Lucius* his Brother, now Conſul, envied *Cæſar* this popularity with the Soldiers, and contented earnestly that they ought to ſettle the Soldiers of *Antony*, which was granted. But herewith not contented, they reſolved to proſecute him with War. She, for that the deſired her Husband might be recalled thereby from *Cleopatra*, concerning whom he had too much cauſe to be jealous of him; and he, out of deſire to innovate, pretending an endeavour to ſuppreſs the *Triumvirate*, and to reduce the ancient form of Government, and truſting much to the ſtrength of his Brother.

27. Much ado was made to reconcile them, but to no purpoſe. The ancient Poſſeſſors of the Grounds ſtocked to *Lucius*, and the new ones to *Cæſar*, to whom *Salvidienus* coming out of *Gall* with great ſtrength, *Lucius* went to oppoſe him, but was diverted by *Agrippa*, and reduced to ſuch ſtraights betwixt them two, (though *Ventidius* and *Albinus*, two of *Antony's* Captains, were not far off) that glad he was to betake himſelf for ſecurity to *Peruſia* a ſtrong Town, where he was cloſely beſieged by *Cæſar* and his Party. He ſtood out very courageouſly, till forced by famine to yield to mercy; then coming out firſt, and caſting himſelf into *Cæſar's* Hands, he interceded for his Soldiers, and deſired all the blame might be upon himſelf: He was received honourably, and his Soldiers were pardoned at the deſire of their Enemies. The Town was to be plundered, but by a mad-man, who ſet his own Houſe on fire, and therein perished, it was burnt down to the ground. About this time was the firſt Eclog of *Virgil* written (who now was ſome twenty eight years old) during the diſſiſion of thoſe Lands, as clearly appeareth from it: The above-mentioned *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Iſauricus* being Conſuls, in the 713th year of the City, and the third of the *Triumvirate*.

28. After the *Peruſian* War (for ſo 'tis called) *Cæſar* ſuſpecting *Antony's* affection towards him; to ſtrengthen himſelf ſeized on *Spain* and *Gall*, though his Provinces, taking occaſion at the death of his Lieutenant, whereby being forty Legions ſtrong, he was able to grapple with him if need ſhould require. But having no Shipping, he was at a loſs as to Sea-matters, and therefore married *Scribonia* the ſiſter of *Libo*, Father-in-law to *Sextus Pompey*, from whom he hoped by this alliance if need were to obtain Peace. *Antony* this Spring moved from *Alexandria*, where he had lived all Winter very looſely with *Cleopatra*, as againſt the *Parthians*, who now under conduct of *Labienuſ* had over-run *Syria* as far as *Tyre*. Though this Town was ſet upon by them, and he pretended he would relieve it, yet he did not, alledging a neceſſity of going to the War againſt *Pompey*, who now hindred all Proviſions from coming to the City, and thereby cauſed a great dearth: And he again excuſed himſelf why he came no ſooner to that againſt *Pompey*, becauſe he was retained by the *Parthian* War. Sailing then into *Asia*, he had news of the event of the *Peruſian* War, and blamed much his Wife and Brother; whence paſſing into *Greece* he met with her, and his Mother *Julia*, whom *Pompey* having taken now ſent ſafe to him. Thence he ſailed over the *Ionian* Sea, where *Enobarbus* delivered up all his Fleet and Forces to him; and ſo they came to *Brundifum*, where they were kept out by a Garriſon placed there by *Cæſar*.

Apian hill
ſituated betw.
Platæa in
Antonia.
Dio lib. 48.A. M. 3564.
P. C. 713.A. M. 3565.
P. C. 714.Pride Scriver
in locum.

Apian.

Dio lib. 48.

The Triumvirs
follow.Are reconciled,
and a new
agreement is
made.A great Fa-
mine cauſed
by Scarcity
of Pompey.Procureth an
agreement
with him.Ventidius pro-
ſpereth againſt
the Parthians.

29. This made ſuch a breach betwixt them, that *Antony* blocked up the Town, and procured *Pompey* from *Sicily* to invade *Italy*. *Cæſar* came to *Brundifum*, where the old Soldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Antony*, the Army laboured to reconcile the *Triumvirs*, which *Cocceius*, friend to both, at length effected with much labour; *Pollio* on *Antony's* ſide, and *Mæcenus* on *Cæſar's*, as Delegates making up the breach. All offences were mutually to be forgiven, and for that *Marcellus*, Husband to *Octavia Cæſar's* ſiſter, was now dead, and alſo *Fulvia Antony's* Wife, for grief that he neglected her, *Antony* married *Octavia*. Then was the *Roman* Empire divided betwixt them, the Bounds of their Dominions being *Codroopolis*, a Town of *Ilyricum*, all from it Weſtward being to *Ocey Cæſar*, and all Eaſtward *Antony*. *Africk* was left to *Lepidus*, who now was even no body, and having offended *Cæſar*, had been confined by him to that Province. The War againſt the *Parthians* was judged to *Antony*, and that againſt *Pompey* (who muſt needs now be ſuppreſſed) unto *Cæſar*. *Antony* ſent *Ventidius* into *Asia* to reſtrain the *Parthians*, who now had made an incurſion as far as *Ionia*. But out of *Sardinia* did *Menodorus Pompey's* Admiral the ſecond time eſcort *Helennus Cæſar's* Captain, whereupon *Cæſar* reſuſed to hearken to *Antony*, when he moved him to be reconciled unto *Pompey*. Both the *Triumvirs* (or rather now the *Dunvirs*) being come to the City, were received with moſt lamentable complaints of Poor People, ready to ſtarve for want of Proviſions, which *Pompey* hindered from coming, from the Eaſt by *Sicily*, from the Weſt by *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, which he had in his Power, and from *Africk* by his Navy alſo, which then was moſt powerful at Sea. *Cæſar* could not be drawn to make Peace with him, notwithstanding the loud Cries and Prayers of the Multitude, which obſtinacy drew him, and *Antony* (reſcuing him) into ſuch danger, as both of them were near ſtoning. At length being forced to it, and *Pompey* being perſwaded, they met, but *Pompey* expecting to be admitted into the Power and Place of *Lepidus*, the Treaty came to nothing. Yet the preſſure of the Famine brought them together again, and amongst other things it was concluded, That *Pompey* retaining all the Iſlands: he had already, and *Peloponneſus* over and above, as long as they ſhould hold their Power; and having liberty to be Conſul, and to diſcharge the Office by any of his Friends, he was to leave the Sea open, and pay to the People what Corn was due out of *Sicily*. The proſcribed Perſons, except ſuch as were guilty of *Cæſar's* death, had now all liberty to return. The day following, Conſuls were deſigned for four years. Firſt *Antony* and *Libo*, then *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, next *Enobarbus* and *Soſus*, and laſtly, *Cæſar* and *Antony*, who then (it might be hoped) might reſtore the Government to the People. Then did *Antony* and *Cæſar* return, and were moſt joyfully received. And this Year being the 714 of the City, did they procure *Herod* the Great to be declared King of *Judea*, in the firſt year of the 184 *Olympiad*, *Cn. Domitius Calpurnius* the ſecond time, and *C. Aſinius Pollio* being Conſuls.

30. *Antony* departed toward the Eaſt again for the *Parthian* War, which hitherto *Ventidius* his Lieutenant had managed with good ſucceſs, having got ſeveral Victories, wherein *Labienuſ*, who brought them into *Syria*, and *Pharnapates*, (or *Phraater*, or *Bazapharnes*, being called by ſeveral Names) the greateſt of their Captains, with *Pacorus* Son to *Orodes* the King, were ſlain. After this he repelled them in *Media* and *Megopotamia*, and beſieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in *Samoſata*, whom he ſuffered, upon promiſe of one thouſand Talents, to ſend Ambaſſadors unto *Antony*, who now drew near, and for that the Siege was likely long to continue, by reaſon of the deſperate reſolution of the Defendants, granted him Peace for three hundred Talents, accepted but of two Hoſtages, and thoſe inconfiderable ones; and he gave him leave to put to death *Alexander*, who had formerly revolted to the *Romans*. This by (e) ſome he was thought to do, for fear of the Army, which was angry at his ill uſage of *Ventidius*; though others ſay, he honoured him according to his deſerts, who thought (f) a Man of an obſcure extract, now fiſt of all others triumphed over the *Parthians*. *Antony* having ſetled the Affairs of *Syria*, departed to *Athens*, where he ſpent the Winter with *Octavia*. But the (c) Peace with *Pompey* continued but a ſhort time. The cauſe of the breach (whatever ſecretly was aimed at) was pretended to be, for that *Antony* being to quit *Peloponneſus*, would do it but upon this condition, that *Pompey* ſhould give him ſatisfaction for ſuch Moneys

Sect. 8.
Apian.Joſeph Antiq.
lib. 14. c. 26.Dio lib. 49.
Apian's Per-
ſian.

Florus l. 4. c. 94

(c) Dio at
Ventidius(f) Flutarch
in Antonia(c) Apian de
ſubvertit l. 4.

as

Sec. 8. as was due to him from the Inhabitants. But *Pompey* liked not of any such condition, and therefore rigged a new Fleet, and provided himself of Forces, perhaps giving credit to *Metrorodorus*, who would tell him, that the present state of Affairs was no true Peace, but rather a cessation of Arms. He then renewed his Piracy, which renewed the former grievances, and made the People cry out, that the matter was only altered from three Tyrants to four. But *Metrorodorus* revolted to *Cesar*, bringing in with him *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and three Legions, and then *Antony* was called to *Brundisium* to consult about the War. Thither he came at the day appointed, but *Cesar* keeping not his Word, he stayed not for him, either not liking the breach of the Peace, or for that he envied *Cesar* all that Power he saw him have; for still they suspected and grugged each other. But *Cesar* being provided, set out to Sea, as to invade *Sicily*, and was beaten back by *Pompey*, though he took him at unawares, who heard nothing of the Revolt of *Metrorodorus*, till all of *Cesar's* coming. Afterward his Ships lying at Anchor, were extremely battered, and most of the Men were cast away.

The Peace with Pompey broken.

A. M. 3956
P. C. 716
Hircia 2.

31. *Cesar* fortified the Coasts of *Italy*, for fear lest *Pompey* should make an invasion, which he, not knowing how to improve a Victory, was never wont to attempt. Then wanting all manner of Provisions for the War, he sent *Marcus* to *Antony*, who refusing not to join with him, this cheered him, together with a Victory got by *Agrippa* in *Aquitaine*; many Cities, and private Persons also promising aid. *Antony* came to *Tarentum* with three hundred Ships, but whether there was something else betwixt them, or for that he was now furnished, he slighted his help, *Cesar* excused himself that he met him not, which the other took in ill part, yet sent for him again. For having laid out much upon the Fleet, he intended to exchange it for some *Italian* Legions, to be used in the *Parthian* War, it being difficult for him to raise Men in *Italy*, which was subject to *Cesar*, though by their last agreement both were left free there to make their Levies. *Octavia* coming over to her Brother, agreed them, who then made the exchange, and because the time of the *Triumvirate* set by the Senate was almost out, prorogued their Power for five years longer, without any consideration had of the suffrages of the People. So *Antony* departed into *Syria*, *Cesar* deferring his Expedition into *Sicily* until the following year.

Antony and Cesar make a new agreement, and prorogue their Power.

32. He determined to invade *Sicily* from three several Quarters: *Lepidus*, who now joined with him, was to invade it from *Africk*, *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and he himself from *Puteoli*. *Pompey* resolved to oppose him so many several ways, but at this time it needed not; for *Cesar's* Navy was the second time wracked by a Tempest, which so puffed up *Pompey*, that he filled himself *Neptune's* Son. But *Cesar* gave not over the Enterprize; for the same Summer having recruited his Forces, and mended his Ships, he put forth to Sea, and then, though on *Lepidus* his part were lost two Legions, overthrew *Pompey's* Fleet; but was again worsted, and yet landed twenty one Legions, and two thousand Horse, besides five thousand lightly Armed. No great or memorable Battle was there on Land, but *Pompey* sent to his Enemy, to know if he would fight by Sea, fearing his Land-Forces. He accepted of his offer, and then finally defeated him, having sunk twenty eight of his Vessels. The rest were either taken or broken, seventeen only escaped, and at the fight of his overthrow this Land-Forces yielded to *Cesar*, so that with his seventeen Vessels he fled to *Antony*, from whom he expected protection, having restored formerly his Mother safe to him, when in such a condition. *Messana* still stood out; but the Garrison at length yielded to *Lepidus*, who granted to the Soldiers, to draw them to his Party, the Plunder of the Town equal with his own. Having now by the addition of these Forces twenty two Legions, and a strong Body of Horse under his Command, he pleased himself with thoughts of getting all *Sicily* into his Hands, to which he pretended a right, as first invaded by him; and he fought to hinder *Cesar* all he could from the possession of it.

A. M. 3959
P. C. 718

33. *Cesar* expostulated with him for his ingratitude; but to no purpose. Thier found he means to draw away all his Army from him, which now was something averse to Civil Wars, and satisfied of the greater worth of *Cesar*, being moreover incensed against their General, for making *Pompey's* Soldiers partakers with them in the plunder of *Messana*. Yet though his Soldiers would have killed him, did he save them alive, but outed him of all Power, and banished him;

to

so that thus fell one head of this *Tricipitina*. *Pompey* not being pursued by *Cesar*, craved protection from *Antony*; yet sent to the *Parthian*, in case he should not be received by him. Then thought he of seizing upon *Syria*, and the Parts adjacent, upon a rumor of *Antony's* being overthrown; whereupon he was pursued by his Party, and at last taken and killed at *Midasus*, a Town of *Phrygia*, as *Dio* writeth, but as *Florus* and *Appian* at *Miletus*, in the fourth year of his Age, fourteen years after the death of his Father. *Cesar* at his return refrained Roberies in the City, setting Watches therein, and administrated things in the ancient way by annual Magistrates. He burnt all Letters written in time of War, promising he would restore the Common-wealth as soon as *Antony* should return, who, he knew, would also lay down the Magistracy, all Civil Wars being ended. He was therefore received with lucky acclamations, and had a *Perpetual Tribune* bestowed on him; as invited by: this Honour to lay down his other Power. Concerning this he wrote privately to *Antony*, who, whilst *Cesar* was thus employed about *Pompey*, had called *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, and there given her *Phoenicia*, *Celestria*, *Cyprus*, a great part of *Cilicia*, with part of *Arabia Nabathæa*, and so much of *Judea* as brought *Bethsamma*. Then sending her home, he marched into *Armenia*, where yet he could do nothing (for desire of her) like himself; but ever thought of returning to her, which shortly after he did; but was much troubled in his Passage by the *Parthians*, to whom his Army had revolted, but that they killed such as first passed over to them.

Antony doeth on Cleopatra.

His extravagancies in Egypt.

34. The Year following, and that wherein *Pompey* was slain, he was solicited by the King of *Media* in conjunction with him to make War upon the *Parthians*; but was hindered by stir which happened betwixt *Cleopatra* and *Octavia* his Wife, who now returning to him out of *Italy*, met with Letters at *Athens* to stop her there, he pretending necessary avocations by War. *Cesar* then would have had her come to his House, but she would go to her Husbands, where she educated both his Children and her own, as became her. Then did *Antony* return into *Armenia*, where he caught the King by a wife, and brought him in Triumph into *Egypt*. Now would he be called *Father Bacchus*, as *Cleopatra* was, who now was titled by him *Queen of Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Celestria*, *Cesar*, whom she had by *Julius Cesar*, being her Partner in these Principalities. But his own Sons by her, *Alexander* and *Pholomey*, he named *Kings of Kings*; betwixt whom he did not only part what Provinces he himself had, but also *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Media*, and to *Cleopatra* their Daughter assigned *Cyrene*. These things, together with the disgrace of his Sister, provoked *Cyrene*, who made report of them to the Senate and People. Hereby he incensed Men's minds against *Antony*, who shortly after went into *Media*, and entered into League with the King thereof. *Cesar* at the same time fought against several People of *Illyricum*, and the next year both provided for the Civil War betwixt themselves.

Cesar and he fall out.

35. *Antony* in way of recrimination to *Cesar*, objected his putting *Lepidus* besides the *Triumvirate*, and taking his Soldiers, as those of *Pompey*, to himself, which ought to have been equally free for both; and he challenged his part of the Soldiers raised in *Italy*. For *Cesar*, besides what we formerly mentioned, accused him of taking *Egypt* as his Province, killing *Pompey*, abusing *Antiochus* the *Armenian* King, to the great infamy of the *Roman* State; but above all, upbraided him with *Cleopatra*, and what he had assigned to their Children, as also for that he owned *Cesar* as begotten by *Cesar*, though to the Senate he had acknowledged him for his own Son. *Antony*, bewitched by *Cleopatra* so far as not to be able to rule himself, wrote to the Senate to have those things confirmed, which he had settled upon her and her Children. The two Consuls, *Cn. Domitius* and *C. Sosius*, being much for him, were forced to leave the City, and get over to him, who now also having raised great Forces, sent to *Rome*, to drive *Octavia* out of his House, and if taking his opportunity he had this Summer invaded *Italy*, he might in all probability have put an end to the Quarrel. For *Cesar* was not yet provided, wanting Money exceedingly, which he now exacted throughout *Italy*. But this delay herein helped him, that Men's minds were more and more bent against *Antony*, especially after *Cesar* had published his Testament, wherein he disposed as formerly, to his and *Cleopatra's* Children, and ordained, that though he should die at *Rome*, his Body should be sent to her at *Alexandria*: It was also reported, that he meant, if his matters prospered, to

A. M. 3974
P. C. 727, an. 1.
P. C. 728
Hircia 3.

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give

Sect. 8. give her *Rome*, and transfer the Seat of the Empire into *Aegypt*. Hereupon the War was decreed against her, and he was devoted of his *Brundisium*, and not declared an Enemy, for fear of those with him. For then must they necessarily have been included in the same capacity, and so driven upon desperate Councils: To them therefore Rewards were promised, if they would forsake him; and hereby was he thought rendered more inexcusable, in that being unhurt he should make War for an *Aegyptian* woman against his Country. Then did the one draw all the East, and the other the West to his Party. *Cæsar* had ready two hundred and fifty Ships of War, eighty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse. *Antony* had five hundred such like Ships, very big and stately, with one hundred thousand Foot, and also twelve thousand Horse. The King of the *Mædes* also sent him Aid, which being not felt back, and *Antony* also re-calling his Forces he had left with him for the protection of that Country, the *Parthians* became Master of that Kingdom, and *Armenia* also was lost.

Their Preparations for War.

Antony worsted.

Overthrown at Actium in a Sea-fight.

His Land-forces killed to a purpose.

Vide Dionem lib. supra.

Idem. Plutarch. in Antony.

A. M. 3974.
P. C. 723.
Hærodot. p. 424. Claj. 2p.

Plutarch. l. 2. cap. 25.

* Dio. Suetonius. Aurelius V. l. 1. Eutropius.

Plutarch. in Antony.

Plutarch. lib. 2. cap. 27. Dio lib. 51.

her safety and her Kingdom, if he should kill *Antony*, who was also advised by * *Herod* of *Judea* to do as much by her.

38. They sent again to him the first and second time, and he gave up to him *Tullius* a Senator, and one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæsar*. He putting the Man to death returned no answer, neither the second time, when he sent *Antyllus* his Son to him with much Gold, which he received. But with her he still dealt, sending *Thyrsus* his Freed-man to her to make her believe that he was in love with her, hoping the might kill *Antony*, and preserve her Treasures, which he threatened to burn if he came into any danger. Now going down into *Aegypt*, he sent *Cornelius Gallus* before him, who seized on *Paretonium* the chief City on that part near *Africa*; and *Pelusiū* the other strongest Town towards *Syria* did *Cleopatra* betray to him, secretly forbidding the *Alexandrians* to go out against him. *Antony* once fought prosperously against his Horse, and the second time was beaten; then he sent him a Challenge, which *Cæsar* refused, saying, That if *Antony* to please there were a thousand ways lying open for his destruction. Wherefore bethinking himself that he could not die with more credit than in Battle, he resolved to oppose *Cæsar* both by Sea and Land; but *Cleopatra* procured, that both his Navy, and Horse revolted. Hereupon he returned into the City, crying out, That he was betrayed by her for whose sake he had taken up Arms. She being afraid of him, departed to her Monument, and sent some to tell him she was dead, pretending fear of *Cæsar*. Upon which Message, he resolving to follow her, wounded himself in the Belly. The Wound not quickly dispatching him, the sent for him up into her Monument; whither he was pulled up by her self, and two Women, being willing to live now that she was alive, and hoping he might possibly recover. But he shortly after died, willing her as well as the could to provide for her self, and not grieve for him, but rather rejoice, in that he had been the most famous of Men, as also most powerful, and now being a *Roman*, was not through laziness overcome by a *Roman*. Such was the end of this Man, who through desire of Fame became the Author of sad Tragedies to his Country, who in the use of his Power greatly abused it, and was not only overcome by a *Roman*, but also by a *Woman*; and then so behaved himself, that he could not be excused from laziness, effeminateness, and luxury, all which things checked that goodness of disposition supposed once to be in him, and left *Cleopatra* little cause to rejoice for any real Glory that might accrue unto him.

Antony killed himself.

So doth Cleopatra her self, and Aegypt is made a Province.

39. *Cæsar* endeavoured to get *Cleopatra* into his Hands, that he might lead her in Triumph. He easily obtained *Alexandria*, the Inhabitants whereof he pardoned, but put to death *Antyllus* the Son of *Antony*, and some others. He viewed the Body of *Alexander* the Great, and out of Honour to his memory set on it a Golden Crown, and strewed it with Flowers; but touching it, he broke off a little piece of the Nose, and refused to see the Bodies of the *Ptolemies*, though the *Alexandrians* much desired it, saying, He had a mind to see the King, and not dead Men. *Cleopatra* dealt with her Physician to dispatch her, but being terrified by *Cæsar* upon the account of her Children, she gave it over, and did all she could, but in vain, to work upon his affections when he came to see her. Then did she give him an Inventory of her Goods, and he promised her fair things, thinking thereby that he deceived her, though he himself was deceived. For the understanding that she was reserved for a Triumph, prevented it by a voluntary death, as is in the History of her Kingdom related. *Cæsar* made *Aegypt* a Tributary Province, and would have conferred the Government thereof upon *Arius* the Philosopher, who formerly had taught him, but he refusing the Employment, he gave it to *Cornelius Gallus*, a Man of obscure Birth. *Cæsar* the Son of *Cleopatra* by *Julius Cæsar*, had by his Mother been sent towards *India* with a great Sum of Money, but at *Rhodes* his Governour perfwaded him to return, as now being to expect the Kingdom. *Cæsar* consulting what to do with him, *Arius*, alluding to * that prudent Sentence of *Homer*, said, 'Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν νομίζουσιν. To have many *Cæsars* is not good; and so he was sent after his Mother. Whilst these things were doing at *Alexandria*, was *M. Tullius Cicero*, Son of the Orator, Consul at *Rome* (taken in by *Cæsar* to blot out the ignominy of betraying his Father) in the room of *Licinius Crassus*, where he published *Cæsar* his Colleague's Letters.

Scit. 8i.
* Josephus de iud. l. 1. c. 10.

Dio lib. 5. Plutarch. in Antony.

Dio et Sueton. l. 2. Ollivier. Plutarch. in Antony. Orpheus lib. 5. Cap. 15. Plutarch. l. 2. c. 27. Florus lib. 4. cap. 11. Livius Epitoma lib. 133. Fulvius et Terentianus.

A. M. 3975. Pl. 18. ann. 39. P. C. 724. Hærodot. l. 10. Antiochus l. 28. Letters

Sect. 8. Letters concerning the overthrow of *Antony*, and put them up over the Pleading Place, where his Father's Head had formerly been set. But this overthrow and death of *Cleopatra* happened in the fourteenth Year after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, the third of the 187 Olympiad, the 724 of the City, twenty eight before the Birth of *Christ*, A. M. 3975. 294 after the death of *Alexander* the Great, under whom, as the *Macedonian* Empire began, so now in *Cleopatra* (and not till now) it was quite extinct; and here the Contemporaries with it receive their Period.

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INSTITUTION
O F
General History.

The First Part.

BOOK IV.

The Roman Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the Absoluteness of *Octavius*, to the Death of *Tiberius*, containing the Space of 66 Years.

The Grandeur
of the Roman
Empire.



THE Roman Empire had now swallowed up the *Macedonian*, with such Kingdoms and States as were at all considerable, and Contemporary with it (whereof though some might retain a shew of Liberty, yet were they but in a condition of Vassalage) except the *Parthian* Kingdom, which as yet acknowledged no subjection, and when it did, being forced thereto for the most part by Intestine Divisions, not long continued in that acknowledgment.

It laboured
under its own
weight.

2. This Empire now laboured under its own weight, and, like to some unwieldy thing, staggered, by reason of the turgency of its inward burthen, without any extraneous violence: It was grown up to an Athletick habit, and had already sufficiently manifested the Danger of this Constitution. For, being all Head and no Body, it wanted those Limbs, which by direction from a superior sense, could secure its Progress; or indeed being all Body, and no head, it was void of that influence which effecteth an orderly motion, and is necessary for the subsistence of life it self. The proper fruits of *Popular Government* were now grown fully ripe. Every one would command, and none would be ruled, yet every man challenging a part in the Supreme Power, none enjoyed it much, and therefore but few were really solicitous for the upholding of it as *Popular*, any further than some private interests led them. The heady multitude indeed was violently carried on in its desires after the chief command; but some desired it rather that others might not enjoy it, holding this Principle, to oppose all rising, though excellent Persons whatsoever. Others tickled with an humor of ruling, and in intellectual Persons above their fellows, set themselves to please the Rabble by maligning other men, crying up Liberty and Equality, extolling the justice of the *Agrarian*, and vaunting of great matters intended to be done by themselves, when in a Capacity. Sometimes their boldness and cunning pro-

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cured

cured their rite, most commonly some Capitulations, and otherwise Money distributed to the R.ble, when the Step was great. For after that the *Romans* passed the Seas, more luxury, avarice, and corruption, than of Victory was brought home. They found the same abroad, notwithstanding the repute of their abstinence. They found the same temptations as other men, and made themselves Masters of the manners, as well as the possessions of the conquered. All things were now bought and sold, from the meanest Office to the Confiliarp, and the lowest privilege to the right of Suffrages.

lowest privilege to the right of Suffrages.

3. The daily fight of these things corrupted such, as else might have proved just. It seemed a prudent Principle, rather to command than to be commanded; rather to buy than to be sold, and to get something, rather than suffer all things to be lost. The body of the People was now grown large, the *Italians* being received to the freedom of the City, and liberty of Suffrages. Hence ambitious men had advantage enough to make parties, and to carry things in the *Comitia* or *Assemblies*, having once by indirect practices ingratiated themselves. Having obtained the commands of place, the credit of their conquests, and the affections of their Armies. The power once obtained, is difficultly laid down, both by reason that man's nature is averse to diminution, and for that something may be committed in height of passion, or through convenience, or otherwise, whereof it might be too late to give an account, as neither to lye open and naked to the machins of revengefull Enemies. The Empire being now vast, several men at the same time might be found in these capacities, so that jealousies and emulations must needs be heightened, and one strive to reduce the other into order. Further, the largeness of Empire afforded multiplicity of places, always of several, and sometimes of contrary interests or humours, which would spoule quarrels accordingly, whence never would be wanting sufficient and convenient matter for publick combinations.

4. Such was the present State of *Roman* affairs; and such had been their constitution before the present juncture, which loudly, in the understanding of all prudent men, called for the help of some single Person duly qualified, whose Monarchy could only put an end to the civil dissensions, by removing the liberty of the multitude, which gave occasion to those distempers, which fomented ambitious endeavours of private persons after Sovereignty, which effeminated them, and by checking all exorbitant power of particular men, which eventually procured them. *Cæsar* on the one side considering the civil things, as also being sensible of the power he already enjoyed, and of the danger he might incur by removing himself to a private life: and on the other, weighing the envy and odium he should contract by the establishment of himself, after he had conquered *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and (having entered his fourth Consulship in the life *Samius*) returned to *Rome*, he asked the advice of his two most inward Counsellors and bosom friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*. *Vipsianus Agrippa*, a man of mean Parentage (which *Vipsianus* manifesting, he changed of a well-meaning mind, and a great love for *Cæsar*, answered him first, and earnestly advised him to lay down his power, and remit the Government into the hands of the Multitude. His arguments for the most part respected the danger of *Cæsar's*

5. But *Mecenas*, a man, though but of *Equeſtrian* rank, yet of (a) high deſcent, and (b) extraordinary abilities, deſired *Cæſar*, that if he loved his Country, he would alter, correct and reduce it into a better form of Government. He ſaid, he would not have him deceived with a ſpecious ſhow of names and words; but conſidering what ſhould follow, to refrain the fury of the multitude, and take to himſelf, aſſiſted by excellent perſons, the Government, that the moſt prudent might conſult, the beſt Captains have the command of Armies, and the

Chap. I.

the most robust and poor serve in them. Herely every one minding his own business, and one affording help to another, none would find any defect, and the true power of the People with liberty and safety would be preserved. For, the power of the multitude, he said, being indeed the slavery of every worthy man, was most grievous, and brought common destruction unto all: but this, wherein mobility should ever be preferred, and mens desires considered, would make all alike to be happy. He would have him there assisted and advised by worthy persons, to order all things needful, to make War, create Magistrates, reward, punish, and make Laws; all others being obedient; so that Wars might be made with secrecy, and upon occasion, such as were preferred might be chosen, not by lot, or through the prevalence of their ambition, but for their worth. Thus good men might be honoured, and bad punished without disturbance; and so at length things would be rightly carried, when nothing should be preferred to the Vulgar, nor openly be consulted of, nor be committed to intruders, nor come into danger through their ambition. In sum, all would enjoy their own, no dangerous Wars nor wicked Seditions being made.

6. But these evils he proved to be common in a *Popular Government*, wherein the great ones aspiring to the top, and with money or otherwise purchasing the help of the ordinary sort, disturbed all things. He said, they had now had large experience of these things, and that by no other means could they be ended, than by that whereof he spake; whereof this was an evident sign, that for a long time they had been vexed with Wars and Seditions, by reason of the multitude of men, and greatness of affairs; for that men were so various in Nature and Nations, and adorned with such diversity of affections and desires: and because things hereby were brought to that pass, that with difficulty could they be managed. Now that he spake true, he said, the deeds themselves bore mention: for, as long as the multitude of the Roman People was not great, nor much more considerable than their neighbours, the State was in a good condition, and almost all Italy was subdued by them. But after that passing out of Italy, they went abroad into all Countreys and Islands, and filled all Seas and Lands with their name and power, no good got they by it; but first of all, at home and within the walls, riots being made, they brook the Commonwealth, and afterwards propagated the same mischief into their Armies. Therefore their City, like to some great ship of burthen, filled with a various multitude, and destitute of a Pilot, having been for many ages beaten and tossed with grievous waves, now stoned, and having no stay, was tossed here and there. He desired him therefore, that he would not still neglect her thus conflicting with Tempests (for he saw how much water she had already taken in) nor suffer the stay to be quite broken off (for she was now battered, and could not long subsist) but feeling that the gods had presented him as an Over-eeer and Governour to his Countreie, not to cast her off; but as by his means she had a little recovered her spirits, fo, for the ages to come, the might remain in safety by the same means. Having uttered these arguments drawn from the Thing, he took others from the Man, and shewed him his imminent danger, in case he laid down his power in the several cases of Pompey, Marius and Sylla. Pompey, he said, having devoted himself of his power, was contemned, and being laid at by his Enemies perished, because he could not recover it. He told him, That his Father (meaning Julius Caesar) going about the same miscarried. The same had happened to Marius and Sylla, but that they were prevented by death; though some said also that Sylla killed himself to prevent his Enemies: it is certain, that many of his Laws began to be repealed whil he yet lived. In conclusion, he told him, He must expect many such as Lepidus, Sertorius, Brutus, and Cassius. This is the sum of Meccas his speech in behalfe of Monarchy, whereof the beginning is lost, as also the conclusion of that of Scipio.

7. These things sufficiently evidence, that it was impossible in an humane way for the Few to be a subpart in a Commonwealth fo called; and not only that, but that it was impossible for a single person to be a subpart in a Commonwealth, or more (not to speak of one, or a few Cities, or places at present) which must necessarily consist of *multitudes of people, diversly qualified, variously inclined, and very unequally possessed of wealth and honours*. Such having the Supreme power in their own hands must needs foment several humours. The rich, and honourable, must either not medle, and be out of direct watch for an advantage to alter things, or if they do, they will not be content with equal employments. When any extraordinary power is obtained, such enforcements as were formerly mentioned will happen, which being driven

The insufferable inconveniences of Popular Government.

Vid. Dionys.
l. 2. ad ini-
tium p. 463, &c.

(4) *Mecenas*
atavis edite ve-
gibus. Horat.
l. c. *Chi Menen-*
dorus pater,
Menippus avus,
Cecinna Rex
Etruscorum finis
atavis.

(b) Ingeniosus
vir ille (Mec-
canas) fuit.
Magnum exten-
dendum Romanæ
eloquentiæ da-
turus, nisi illud
enervasset feli-
citas, imo ca-
strasset. Seneca
Epistol. 19.

Democrati-
cal
Government
impracticable
in one or more
Nations, con-
siderable for
wealth, and of
various inter-
ests.

and under
ach diftem-
ers

As Monarchy
could only
cure.

Agrippa's
advice to Cae-
sar for Demo-
cracy.

Astennas his
plea for Mo-
narchy.

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on by that ambition which is but natural to all mankind, will drive either fear, or desire, into Monarchy. A civil War especially produceth this, and more especially when the quarrel is betwixt single persons; and yet more especially is it informed by a religious pretence, under which Vizard the greatest deceit hath triumphed, accompanied, or ushered in by a sacrilegious asserting of approving Providence, whereby *inviolable Majesty, Order, Propriety, and all things excellent have been contaminated, overturned, and trampled on, and yet a structure erected at length out of the materials of those very things, which formerly were only by the invaders accounted bad, because they stood upon another ground.* But not only in a Democratical way is it impossible for one, or more considerable Nations to be governed, but in an Aristocratical also. For if the wealth and propriety of a Nation be diffused, and not limited in the possessions of a few of the chiefest persons, such would find a continual repugnancy in their subjects, others thinking themselves as capable of power as they. Hence quarrels and implacable enmities must arise, and he who shall be best able will at length command the rest, though he ought to have been their fellow subject, and demonstrate a necessity of Monarchical Government.

8. The affairs of the *Gracians* urged *Agrippa* to make against Monarchy do much plead for it, and evince the necessity of it. For after that the multitude in the several Cities had rebelliously withdrawn themselves from that obedience, which both the Law of God, and just title of succession challenged as due to their *Kings* (who as *Thucydides* acknowledgeth, governed them with Justice and Moderation) how miserably were they enslaved by their fellow Citizens (called by them *Tyrants* or *Tyrants*) and forced to submit to Usurpers, who punished them for their disobedience towards their rightful Sovereigns. Never were there such Tumults, Seditions, Civil Wars, Massacres, and Desolations, as in, and amongst those Cities which called themselves Commonweals: Such were the extravagancies of the multitude, that the best men were rejected, and bold, impudent, and fawcy fellows domineered, who being corrupted with Money, bought and sold all that was of consequence, and by their cunning speeches turned, and led the Rabble which way so ever they pleased. As for what *Agrippa* urged, *that they only did things of moment after that the power came into the peoples hands; those things of moment were amongst themselves, and such as made them miserable, they tearing one another in pieces in the Peloponnesian, and other Wars, breathing nothing but rage, malice, and revenge against one another.* Nothing of consequence did, or could they do against the Barbarians, as they accounted all besides themselves, till reduced under the Monarchy of *Alexander* they became instruments in his hands. Common danger engaged them against *Xerxes*, whose multitudes destroyed themselves; but had it not been for the meek wisdom of *Themistocles*, want of Order, of Government, and Discretion, had ruined them all in departing into Peloponnesus, and foolishly applying themselves to the fortifying of the Isthmus. Though they several times assisted the *Ionians* in their Rebellion, yet still at length were their endeavours defeated. *Cimon* indeed got several Victories, and did notable exploits in a Piratical way, but what effects produced they? The most that was effected at Land was by *Agesslaus*, but he having not done much, was recalled, for that many Cities having been allured with *Persian Gold* (which never failed to corrupt the Councils, overthrow the projects, and disturb the affairs of these petty States, by taking off the great Leaders of the Rabble) had conspired against *Sparta*. But what great matters they could do against Monarchy appeared, in that, first *Philip*, then *Alexander* his Son, and their Successors, easily subdued, and kept them under. As for their Colonies, each one usually followed the fortune of its Metropolis, little but Tumults, Banishments, and Massacres do we hear of, or of private mens getting the power over them, for that wanting rightful, and successive Princes, they lay open to the cheats of their fellow Citizens. The particular cases of *Coreyra*, *Samus*, *Syracuse*, and others demonstrate this, and therewith the danger, and infirmity of Antimonarchical Government.

9. But in particular, such were the several constitutions of these Cities, that *Aristotle* himself liked none of them, as appeareth in his Books of Politicks. The *Cretian* Commonwealth had its extravagancies, and if a Government may be judged from the carriage, and disposition of the people. In the opinion of *Epimenides* one of their own Poets, it was most naught. *Lycargus* by taking away the just, and Hereditary power of the Kings of *Sparta*, and contrary both

An answer to Agrippa's Argument drawn from the Greeds.

The constitutions of their several States were dangerous.

to Nature and Loyalty, dissolving the Government of his Forefathers, made but way for many inconveniences in the too great power of the Senate, and otherwise, but especially for the tyranny of the *Ephori*, five fellows chosen yearly out of the Rabble, who domineered with unparalleled insolence over all. *Solons*' constitution, after so many changes and alterations wherein no rest could be procured from the time they forsook Kingly Government, gave no such settlement, but that *Pisistratus* presently after cheating the Rabble over and over, very easily made himself Master of *Athens*. Their *Ostracism* frightened all able persons from meddling with the Commonwealth, as also did the *Petalism* of *Syracuse*; whereupon their affairs went down the wind, till they were forced to recall the banished, and change still from one constitution to another, never being at quiet, for that the multitude tyrannized in their Assemblies. As for the learning of the *Greeks*, whereof they so much boasted, they had it either from the *Egyptians* or *Caldeans*, who were subject to, and from the beginning flourished under Monarchy; and *Pisistratus* who was a Monarch (though of his own making) made the first Collection of Books, and thereby brought Learning into *Athens* and *Greece*. Finally, the *Greeks* in their Wars were forced to make use of single persons; and at home in their greatest necessities did they fly to them, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* mentioneth the *Harmolites* of *Lacedaemon*, the *Archus* of the *Thebans*, and the *Elymnets* of the *Mityleneans*, whom he compareth with the Dictator of the *Romans*.

10. For the *Romans*, 'tis a meer mistake of *Agrippa*. Their affairs never more prospered than under Monarchy, if we consider the small beginnings of the City. *Romulus* did exceeding much for his time, and so did his Successors in their several ways, with so small a power as such a Colony could produce, inasmuch as revengful and furious *Brutus* acknowledged, that no better way of Government could be found out than what they had chalked out to them. The faults in it seem to have been his something too much indulging at his first constitutions a popular humour which might bring him to his end afterwards. Then *Servius* to curry favour with the Rabble, that they might maintain him in his illegally procured power, diminished the Regal authority, and that of the Senate, which gave the multitude such a scope, as after could they not be reduced into any order. After him *Tarquinius* the Heir of *Prifcus* might go about to recover this power (for, a little charity may be allowed us, for one who lived in so dark and remote times, and whose Actions were only recorded by his Enemies, seeing we have formerly related his Story as we find it) and thereby might incur that prejudice which, together with the fault of his Son, and the implacable malice of *Brutus*, procured his Banishment. This may be added as an ill accident, that *Romulus* dying childless, the Kingdom came to be Elected, which thing must at length bring great inconveniences, so that Experience now hath taught such Kingdoms to continue the Government to particular Families. But *Brutus* his giving to his *Consuls* full regal power (though they were two, and Annual) and putting the Sword fully into their hands, together with his acknowledgment of the good Government of all the former Kings, do more than make us suspect his spleen to have acted him most in the change of the power, especially the consequences considered. For, the power of the *Consuls*, being shortly after diminished, or rather enervated by *Valerius* (whoby flattering of the multitude got the name of *Poplicola*) the common sort got head, and confounded all things, nothing but changes, and re-changes happening, till at length they quite oured the *Patricians* of their power, giving them leisure to repent their joining with *Brutus*, and brought things to that ruin and disorder formerly mentioned, as compelled them to turn about, and by their *Lex Regia* (hereafter to be spoken of) to devolve all their power upon a single Person.

11. Such and so many were these Seditions and Tumults, that thrice the common sort departed from the *Patricians* out of the City. And no sooner was the War against their King ended, but the first begun; and these very fits have we proved from *Dionysius*, to have procured immediately the setting up of another King in effect, for half a year's continuance, viz. the Dictator, to which Officer they were forced to fly in all difficulties. Now it sufficiently appeared, that the want of a King hindered the promotion of their affairs, for, ever when any work was to be done abroad, nay when the Enemy was even at the gates, would the multitude mutiny, and with so much a-do at length could be drawn out, that business was retarded, and thereby their affairs not a little impaired,

The Disorders and Tumults arising from their Antimonarchical Government.

impaired, the *Monarch* being wanting, who should have kept both orders in subjection and awe. The weight of Usury and Oppression was the first pretended cause of these stirrings; but from it the multitude passed on from one thing to another, never resting till it had got all Offices of dignity, power, and profit, into its own hands, as hath been at large made out. To effect this, they would one while have *Consuls*, and another while *Tribunes Military*, having formerly made *Decemviri* for the making of new Laws; so that within the space of 134 years, they had 37 changes in the Government, whereof (to make it clear) fifteen were from *Consuls to Tribunes Military*, and from *Tribunes to Consuls*, the two grand ones from *Kings to Consuls*, and from *Consuls to Decemviri*, and twenty *Dictatorships*, besides *Interregnum* many an one, whereby for five days the chief power was in the hands of their *Interreges*. Thus was the Government tossed to and fro by the multitude, and little was done abroad, by reason of these confusions, nay the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and razed, all but the *Capitol*, through the cowardice of their *Tribunes*, who also being in number three or more, by their several opinions confounded their Armies, and shewed the truth of that speech of *Agamemnon* in *Homer*. And this is worthy observation, that when the contention arose about the *Consulship*, which the Commons would have equally with the *Patritians*, so incredibly were those confusions, that for five years the *Tribuni Plebis* (those great incendiaries) suffered no supreme Magistrates at all to be created.

Great Confusions were raised by single Persons.

12. All the great conquests afterwards were made by single persons, who abroad had alone the command of Armies. And so far was this present kind of Government from being instrumental to them, that it manifestly hindered and obstructed all good proceedings. For, when a *Consul's* year was out, then must he be recalled, and a Successor sent him, though he was in never so fair a way for the conquering of any Nation, which at length began to be understood, and then was their command continued to them, under the name of *Proconsuls*, after which time it was, that the great matters were performed; before this the Generals being glad to shuffle up a Peace, lest they should be defrauded of the credit of ending the Wars by their Successors. The main cause of the growth of their Empire (under the all disposing Providence of God) was the valour and virtue of their Captains and Senators, at that time when *Pyrrhus* let upon them; the courage also of the Soldiers was extraordinary, so that (as *Pyrrhus* spoke of himself) a *King*, whose command and conduct would have been constant and uncontrolled, might have done greater wonders with such men. But as for the Government, so far was it from contributing to these things, the multitude in these times, which their Writers to celebrate this power from the Senate, to oblige all having by the *Hortensian Law* wrested this power from the Senate, to oblige all whatsoever by their *Plebisclita*, decreed aid to be sent to the *Mamertines*, though against all equity and conscience, the Senate having utterly refused to assist those thieves, murderers, intruders. But the multitude was told of great profit which would accrue to all men in particular, and therefore profit must bear down right, and forces must be sent into *Sicily* to get footing there, to enrich the virtuous & temperate men: and hence is to be fetched the rise of the *Carthaginian Wars* (which with what injustice they were managed on the *Roman* part, hath been seen) and indeed this was the original of all their conquests. The main things performed were done by such, as rather awed the people, than were awed by it, though to obtain their commands, they corrupted the multitude with Money. *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, after they had successively ingrossed the power, made the greatest conquests. After the overthrow of *Carthage* especially, scarcely any great command was obtained, but by some great promises under-hand, some new attempts of innovation, or Money distributed to the Tribes. So weak, imperfect, and vicious was the Government.

Hence appeareth the excellency and necessity of Monarchy.

13. These things evidence the excellency of *Monarchical Government* above the rest; a necessity of it in any considerable Nation or Nations, and in Cities which extend the freedom of Suffrages to their Subjects or Associates, and are considerable for number, power and interest. Single Cities have for some time subsisted otherwise; but if we view them kept in that way by such strange discipline, and principles of equality and levelling, as are even repugnant to Nature, and destroy that lawful use of such things as were ordained for man's comfort and delight. Such was the constitution of that of *Sparta*, which yet secured it not

not from the tyranny of the *Ephori*, and when but the use of Gold, Silver, and other things, very lawful in themselves, came up, the *Lacedæmonians* were sensible of their slavery to such harsh constitutions, and the Government tormented. Again, in others that were left more to their liberty, we see how impossible it was for the People to use it, but for their own destruction, so that for any one place to subsist without such miseries and disasters, is near to a miracle. *Monarchy*, though it may have its defects (as all things managed by meer men) yet in it self includes more order, certainty, and security, its force being commonly turned outward: it is that which is most agreeable with primitive prudence, when men were not arrived at that ambition and wickedness, which later times have produced. All Nations at first had their Kings from the very first foundation, as is clear in the case of the *Greeks*, and others; so that they voluntarily submitted to them, at the first leading out of Colonies from the *East*, being their Captains; and thence we may see that the Government is natural, flowing from paternal rule, and proceeding from that Superiority, which Masters of Families, and Heads of Kindreds might well challenge over others. It is most suitable to the Government of the Universe, which is in God alone, who therefore acknowledged *Kings* for his *Pitegerents*, and called them *gods*, promising they should be nursing Fathers to his Church, and taking no notice here of other Governments. Hence our Kings owe account to him alone, are *Sacrosanct* (which term the *Romans* gave to their very *Tribunes*, who were inviolable, it being death to injure them in the least, and therefore we may well apply it to *Kings*) and that perpetually, and are intrusted by him with a Prerogative, which is necessary for the good of their Subjects. For all power flowing from them, it is contradictory for authority to challenge it self, as unnatural and violent, for a derived stream, to oppose the current of the Fountain.

The Antiquity of it.

And Authority of it.

Mecenas his advice to Cæsar for the ordering of his affairs.

Magistrates of Senatorian dignity.

14. But (to return from this requisite digression, whereby an answer is given to *Agrippa's* Arguments, and Students are directed to make the right and natural use of History) after that *Mecenas* had pressed *Cæsar* with these urgent reasons, to take the Government upon him, he gave him directions for the management of his affairs. First, he advised him to regulate the Senate, placing and displacing according to the worth of persons; and to have a special regard to Nobility and Gentry, to gratify them with employments. To admit none into the *Equestrian* rank before eighteen years of age, and none into the Senate till 25, before which time the *Romans* were never accounted of full age. When these had born the Offices of *Quæstor*, *Ædilis*, and *Tribunus plebis*, then being thirty years old, he would have them made *Pretors*, all which at first were to be *Romans* alone, lest he should seem suddenly to change the customs of his Country. All these Magistrates he would have of *Cæsar's* making, and not this power to be left in any case to the Senate, or People. He counselled him by all means to diminish their ancient power, which else might procure trouble and alteration, but leave them their whole honour and dignity. The way to this was to make them execute their Offices in the City, and not suffer them then, nor presently after, to have any Military command, but for some time to live privately. He would have these Magistrates, to celebrate games, and exercise judicial power in all cases, except that of Murder; for some Judges were to be chosen from amongst the rest of the Senators, but the chief power to remain in these. Then he said, a certain Governour or *Mayor* of the City was to be made out of the most principal men, who had born these Offices, to join with the rest in governing the City, to receive Appeals, and judge capital Causes, except some afterwards to be spoken of, both in the City; and 81 miles round about. Another of the same rank was to be chosen, who should make inspection into the Stock, Estates and Manners of Senators, and *Knights* or *Equites*, both those of under age and others, and as well of women as the other Sex, to correct such things, as being not worthy of punishment, yet being neglected might occasion great inconveniences; and refer the greater matters to *Cæsar* himself, who was to bear the name of *Censor*, and the other being a *Patrician*, and the next in dignity to the *Mayor*, but that of *Subcensor*. These two Officers might be, for life, except they committed some fault, or by old Age or Sickness were rendered unserviceable, for no damage could thence arise, his one having no Soldiers, and the other but a few, and who should execute his Office before *Cæsar's* eyes, for the most part. The other Magistrates, would fear to do any unjust thing, being presently to be reduced into a private condition.

Cæsar's directions to Agrippa.

dition, and others to succeed them in their power. He added, that the Provinces were only to be committed to men of *Prætorian rank*; the rest being *Pro-prætors* in order once and again, should arrive at the *Consulship*, (if they well exercised their former Offices) and then be preferred to greater commands.

15. 'He further advised him to divide *Italy*, for 94 miles round about the City, and all the rest of the conquered Countries after such a manner, according to People, Nations, and Cities, as if they were to be governed by single men with absolute power. In each of these Soldiers were to be placed, over whom was to be set one person of *Consular* dignity, and two more of *Prætorian rank*; from those there lying appeal to the other, in all cases, except when Officers of the Army were to be animadverted on, who were to be punished by none but *Cæsar* himself, lest they should thereby be brought by fearing some one more, to attempt something against the Prince. All those who had any command out of the City, were to have their Salaries set as was suitable to the Employment, for that they could not live of their own, and it was not convenient they should spend what they list, as they did at present. They were not to hold their employments under the term of three years, nor longer than five, for in so short a space they could but learn the interests of places, and how to behave themselves, and longer commands made men but proud, and provoked them to attempt new matters. And one great command he said, was not to be given them presently after another, for this would amount to as much, as if they had one continued to them; but after they had been reduced to a private condition, and therein lived at home. Thus much for Senators.

Of Equestrian rank.

16. 'From amongst the *Equestes*, he would have him chuse out two of the most excellent, and make them Captains of his Guard. For to commit that trust to one would not be safe, and to more than two, would not want trouble. Being two in number, if one should be treacherous, the other would preserve him. They were to be such as had been trained up in the Wars, and much exercised in Offices, and to have the command not only of his Guard, but of all Soldiers in *Italy*, so as to punish and reward them, except Centurions, and such as belonged to *Senatorial* Magistrats. These Captains of the Guard ought to have their *Deputies*, and hold their places for their lives, as also the *Mayor* of the City, and the *Subprefect*. Besides, out of the next rank of *Equestes*, one should be chosen for Captain of the Watch, and another to take care for provision of Corn, but these for a limited time. The care of the Treasury, Exchequer, and other matters, as well at *Rome* as throughout *Italy*, was to be committed to those of *Equestrian rank*, who were to have Salaries suitable to their condition, being poorer than *Senators*. He told him the reason why he would have these Offices committed to them, was, for that it was inconvenient to have both the Sword and Money in the same hands, and better that publick business should be managed by many, both that more might reap benefit from it, and learn experience; and hereby his Subjects would love him more, and he would have a sufficient number fit for employment. One *Eque* would be sufficient at *Rome* for gathering Money, and one in each Province, who might have assistants out of the *Equestes*, and *Cæsar's Liberti* or *Free men*. For he told him it was convenient to joyn those with them, that his Servants might get something, and he receive certain intelligence how matters should go. Now if any *Eque* (or *Knight*, if we may so call him) should grow so famous by business, as to be thought worthy to be received into the *Senatorial* rank, his age ought not to be any obstacle, and sometimes some Officers of the Army were to be received into the Senate, provided they had never been ordinary Soldiers, but from the beginning *Centurions* at the least.

Education of the Children of Senators and Equestes.

17. 'He further advised him to educate all of *Senatorial* and *Equestrian rank*; whilst they were boys, at School in humanity, and when grown up, in Fencing and Riding, by Masters hired publickly in both places. Forasmuch as it is the part of an excellent Prince, not only that he do well himself, but to take care that all else do so. This would be effected, not by permitting them to do ill, and then correcting them, but teaching them beforehand such things. And he added, That he needed not to fear, that such as were so excellently educated, would attempt innovation; forasmuch as such as were not cultivated by any discipline, but diffuse in breeding and carriage, were heretofore to be suspected, who easily would commit the most wicked and abominable things, both against themselves and others.

18. 'For-

The Militia and Money.

18. 'Forasmuch as by reason of the largeness of the Empire, and nearness of Enemies, it was necessary to have a standing Army, he would have levies made out of the poorest and lustiest young men, who being continually exercised and trained up in Military Discipline, all others were to be forbidden the use of Arms. Then for Money, which he shewed to be necessary for carrying on of Affairs, in all Governments, as well as under Monarchy, he advised him to make it of all publick Things gotten in War, and let it out upon moderate interest: to look well to the Mines, and impose Tribute upon all Subjects, it being reasonable that all should contribute to the expence of that, which tended to the protection and good of all. But there was no danger he said, but men would be willing to pay, seeing most of them should receive it back with advantage; either, by bearing Offices of Magistracy or Government, or serving in the War, especially when they understood that *Cæsar* himself lived soberly and frugally, not improving the publick expence to any private excess.

Rome to be adorned.

The Provinces curbed.

19. 'For the rest, he would have him adorn *Rome* with all Magnificence, and set it out with all sorts of Solemnities, to make it in great reverence and esteem abroad. No Nation was to have any power in its own hands, nor meet in any publick Assemblies of Debate, for that would procure Disturbance; for which reason neither was the *Roman* People, he said, to be permitted either to come together for passing of Judgment, to the *Comitia*, or any other Council, for the enacting of any thing. No City or People was to be suffered to use any excess in Buildings or in Games: none to use any peculiar Coin, Weight, or Measure. None were to send any peculiar message to him, except the matter required his inspection, but have recourse to the Governor of the place, who was therewith to acquaint *Cæsar*. Ambassadors either from Enemies or confederate Kings or States, were to have Audience from the Senate, that the power seeming to be in the Senate, they might see how many Enemies they should have if the case so required, and Matters being dispatched by consent of the *Fathers*, the Majesty of the Empire would be the more established. All of *Senatorial* rank he would have impeached before, and judged by the Senate, that *Cæsar* might escape the envy of Condemnation, and others by so formal proceedings, might be kept in awe. As for any scandalous words against himself, he told him, he should neither hear any accusation, nor punish them. For it was not good, he said, that he should believe, that any one would injure him, who hurt no body, but did good to all; for, faith he, bad Princes only do this, whom their guilty Conscience make credulous. Neither is it fitting to take those things ill, which if true, ought not to have been done, and if false, should be neglected and dismissed: for that many by punishing them, minister greater occasion of worse discourse. His sense therefore of scandalous words was this: that he ought to be higher than all injury, and neither himself to fancy, nor make others believe, that any one durst be so fawcy, but that the same opinion of veneration was had of him, as of the eternal Gods. If any plotted his destruction, he would neither have him himself to judge, nor sentence him, but refer him to the Senate, and if he were convicted, to punish him as lightly as might be, that his Crime might gain belief. But he here excepted such, as having command of Armies, made open Insurrections, who were not to be formally Arraigned, but punished as Enemies.

How scandalous words to be thought of.

How Traitors to be punished.

The Senate to be made use of.

20. 'These things, and most of the rest which concerned the Common-wealth, he would have him propound to the Senate, wherein all the Members should have equal power of Voting, except any of them were accused. If the party indeed were not as yet a *Senator*, or but of the rank of a *Questor*, all might have voices; but it was against reason that he, who never had been a *Triumvir* of the People, or *Ædilis*, should pass Sentence upon him that had born these Offices, or that those should do it upon one of *Prætorian* rank, or such an one upon a *Consular* person: but it was fitting enough that those of *Consular* Dignity might judge all the several sorts, and the rest their Equals or Inferiours. *Cæsar* himself was to be Judge in all Appeals, made from the greater sorts of Magistrats, his Procurators, the Governor of the City, Subprefect, *Præfidi*, *Prætorio*, Overseers of Provisions or Providers, and Masters of the Watches: for none ought to have so absolute a power, but that appeal ought to lie from him. Of these he ought to take Cognizance, as also of the causes of *Equestes*, *Centurions*, or *prime Officers*, when the Controversie was about Life or Reputation.

H h h h h

For

In what Cases Appeals ought to lie to Caesar.

Military men not to be rewarded.

Rules for Caesar's General carriage.

Deferring persons rather to be rewarded above than below their merits.

For these Cases ought to be referred to him alone, and for the fore-mentioned causes none other ought to judge them. Yet to the hearing of them he might nominate some of the principal men of *Senatorial* or *Equeſtrian* rank, or of *Conſular*, or *Prætorian* Dignity, that he and they having had hereby experience one of another, he might employ them in other matters abroad. In the Cases of greatest consequence he would not have him ask their opinions openly, lest favouring their friends they might not speak freely their minds; but their opinions were to be written down, and then presently blotted out, which secrecy would procure them to use all freedom. He advised him in his affairs of Causes, Letters, business of Cities, and Petitions of private men, and in other things of Government, to use the assistance of the *Equites*. To refuse to hear no man's advice, and to look at the Will, and not at the Success, both of Councillors and Soldiers; as, neither, to envy the glory of Military Men. For, many fearing the envy of Princes and States, have rather chosen to lose than gain in the Wars, to provide for their own safety. Wherefore he would not have him (whom especially the event, either as to profit or disprofit would concern) in word others, and in deed, to envy himself.

21. He desired him to speak and do such things, as he would have his Officers to think and practice, for this would more easily teach them their duty, Men being led more by Example than Precept, and the Actions of Princes being especially tried into, and more imitated than their threatenings feared. The lives of others he should look into, but not greatly enquire: what Crimes by others were detected he ought to punish, but discernible such as had no accuser, and know how to correct mildly, which in some cases doth more good than rigorous Proceedings. Then as for Rewards, he told him, he was to requite deserving persons rather above than below their merits; for this was the way to win upon them, and to make them virtuous. He then advised him not to admit of any extraordinary Honours from Senate or others: for this would be needless, chargeable, and dangerous. He bade him by virtue seek for immortality, not by Temples built unto his name. The gods he told him he was ever, and all over to worship, according to the custom of his Country, and compel others so to do: and to punish Authors of strange Religions, not only for reverence to his gods, but also because such things draw men to the use of foreign Customs, whence Conspiracies, and Bandings arise, which are no whit agreeable with the Government of a single person. Neither was he to suffer any *Magicians*; and to have a care of *Philosophers* also, who by their foretellings often raised Seditions. He was to be studious of peace, content with present enjoyments, and yet to be ready for War upon all occasions. Though he must use Intelligencers and Spies; yet he ought not to be too credulous, and not indulge his Servants or Dependents too much; for all their failings would be imputed to him. He was to right inferior and private men, encourage Arts, and profitable Occupations, as to punish idle, and vicious persons; not to suffer contentions, or animosities to grow, nor peculiar names to be assumed, nor any other thing whence discord might arise. He was to keep an equality in his granting requests as much as could be; and therefore not to suffer any to ask him what he should not grant; but to endeavour that none should petition for any thing forbidden. In sum, he advised him never to abuse his Power, and not to think this a Diminution of it, if he did not do all that he might: but by how much the more he could do what he would, by so much to take care to will all things that became him. He bade him always consider whether he did well or ill: whether by such an action he procured love or ill will, that he might do and forbear accordingly. He told him, That though he heard no body blame him, yet ought he not to conclude, that therefore he did well; nor to expect that any should be so mad as openly to upbraid him. This no man would do, though most extremely injured. Nay, many, faith he, are constrained openly to commend those by whom they have been wronged, lest they should be thought to blame them. But 'tis the duty of a Prince not to guess at the affections of others from their words; but from those things which 'tis most probable that they think of.

22. These, and other like things he would have him do; for many things he said he passed over, because all could not be spoken at the same time. One thing he would say, which was the sum of all, either said or to be said. If he would do all those things, which if he were a subject he would have his Prince do

to

The sum of all Miracles his advice.

to him, he should in nothing offend, prosper in all things, and lead both a safe, and most happy life. For how could not all but look upon him, and love him as a Father, and Preserver, when they should see him modest, of unblameable life, and excellent both in Peace and War; when he should neither disgrace nor injure any one, but carry himself humbly; not exact Money from others, whilst he himself flowed with wealth; not afflicting others whilst he was luxurious; not punishing others whilst he himself was loose and licentious; but in all things as it were sharing with them: Therefore relying on that defence which he was great in thyself if thou hurst not man; Believe me, faith he, thou wilt have no body, either hate thee, or devise any thing against thee, which being so, thou must needs lead a pleasant life. For, what can be more sweet, what more happy, than for one with virtue to enjoy all humane good things, and to be able to confer them upon others? In conclusion, those, and other things heretofore spoken being considered, he bade him yield to him, and not contemn Fortune, which had preferred him, picked out from amongst all others, to be chief. Now, if taking in reality to himself alone the Sovereign power, he feared the Name of a Kingdom as odious, he might omit that, and order his matters under the other of Caesar: if he desired other titles they would give him that of *Imperator*, heretofore given to his Father: they would adorn him also with some other venerable note of Honour, so that he might enjoy all the Privileges of a Kingdom without the envied name thereof.

Caesar followed the advice of Mæcenas.

To take the title of *Imperator*, and order several Matters.

23. Mæcenas concluded with these words, whose advice Caesar followed, though he greatly commended them both for wisdom, copiousness, and freedom of speech: yet he did not presently set upon all those things which he offered, lest if on a sudden he should attempt to change the constitution of the State, he might fail in his endeavours: therefore some things he changed out of hand, others afterwards: and some things he left to be perfected by his Successors, which he thought might be better settled through the advantage of time and opportunity. He ruled also the industry of Agrippa in the prosecution of these designs no less than if he had advised him to this course. In this same year, and his fifth Consulship, he took the name of *Imperator*; not in that sense wherein anciently it was wont to be given for Victories obtained (for so he had it given him often both before this and after) but in respect of chief Command, or Authority, as it had been decreed to his Father *Julius*, and his Sons and Posterity. Then was he made *Censor* with Agrippa, and amongst other things belonging to that Office, purged the Senate, into which many *Equites* and unworthy *Plebeians* had crept during the Civil Wars; and increased it to the number of a thousand. Two persons, viz. *C. Cilius* and *C. Farnius* he put into the rank of *Conſulares*; because being designed *Consuls* they had been prevented by others. He also ranked certain Families amongst the *Patricians*; because most of those had perished in the Wars. He commanded that no Senator without his leave should pass beyond *Italy*, which is at this day observed, faith *Dio*. It being unlawful for any of that rank to travel, except into *Sicily*, or *Gallia Narbonensis*, whether any that had Estates in those Provinces might go without leave; because those Countries were in quiet and destitute of Arms. Caesar also considering that many Senators and others trusted him not; lest they should attempt new matters, he gave out that he had burned all the Letters found in Antony his Officers: and indeed some of them were lost, but most of them he very carefully kept, and afterwards made use of them as he had occasion. He sent for *Antiochus Commagenus*, who had treacherously killed his Brother, sent on an Embassy to Rome, and put him to Death, being condemned by the Senate.

Mæcenas a Jew.

24. Caesar in his sixth Consulship, together with M. Agrippa his Colleague made a *Lustrum* 41 years after the last Celebration of one (by *Cn. Lentulus* and *L. Cælius*) and herein were censed 4063000 Polls of Roman Citizens. He celebrated Games also, which had been decreed in memory of his Victory at *Actium*, and it was ordered they should be renewed every fifth year, four Colleges of Priests taking care of them, viz. the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Septemviri*, and *Quindecimviri* by courses. He caused other sorts of Games and Exercises to be made at his own cost, borrowing Money; ordered that two persons of *Prætorian* rank should yearly oversee the Treasury, gave to the people four times as much Corn as they were wont to have, to some Senators he gave Money, some of this rank being so poor, that they could not bear Offices belonging to them. All Intaggements and Debts to the Exchequer he made void that stood good before the Battle at *Actium*.

H h h h h z

except

except what concerned Buildings. He suffered no Sacrifice to be offered to Egyptian gods within the *Pomarium*, took also care for repairing of Temples. And because many unjust things had been, ordained during the late Seditions and Civil Wars, especially in the *Triumvirate*, he made them all void by one Edict and caused them to cease from his sixth *Consulship*. Being in the eyes and mouths of all for these things, he considered how he might increase his reputation, and confirm his single power by the consent, and without the constraint of the people. Being then *Consul* the seventh time, when he had prepared every Senator before-hand, whom he knew to be well affected towards him, he came to the Senate-house, and there read a set Speech which he had written down fitly for this purpose.

Preceding in
a set Speech to
the Senate, a
desire to lay
down his
Power.

25. 'Herein he first exceedingly magnified with much affected Art, the things he was about to do, and then signified, That though he had such opportunity to establish himself as no man ever had more, yet did he now devote himself of all power, and restore all unto them, Arms, Laws, and Provinces: and not only *such things as he had been intrusted with, but he gave them besides what he himself had further acquired*. This then his gift he much illustrated by his self-denial, shewn as well formerly as at present, being very sorry that ever there had been occasion for the Commonwealth to use him. He spake of the Justice and Prudence of this Resignation, and boasted of the glory of it, which he avowed to exceed the Conquests of *Gall, Mysia, Egypt, or Pannonia*, the Victories over *Pharnces, Juba, or Phraates*, the expedition into *Brittain* or the passage of the *Rhine*, and all the difficulties of the Civil Wars. He demanded if any could be found that excelled him in greatness of mind, who had so many Cities, Nations, and Soldiers at his back, and whom none durst oppose? *Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus*, and the *Decii*, who ventured their lives for glory, were not comparable to him, for as much as by this Resignation he exceeded both them, and all others in glory. And shewed hence that the gallantry of Spirit found in the ancient Romans was not extinct. Having discoursed much in this vein, he concluded with his advice to the Senate how to manage Publick Affairs, telling them, That if they followed it, they would be happy and thankful to him, who refusing them from Seditions, had brought them into that estate: but if they did not punctually observe it, they would make him repent of what he had done, and cast themselves again into manifold Wars, and great Dangers.

26. *Cæsar* having read his writing, the Minds of the Senators were marvelously affected. Some there were who knew his design, and therefore agreed with him; the rest either suspected his intent, or believed him. Of these some admired his craft in concealing his purposes; others were troubled at his design: some at his cunning; and others at his refusal of the Government. For there were some who hated the *Popular* form as turbulent, and approving of the change, were well pleased with *Cæsar's* administration. Yet the product of these several affections was the same; for neither they that believed he spake as he thought, could rejoice; those that wished he were reduced to a private condition, being yet fearful how things would go; and they that desired he might keep his power, being sorry for the loss of their hopes. Neither could they that believed him not reprehend him, because to some will, and to others courage was wanting. No man yet, whether he believed him, or believed him not, durst commend his Speech, for that some liked it not, and others feared to do it. Wherefore having often interrupted him whilst speaking, when he had done, they all bough him with many words, that he would alone undertake the Government, and by many Arguments compelled him at length to accept of the Sovereignty. Then that his Person might be preserved, they presently decreed the pay of his Guard to be double to that of other Soldiers.

Thereby con-
firmeth it.

Divideth the
Provinces be-
twix the Se-
nate and him-
self.

27. *Cæsar* by this Artifice pretending that he would lay down his Power, effected that it was confirmed to him, by Senate and People. Yet that he might seem to be Popular, he said, He would not govern all the Provinces, nor obtain perpetual Power over such as he should take care of; therefore the weaker, because they were more quiet, he left to others: the most powerful which had appearance of most danger (having an Enemy near at hand, or likely to be turbulent) he kept himself, under pretence that the Fathers might enjoy their Power fairly, and he himself undergo labour and dangers; but by this device he rendered the Senate really helpless, and weak, and engrossed to himself the Militia. To the Senate and People was left *Africk, Numidia, Asia, Greece, with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicily, Crete, Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, with the neighbouring *Pontus, Sardinia*,

dinia, and that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Bætica*. *Cæsar* kept the rest of *Spain*, all *Gall* and *Germany*, as also *Cæleſtyria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*. Over these Provinces he assumed the Government but for ten years, within which time he undertook to reduce them into order, adding with a certain juvenile kind of boasting, that as soon as ever he could quiet them, he would quit his Power. Then did he let over the Provinces of both sorts, men of *Patrician* Dignity, but over *Egypt* one of *Equestrian* rank only, for the causes above rehearsed. To Senators he allotted by themselves *Africk* and *Asia*, and the rest of the Provinces to *Pretorians*. He forbade either to take this employment within five years after they had born Offices in the City. They held their Governments but for a year. And as soon as Successors were sent them, they were presently to depart the Provinces, and not loiter in their return, but come to *Rome* within three months. The distribution of the Provinces was made on the Ides of January, as may be gathered from *Ovid*, who thought also that *Cæsar Octavianus* had the Surname of *Augustus* given him the same day, which indeed was the fourth day after, as appeareth from *Conſorinius*.

Surnamed
Augustus.

28. For, the Provinces being divided, and all things settled, it was debated in the Senate, whether he ought not to be called *Romulus*, because he had founded the Empire; but the other more venerable name of *Augustus*, propounded by *Mucianus Plancius*, at length seemed best; for, Sacred Places and Temples consecrated by *Augustus*, the Romans termed *Augusta*. *Cæsar* though he much desired that *Romulus* (saith *Dio*) yet perceiving he should be suspected of affecting the Nature of Man, omitted it, and was surnamed *Augustus*, as greater than the Nature of Man could make him. For those things are called *Augusta*, which are most worthy of Honour, and most Sacred; wherefore the Greeks express it by *Σέβας*, as if thou shouldest say Venerable. Thus *Cæsar* alone got the whole Power into his thou shouldest say Venerable. Thus *Cæsar* alone got the whole Power into his hands, having both Money (for though he had his own separate from the Treasuries, yet did he use this at his pleasure) and the Militia in his own hands. When first, yet did he use this at his pleasure) and the Militia in his own hands. And his ten years were out after five, and when they were expired five more, and these ended, ten more, and ten more after them were added; so that he had his Authority still continued for his life; for which cause his Successors, though they had the Power settled on them for life, yet at the end of every ten years solemnized as it were the renewing of it. As soon as *Cæsar* had but made his Oration about resigning his Command, and distributing the Provinces, many Honours were conferred on him, as that Laurel should be planted before his Gates in the *Palatium*, and upon those trees Oaken Garlands hung, as for him who was a perpetual Conqueror of Enemies, and Preserver of Citizens. The House of the Emperor also was wont afterwards to be called the *Palatium* or *Palace*; not for that it was ever so decreed; but because *Cæsar* lived in the *Palatium* or *Palatine* hill, and there was his *Pretorium*; his House also received some Dignity from the Mount it self, because *Romulus* there lived: therefore though the Emperor, saith the Historian, live elsewhere, yet is his House called the *Palatium* or *Palace*. But after he had done those things which he promised, then was he called *Augustus* by the Senate and People. From this day forward began the sovereign Power and Authority to be in the hands of one man, which the Greeks called Monarchy. Yet the Romans derived the Epochs of their *Augusti* from the Kalends of January of this year, as *Conſorinius* writeth, who compareth with the 265 year of this *Æra*, the 283 of the Julian ordination. This seventh Consulship of *Augustus Cæsar*, and the beginning of his Monarchy, fell out in the 727 year of the City, the second of the 188 Olympiad, the thirteenth of *Herod* the Great, 25 before the Birth of *Christ*, A.M. 3978, he himself, as it's said, the seventh, and *M. Vipsianus Agrippa* the third time being *Consuls*.

All Power of
Senate and
People trans-
ferred upon
him.

29. On this manner all the power of the People and Senate was transferred upon *Augustus*, saith *Dio*. For this notable translation and change in the Government there was a Law made, which is famous by the name of *Lex Regia*, after *V. C.* 727, which it's convenient to make a little enquiry, for the better information of Students in this great affair. A Law may be so (and is so) called, either for that a King made, or preferred it, or because it was made and enacted concerning a King or Kingly power. In the first fence, such Laws as were made by *Romulus* and his Successors the ancient Kings of *Rome*, are by Lawyers called *Leges Regiæ*; whereof *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* hath recorded many, and of which several have been already mentioned in their due places; and in the (2) Code is yet extant a Law called *Lex Regia*, concerning the Burial of a woman with Child, so called, because enacted

Lih. 55. p. 117
De M. 3978
Ol. 188. an. 2.
V. C. 727.
Hæred. 13.

(2) Tit. de mor.
tu. inf. c. 2.

must not forget, that while he lay at *Tarraco* discontented at his own ill success, yet at the same time he received great Honor from the other Ends of the World. For having begun there his Ninth Consulship, Ambassadors came to him out of *India*, sent by King *Pandion*, to whom other Writers adde others from the *Scythians*, *Garapantes* and *Bactrians*.

Ambassadors
out of India
and other
Parts.

Galatia hath a
Roman Govern-
or.

The Temple
of Jove thus
again.

Pantheon
whence so
called.

Augustus ho-
nored by the
Senate.

His Wives.

His Daughter
Julia.

Arabia invad-
ed by Julius
Cæsar.

39. To *Julia* in stead of his Father's Kingdom, he now gave certain Regions of *Gerulia*, most of which were reduced to Roman Customs; as also certain Countries of *Bocchus* and *Bogudes*. *Amyntas* being dead, he did not deliver over his Kingdom to his Sons, but made it a Province, and the Towns of *Pamphilia* formerly subject to *Amyntas*, were restored to their liberty. About this time *M. Vincerius* by Defeating and Punishing some *Germans* who had killed certain *Romans* that came into their Country to Traffick, obtained also for *Augustus* the Title of *Imperator*; and for this and other Achievements, Triumphs were decreed to him, which he refused. Yet upon the *Alps* was erected a Triumphal Arch, and Power was given to all to wear Garlands, and the Triumphal Garments. Having finished these Wars after this manner, he shut again the Temple of *Janus*, which had been opened upon account of them. *Agrippa* at the same time adorned the City with several Works at his own proper charge, and amongst the rest he perfected the *Pantheon*. *Dio* tells us, that perhaps it was so called because it received the Images of many gods in those of *Mars* and *Venus*; but he rather thinks it took that Name from its arched Roof, whereby it resembled Heaven. *Agrippa* would have placed in it the Statue of *Augustus*, and put his Name to the Work; but he refusing as well the one as the other, he put that of *Cæsar* deceased within the *Pantheon*, and those of *Augustus* and himself in the Porch or Entry. All this proceeding from kindness to him, and love to his Country, *Augustus* took well, and honored him upon occasion for it. Being sick, and not in a condition to celebrate the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia* with *Marcellus* his Sister's Son, he procured him to do it at *Rome* in his Absence. And the House upon the *Palatine Hill* being burnt which formerly had belonged to *Antonius*; but since had been granted to *Messala* and *Agrippa*; he bestowed Money on *Messala*, but received *Agrippa* into his own House.

40. *Augustus* being Consul the tenth time with *Norbanus*, on the Calends of *January*, the Senate by Oath approved his Acts; and now being on his way to the City, whence he had been detained long by Sickness, and having promised a Donative of an hundred *Denarii* to every man, but denied to pay it till the Senate should consent, and the Fathers freed him from the necessity of Laws, so as being of full Power, he might do all things according to his own will. After his return other things were done to honor him. It was decreed that *Marcellus* should have place in the Senate amongst those of *Prætorian* Rank, and might stand for the Consulship ten years sooner than it was permitted by the Laws. And in favour of *Tiberius*, it was ordained that he might stand for any Office of Magistracy five years before the time; and shortly after the one was made *Quæstor*, and the other *Ædilis*. Now for these two Persons thus honoured, we have seen who this *Marcellus* was, and must inquire after *Tiberius*. We must know then that the first Wife of *Augustus* was *Scribonia*, which had been Married to two Persons of Consular Dignity, and by one was a Mother; for as for the Daughter of *Servilius Iliarius*, he was only contracted to her when young; and *Claudia* the Daughter of *P. Clodius* by *Fulvia*, though he Married her, yet he dismissed her untouched. By *Scribonia* he had a Daughter called *Julia*, and shortly after Divorced her for the perversity of her Manners, as he wrote. Then did *Nero*, who had followed *L. Antonius* to *Perusium*, but afterward was reconciled, freely yielded unto him *Livia Drusilla*; though he had one Son already by her, which was this *Tiberius*, and she was big with another; who being born three months after she had Married *Cæsar*, was called *Drusus*. By *Livia* he had no Children but Abortive. His Daughter *Julia*, as we said, he Married to *Marcellus*, the Son of his Sister *Octavia*.

41. The *Cantabri* and *Astures* presently after the departure of *Augustus*, rebelled, and were presently after reduced to obedience to their Coft. And *Arabia* the Happy was invaded by *Ælius Gallus*, having then *Sabos* for its King, by order from *Augustus*, that if the *Arabians* let him pass, he should agree with them, but make War upon them if they used any force or violence. At first, none appeared to make any opposition; but it proved a very tedious and troublesome Journey,

Augustus to
Norbanus Cæsar.

Gatten in Olla
vincit. C. 62, 63.

Agrippa
Dilectæ waives
the Army.

Agrippa re-
covers from a
dangerous
Sickness.

In which he
named no Suc-
cessor.

Marcellus and
Agrippa dis-
agree.

The gener-
osity of Au-
gustus.

by the Treachery of *Syllæus* the chief Minister of *Obodes*, King of the *Nabatheans*, who had taken upon him to Conduct *Gallus*. Besides, the Deiert, the heat of the Sun, and the badness of the Water, so afflicted the Soldiers, that the greatest part of the Army miscarried. This Disease being like to none of those that were then known, lay in the Head; and as *Dio* describes it, that part being dried, destroyed many out of hand; and in such as escaped Death, it ran through the whole Body into the Feet, and there so held them, that no Remedy would give them ease, except they drank Wine and Oil mingled together, and therewith anointed themselves, which only very few could do, neither of the Ingredients growing there, nor being brought along by the *Romans*. By the Assistance of this Disease, the *Barbarians* recovered such Towns as had been taken from them, and expelled such as remained alive out of the Country. However in the Opinion of some, he did extraordinarily well, and had well succeeded, but that he was betrayed by *Syllæus*. But *Dio* tells us, that these were the first, and he thinks the last of the *Romans* that proceeded so far in *Arabia* in an hostile manner, peircing as far as *Atblula* (or *Atbrula*) a famous City.

42. The following year, being the DCCCXXXI of *Rome*, had for Consuls, *As- Anno V. C. 731.*
gustus the eleventh time, and *Calpurnius Piso*. *Augustus* fell so grievously Sick, that no hope there was of his Recovery, and therefore he disposed of all things, as being to leave the World. Calling to him the Magistrates, and the chief of *Senators* and *Equites*, he named no man his Successor, though all imagined it would have been *Marcellus*; but having spoken his Mind concerning some points, he delivered to *Piso* a Book, wherein he had made a Catalogue of the Armies, and Publick Revenues; and his King to *Agrippa*. But when nothing he could use would relieve him, *Antonius Musa*, by cooling Baths and Potions; restored him to Health; for which he had much Money given him, both by *Augustus*, and the Senate, as also the use of a Gold Ring (for he was but a *Liberus* or *Freedman*) and Immunity was granted not only to him, but to all of his Profession for the time to come. But that it might appear that this *Musa* arrogated to himself what was the work of fate and fortune, it happened not long after that *Marcellus* falling Sick, and ordered by him after the same manner, died under his hands, and had a publick Funeral, with other Honours. But *Cæsar* being recovered, brought the Testament he had made into the Senate, and would have shewn it to the World, that he had designed no Successor; but the whole Assembly was against the reading of it. However, it caused great wonder in all men, that he should not name *Marcellus* his Nephew, and Son-in-law, whom he so tenderly loved, and honored, especially in the discharge of his Office of *Ædilis*; but that before him he should rather prefer *Agrippa*. But he could not trust to the young years of *Marcellus*; and he had a mind either that the People should recover its liberty, or to prefer *Agrippa* to the Supreme Power, whom, though he knew to be extraordinarily beloved; yet he himself would not advance him. Being recovered, he found that *Marcellus* was displeased with *Agrippa*, and therefore to prevent all quarrels and contentions betwixt them, he sent away *Agrippa* for *Syria*. Yet he went not into *Syria* himself, but still using more Moderation, sent thither his Legates and staid at *Lesbos*. Thus writes *Dio* of his Moderation; whereas *Suetonius* accuseth him of Passion, and commends *Augustus* for bearing with him, in that being moved with a light suspicion of Rigour, and because *Marcellus* was preferred before him, he left all, and went to *Mitylene*, in the Isle of *Lesbos*. By this it appears that the disfatisfaction of these two Persons was mutual, and that *Augustus* had much ado to please them both.

43. Now he made only ten *Prætors*, because he had no need of more, and these to hold for several years. Then did he retire, and resigned the Consulship; for both he and others, having since the settlement of the State, held that Dignity an whole year, he would have the course altered, that many might enjoy it; and therefore he went out of the City, that he might not be hindered from laying it down. This was very much commended in him, as also that he subrogated in his place *L. Sestius*, a Person that had always favoured the cause of *Brutus*, had assisted him throughout the War, still revered his Memory, kept his Images, and was so bold as to commend him; but *Augustus* not only not hated, but honoured him for his Friendship and Fidelity. The Senate affected with these his Actions, in way of acknowledgment, decreed that he should be *Tribunus Plebis* for life; that as often as the Senate met, he might report matters, though he was not Consul; that he should always enjoy *Pro-Consular* Power, neither should

C. 66.

More Honours
decreed to
him.

he lay it down when he came into the City, or have any need to renew it; nay, that he should have greater Power in the Provinces, than the Governors themselves. Thence came it to pass that he and his Successors, as by a certain Law, enjoyed the Tribunal, and the other Powers. For as to the Name it self, neither *Augustus*, nor any other bore that of *Triunus Plebis*. And *Dio* verily believed that the Fathers did not do this out of Flattery, but in Sincerity; for he dealt with them in all respects as freemen. So when *Triunates* himself, and Ambassadors, came from *Pbraates* for composing their Differences, he introduced them into the Senate, and the hearing of the Cause being committed to him, he would not deliver up *Triunates* to *Pbraates*; yet the Son of *Pbraates* whom he had formerly received, he sent back, that in exchange he might have the Captives and Military Ensigns returned, which were taken in the Overthrows of *Craffus* and *Antony*. This same year, a certain *Ædilis Plebis* dying, *C. Calpurnius* succeeded him, who had been *Ædilis Curulis*; such a thing as never before had been heard of. In the *Ferias*, there were every day two *Præfests* of the City, where of one had not attained to ripeness of Age. The death of *Marcellus* by some was imputed to *Livia*, who could not endure he should be preferred before her own Sons; yet the Sickliness of the year rendred it doubtful, by which a great multitude was swept away. This our Author thinks was brokeden by a Wolf found in the City, by Fire, and Tempest, and the overflowing of *Tiber* to such an height that the Bridge called *Pons Sublicius* was born down, and Rome continued Navigable for three days.

44. The next Year, had for Consuls *M. Marcellus*, and *L. Aruntius*, accompanied with so many discouraging Accidents, and so great a Plague, that the Grounds in *Italy* were left untilld. The *Romans* grieved with both Plague and Famine, imagined they proceeded from no other cause, than that they had not this year also *Augustus* for Consul. Therefore they required that he should be made *Dilatator*, and kept the Senate so long in the Court, till they decreed it; threatening else to set it on fire. They repaired to *Augustus*, with four and twenty *Falces* beseeching him to accept the *Dilatatorship*, and to suffer himself to be made *Procurator* of Provisions, as formerly *Pompey* had been. Though unwilling, he accepted of the last Employment, and caused for every year two Persons to be chosen, who had five years before discharged the *Pratorship*, to distribute the Corn. But he would by no means admit of the *Dilatatorship*, and when he could no other way refrain the People, he tore his Robe, being so wife as to decline the *Odium* and Envy, when he had already both the Honour and Power that was larger than that which they offered to him. He made the same refusal when they would needs create him perpetual *Censor*; for he would neither accept of that Honour, but named two *Censors*, which were *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*. And these were the last *Censors* of private men, which now also *Dio* faintly, was predicted to them. For, their Tribunal the first day they entered their Office, fell down, and was broken; and thenceforth were no *Censors* created like unto them. And though they bore the Office, yet did *Augustus* do many things belonging to it. Some Meetings he took quite away, and others he Reformed. He required the *Prætors* to take care of the Celebration of all Games; yet so that something should be allowed them by the People. But by an *Edict* ordained that none should in particular bestow more upon them than others did; as also that without Command of the Senate, none should exhibit the show of *Gladiators*; nor often than twice in one year, nor more *Gladiators* than one hundred and twenty.

45. To the *Ædiles Curules* he committed the charge of Extinguishing Fires, allowing them fix hundred Slaves for that Service. And because that *Equites*, and many *Illustrious* Women danced in the *Orchestra*, he forbade not only that the Children of Senators, which already had been Prohibited, but their Grandchildren, and those of the *Equestrian* Order, should do it for the future. In these matters he carried himself like a Legislator, and an Emperor; but in other things he so far humbled himself, as even to plead for some of his Friends that were called to answer. So it happened, that a Day was assigned to one *M. Primus* to give an Account, who being Governor of *Macedonia*, had made War upon the *Odrysi*: He pleading sometimes that he did it by order from *Augustus*, and otherwhiles from *Marcellus*; *Augustus*, without sending for, came into Court, and being asked by the *Prætor*, whether he had ordered him to make War, denied it. Hereupon did *Licinius Murena*, who undertook the defence of *Primus*, revile

Conspirators
against him
punished.

revile him, and demanded of him what he did there, and who called him thither; to which he answered, That it was the Commonwealth. This took so with those of iustinder Judgments, that they commended him for it, and gave him leave to assemble the Senate as often as he pleased; but others had ill thoughts of him, and some there were who not only acquitted *Primus*, but conspired against *Augustus*. The Ringleader of them was *Fannius Cæpio*, and *Murena* was, whether truly or falsely, accounted Guilty, who had indeed a very intemperate Tongue, and would use it against any one, even to the uneasiness of the Hearers. These absenting themselves were Banished, and a little after put to Death, *Murena* receiving no relief from *Proculus* his Brother, nor from *Mecænas* the Husband of his Sister, though in great esteem with *Augustus*. However, these Conspirators were absolved by the Votes of some of the Judges, which caused him to make a Law, that none should secretly give Sentence in behalf of those Criminals that did not appear, but that all such should be Condemned without hearing. And he shewed that he did it for the publick good, and not thereunto incited by Passion. The Father of *Cæpio* manumitted one of those Slaves, who fled away with his Son, because he assisted him to his power when he was seized; and another for that he betrayed his Master, he caused to be led through the Town, with a Writing which expressed the cause of his Punishment, and to be nailed to a Cross. This *Augustus* did not take in any evil part.

46. At this same time he resorted to the People *Cyprus*, and *Gallia Narbonensis*, as not needing the Protection of his Arms, and thenceforth *Proconsuls* began to be sent into those Provinces. Now also did he Dedicate a Temple to *Jupiter the Thunderer*; and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* about this time Rebelled, the latter being provoked by the Insolence and Cruelty of *Carisus*, and the former by their Example. They were quickly reduced, the greatest part of the *Cantabri* killing themselves, as not enduring to outlive their Liberty. At the same time the *Ethiopians* that inhabited about *Egypt*, upon Conduct of their Queen *Candace*, wasted all Regions as far as the City *Elephantina*, where when they heard that *C. Petronius* the Governor of *Egypt* was coming against them, they endeavoured to make a Retreat, but were found out and Defeated by him; and upon this occasion he was drawn into their Country. There did he order his Affairs very well, taking, amongst others, the Royal City *Tanape*, which having Demolished, and a Garrison left in another place, he retreated with the greatest part of his Army, being not able to proceed for the heat and sand, nor having convenience there to stay with all his Forces: yet hearing that the *Ethiopians*, whom he had left in *Garrison*, were Attacked, he returned and relieved them, and constrained *Candace* to receive terms of an Accommodation. While these things passed, *Augustus* went into *Sicily*, to settle Affairs there; and thence to pass into all Provinces, as far as *Syria*, and do the like.

47. He being absent, the People of *Rome* fell into Tumult, upon Creation of the new Consuls, and thereby shewed that the Commonwealth could not continue under Popular Government. One place of the Consulship was reserved for *Augustus*, and *M. Lælius* bore alone the title at the beginning of the year. When he had declared his refusal, *Q. Lepidus*, and *L. Silenus* became Candidates, and used such means to compass their Ends, that wife men desired that the Emperor would return to *Rome*. Yet did he not return, but sending for the Candidates, rebuked them for their Extravagant seeking of Voices, and Commanded them both to be absent from the Election. But this did little good, it procured not more orderly or quiet proceedings, so that very difficultly, at last was *Lepidus* created Consul. Hereat *Augustus* was much disturbed, and it not being possible that he should always be at the City, he found a Necessity of making a Governor to prevent these Disorders. *Agrippa* he thought the fittest man, and to gain him more awe and Authority, he caused him to Divorce his Wife, though she was his Sister's Daughter, and to marry *Julia*, and he sent him presently thither to consummate the Marriage, and take the Government. Amongst other Arguments which suggested to him this course, the laying of *Mecænas*, moved him, who being consulted about this Affair, gave this Answer, That he had already made *Agrippa* so great, that there was necessity he should be his Son in Law, or be taken away by Death. *Agrippa* composed the Disorders in the City, and banished out of it the *Egyptian* Rites and Ceremonies, which again had crept into it, forbidding by an *Edict*, that they should be celebrated within half a Mile. But he could not appease the Tumult about making a *Præfest* of the place for the Festivals; and so the year pass'd over without that Officer.

He still refused them.

The last census of private Men.

Agrippa his Consecrations.

Petronius perished into Ethiopia.

The People of Rome fell into Sedition.

Agrippa is made Governor of Rome, and Marries Julia.

48. *Augustus* having settled Matters in *Sicily*, where he made *Syracuse* and other Cities, *Roman Colonies*, passed over into *Greece*. There he bestowed *Cithæra* on the *Lacedæmonians*, and honoured them with his Company, because they had harboured *Livia* with her Husband and Son when they fled out of *Italy*. Some reported, that he took *Ægina* and *Eretria* from the *Athenians*, because they had favoured the Cause of *Antony*, and Commanded them to admit of none to be Citizens for Money. From *Greece* he sailed to *Samus*, and there wintered. In Spring, when *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius* were Consuls, he passed over into *Asia*, and settled Matters in *Bithynia*, and other Provinces he passed through, with no less care, than if they had belonged to himself, and not to the People. Remarkable it is, that he condemned those of *Cyzicus* to slavery, because they had Whipped, and put to Death some *Roman Citizens*, and in *Syria* he inflicted the same Punishment upon the *Tyrrians*, and *Sidonians* for their Faction. In the mean time, *Phraates* having performed nothing of what he was obliged to by Agreement, now fearing that *Augustus* would be upon him, sent to him the Military Ensigns, and all Captives, some few excepted, who out of shame killed themselves, or lurked about in *Parthia*, and he received them with the same apprehensions, as if he had overthrown the *Parthians* in War. Having recovered these things without bloodshed, upon that account he both caused Sacrifices to be offered, and Commanded that a Temple should be decreed in the Capitol to *Mars the Avenger* (in imitation of that of *Jupiter Feretrius*) in which, Military Ensigns might be hung up. This he afterward finished, and rode on Horseback in way of Triumph into the City, and was honoured with a Triumphal Arch; Being constituted Curator of the ways about *Rome*, he caused to be made the *Miliviarum Aureum*, and appointed Persons of *Pretorian Rank*, Overseers of the ways, who were attended with two *Lictors* apiece. At the same time *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a Son named *Caius*, on whose Birth-day a perpetual Sacrifice was decreed to be made with some other things: and privately the *Ædiles* added Games on Horseback, and Hunting to the Birth-day Solemnities of *Augustus*.

49. While these things were doing at *Rome*, he settled the Affairs of the Provinces according to the Prescript of the *Roman Laws*. He permitted the Confederates to use their own Customs, neither determined he to take any thing from them, or get more by War, being content with what already was gotten, and accordingly he wrote to the Senate, and at that time he undertook no War at all. Yet some Alterations as to Governors he made in some Countries, and the People of *Armenia* the Greater accusing *Artabazes*, and desiring to have his Brother *Tigranes* then at *Rome*; he sent *Tiberius* to drive away the former, and bring the latter to be King amongst them. Before *Tiberius* arrived, *Artabazes* was killed by the *Armenians*, and then did he perform nothing answerable to the preparation that had been made; yet he boasted of this matter, as having something notably performed, especially Sacrifices being upon this account decreed: and now began he to have Imaginations in his Head that he should be Emperor, because coming to *Philippi* noises were heard in that place where the Battle had been fought, as out of a Camp, and Fire was seen to break out from an Altar built formerly by *Antony*, where he was incamped. *Augustus* being returned into *Samus*, gave liberty to the Inhabitants, as a reward of his Entertainment, and dispatched many other Affairs. Many Ambassadors came to him; and now the *Indians* confirmed by a League, that Peace which formerly they had desired. Amongst other Presents, *Tigers* were sent by them; which sort of Beast, in the Opinion of *Dio*, was then first seen, both by *Greeks* and *Romans*. There was also a Man without Arms, who did all feats with his Feet and Toes, as if they had been Hands and Fingers. One of the Messengers, *Zarmar* by name, either weary of his life, or out of vain glory, mounted voluntarily the Funeral Pile, and thereon was Burnt.

50. For the following year, *C. Sentius* was Consul, and *Augustus* once more refused the reserved Place. Thereupon again happened Tumults, and the slaughter of several Persons at *Rome*, inasmuch that the Senate gave *Sentius* charge of the City. He being not willing to undertake it, they sent Messengers to *Augustus* with two *Lictors*, who seeing that there would be no end of these mischiefs, if he observed former Rules, designed Consul *Q. Lucrinius*, one of the Messengers, who had been a proscripted Person, and then went for *Rome*: At his return, various things were voted by the Senate to honour him, of which he accepted nothing, saving that he permitted an Altar to be Erected to *Fortuna Redux*, and the Day of his

his Return to be put amongst the Festivals, and called *Augustalia*. The Magistrates and People however being resolute to go out and receive him, he Entered by Night. Notwithstanding, they decreed that he should be *Magister Morum* for Five years, and for that term have the Dignity of *Censor*, but that of *Consul* for his life; that twelve *Fastes* should ever be born before him, and that he should sit in a *Curule* chair betwixt the *Consuls*. They earnestly desired him to make Laws, and amend all things as he should think convenient, offering to swear to obey them. And this he did, but refused their Oath, knowing, that what was pleasing to them, they would do without swearing, but nothing else, though obliged by never so many Oaths. *Agrippa*, now from the Government of the City, went into *Gall*, where the Invasion of the *Germans* and other things caused a Disturbance; which having quieted, he passed over into *Spain*, where was great need of his presence. For, the *Cantabri* that there had been taken in War and sold for Slaves, cut the Throats of their Masters, and getting together, fortified several Places, and set upon the *Roman Garrisons*. Against them *Agrippa* marched, but ere he attacked them, had a Contention with his own Army, wherein some *Veteran* Souldiers being harafed with Wars, and standing in fear of that Martial Nation, refused to obey him. Attempting it by several means, he brought them again to obedience; which having done, he had a sharp Contest with Men who had served the *Romans*, and learnt their Skill, and despaired of Pardon if they came once more into their power. He suffered great Inconveniences; but at length having lost many of his Souldiers, and fixed Ignominy upon many others of them for their ill demeanour, particularly forbidding the whole Legion called *Augusta*, to use that Name, he destroyed almost all the *Cantabri* that were of Military Age; the rest he disarmed and brought them down from the Mountainous places into the Champaign. Yet of these things he neither gave account to the Senate; nor accepted of the Triumph decreed him by *Augustus*, governing himself by the wonted moderation of his Mind. *Augustus* took it in very good part, as also his bringing the Water formerly called *Virginis*, into the City at his own proper Charge, to which he gave the name of *Augusta*. On a time when there was scarcity of Wine, and the People thereof complained, the Emperor said that *Agrippa* had sufficiently provided that they should not die of Thirst.

51. So modestly did *Agrippa* behave himself, when in the mean time certain other Persons were of a quite contrary behaviour. For some there were who were so confident as to desire a Triumph, though their Achievements were no greater than the cutting off of some Robbers abroad, or suppressing some Seditious in the City, and they obtained what they sued for, and therein prided themselves; so facile was *Augustus* herein at the beginning of his Administration, as also in granting the honour of publick Sepulchre. But as for *Agrippa*, in a manner he promoted him to the Empire. For perceiving the Common-wealth in such a condition as to require great Care and Vigilancy, and fearing Designs against his own Person, as there was some reason he should, and against which, as he said himself, there was little defence in that Breast-plate he wore when he went into the Senate; and frequently at other times, he prorogued his own Authority for five years more, his Tenth now drawing to a Conclusion, in the Consulship of the two *Lenulus*, *Publius* and *Cneus*. Moreover, he conferred on *Agrippa* power almost equal to his own, in other respects, and that of a *Tribune* for five years. For so many years he said were sufficient for them; and yet long after he took more, that his Imperial Authority might Continue the other ten. These things done, he began a scrutiny into the Senate, and to avoid the *Odium* of chusing all the Members thereof himself, he selected certain Persons who should name five apiece, out of which number he elected one; and into the Places of such as were abroad, he caused others to succeed by lot. But finding some deceit to be used in this way of *Sortion*, he would no further use that course, but made choice of the rest himself, to the number of Six hundred. At first he had determined to have but Three hundred Senators according to the ancient Custom, being glad to find so many Persons that deserved that Dignity: but all of that Rank were displeased at it; for by this means it would come to pass, that more would be removed than should continue in the Senate, and thereupon every Individual person was more afraid to lose than in hope to obtain the Dignity. He resolved therefore upon the Number of Six hundred, but yet the matter did not end there.

52. For several unworthy Persons came to be Members, and one *Licinius Regulus* took it in so high disdain, that he should be struck out of the List, when

Augustus Travelling Eastward.

His Affairs while abroad.

He thinks the Empire large enough.

Tiberius his Performances, and Conceits.

Ambassadors to *Augustus* out of *India*.

He returns to *Rome*.

Agrippa his Performances in *Spain* against the *Cantabri*.

His Moderation.

Augustus progresses his own Authority and that of *Agrippa*.

He takes pains
in modelling
the Senate.

He disgraces
Lepidus.

He tacitly
tares for his
family rivalry
with Women.

his own Son, and others he thought far more unworthy, were put in, that in open Senate he tore his Clothes, made himself naked, and reckoning up the *Services* he had performed, showed the Stars of the Wounds he had received. One *Anticulus Petus* being chosen in, and his Father put out, made it his request that he might surrender his Place to him. *Augustus* moved with these and other Circumstances, made another Scrutiny; but neither did this remove Complaints, but several found themselves still aggrieved and unjustly dealt with: To them then he gave this Promise, That amongst *Senators* they should sit at Feasts, and behold the *Speltacula* in the same Habit; and have liberty to sue for Places of Magistracy; and most of them were afterward taken into the Senate again, only a few remained in a middle state and condition betwixt the Senate and the People. After this he punished certain Persons for Conspiring against himself and *Agrippa*. He hated *Lepidus* for other reasons as well as for that his Son had conspired against his life, and had received punishment for it. Yet would he not put him to death, but put several disgraces upon him. He caused him to come out of the Country into the City and be present at Assemblies, to expose him as a laughing-stock to the People, considering what Power he had formerly enjoyed; and he appointed him the lowest place amongst all the *Consulares*. *Antistius Labeo*, to whom *Augustus* had given power of Chusing the Senate, having taken him into that Order, he charged him with Perjury for so doing, and threatened to punish him. But *Labeo* answered, *That he thought he had done no unfitting thing to retain him in the Senate, whom he suffered still to enjoy the Dignity of Pontifex Maximus*: At which answer the Emperor remitted his Choler, having both privately and publicly made a show of desiring that Place, and yet he thought it was not to be invaded in the life-time of *Lepidus*. So reasonable was the Reply of *Labeo*, as also was his Answer another time in the Senate, when it was moved as a fitting thing that Each of them should attend *Augustus* in his turn to protect his Person. Not daring to contradict it, nor deigning to approve it, he said He was sleepy and tired, and was not fit to watch at his Chamber.

53. About this time he enacted several things in order to a Reformation of Customs and Manners. Such as by Bribery fought after Offices, he barred from them for the space of five years. He imposed greater Mulcts upon such of both Sexes as would not marry, and proposed greater Encouragements for Procreation of legitimate Children. And because the Males of the *Patrician* Rank exceeded far in number the Females of that Order, he gave leave to any, provided they were not *Senators*, to marry *Libertæ* or Freed Women, and made such conjunctions legal. But great Complaint was now made to him of the Immodeest Manners both of Young Men and Women, as the greatest hindrance of Matrimony; and they Earnestly desired that he would also consider how to redress this disorder, thereby twitting tacitly himself for having to do with many Women. At first he answered, That he had taken care for things most necessary, and that other matters could not be so easily provided for; and some way or other he was brought to say, That they ought to Command their Wives, and use such Admonitions as he did to his *Livia*. Then were the *Senators* much more importunate, and desired to know what Admonitions they were. To whom replying very unwillingly, he instanced in some particulars concerning Clothes and other Ornaments of Women, about going to public Meetings, and the Modesty of himself and his Wife, little caring how ill his Actions suited with his Words. It was become a practice for Persons to betroth to themselves such as were but Children, and after that to take the profits of their Estates though no Marriage followed thereupon. He Commanded, That No *Sponsalia* or Contracts should be good, which were not Consummated by a Marriage within Two years; that is, That such as would receive the Profits of a Virgin's Estate, should betroth her at Ten years of Age at least, that of Twelve being the legitimate time of Marriage for Women, as then judged of Maturity. He further Ordained, That for Celebration of Games, but one *Præfest* of the City should be made. And because now the *Sibylline* Books were worn and decayed with Age, he employed the *Pontifices* in Copying them out with their own Hands, that no others might have the opportunity of reading them. To all that were worth ten Myriads, and to whom it was lawful to stand for Offices, he gave liberty so to do. That was the first value he made of the Estates of *Senators*, which afterwards he enlarged to Five and twenty Myriads; and to some Persons that lived well and wanted these sums, he gave money to make them up. And he permitted *Prætors* to take the treble of what was allowed

Yet he pleases
generally.

He goes into
Gall.

Several Wars
Compelled.

The Impudence of
Licinius.

lowed them for Games out of the Treasury. This procured that although there were not some wanting who were displeased at the Rigor of his Laws; yet all indignation ceased, because he had done this, and recalled *Pyllades* a Stage Player, who had been driven away by the Factions in the City. This *Pyllades* being chidden by *Augustus*, for brawling and contending with *Bathyllus*, of the same Profession, and one that was familiar with *Mecæna*, is said to have given him this wise Answer, *It conduceth to thine Interest, O Cæsar, that the People be diverted by being intent upon us*.

54. In the following year, being the DCCXXXVII of the City, *C. Furnius*, and *C. Silanus* were *Consuls*, and a Son was born to *Agrippa*, and called *Lucius*, whom together with his Brother *Caius*, *Augustus* adopted before they came to Man's estate, that he might be more safe from Conspiracies. Such as triumphed, he commanded that in memory of what they had done, they should cause some work to be made of the spoils taken in War. He celebrated now the *Secular* Games the fifth time. He commanded that Orators should receive no Reward for Pleading Causes, under pain of forfeiting fourfold of what they received. Such Judges as were yearly chosen by lot, he Prohibited in the year of their Administration to enter the Houses of those that had Causes depending before them. And because *Senators* were negligent in coming to the Senate, on such as were guilty of this neglect, without any reasonable cause, he imposed a greater Mulct than formerly had been usual. Having ordained these things, and finding his preference in the City troublesome both to himself and others, while he sometimes executed and sometimes neglected his own Laws, he resolved, as *Solon* formerly had done to Travel, and the next year when *L. Domitius*, and *P. Scipio*, were *Consuls*, he went into *Gall*, pretending thither to be called by Tumults and Wars. Some there were who suspected that he went away, that without notice he might enjoy the Company of *Terenia*, the Wife of *Mecæna*, which Woman he so loved, that on a time he made her contend with *Livia* for handfomness. Before his departure, he dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which had been rededicated, having adorned it with Seventy six Pillars, so many years as he lived, so that some believed he wittingly designed the number: The Government of *Rome* and *Italy*, he committed to *Taurus*; for he had sent *Agrippa* into *Syria*, and *Mecæna* now was not so acceptable to him because of his Wife.

55. About the same time Commotions were raised by some Nations inhabiting the *Alps*, by the *Pannonians*, and those of *Noricum*, all which were without much trouble composed, as others in *Dabnatia*, and *Macedonia*, and *Spain*. In *Thrace* *M. Lollius* giving assistance to *Rhymetaces*, the Uncle and Tutor of the Sons of *Cotys*, overcame the *Belli*, and after him *C. Lucius* upon the same account, making War against the *Suarmates*, overthrew them, and drove them beyond *Ister*. But that War was of greatest Consequence, which drew *Augustus* from the City against the *Germans*; for the *Sivambri*, *Uspetæ*, and *Tenchteri* having first nailed to Crosses some *Roman* Citizens, then waited *Gall*, circumvented a Party of Horse sent against them, and overthrew *Lollius* the Governor, upon whom they were drawn by those that fled. Yet upon report of *Lollius* his further Preparations, and of the coming of *Augustus*, they returned home, and gave Hostages for their peaceable demeanour. Yet though he had no War to raise, did he spend the remaining of this year and the following, wherein *M. Drusus Libo*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were *Consuls*, in settling the Affairs of these Countries. For besides the stir raised by the *Germans*, great complaints were made against the Administration of *Licinius*, who being a *Gall* by Original, and taken by the *Romans*, had become the Slave of *Julius Cæsar*, and being manumitted by him, been preferred by *Augustus*, to the oversight of that Country. He managed the *Roman* Dignity with *Barbarick* Avarice, and confounded all things, to make them subservient to his humour. To that height of Impudence he arrived, that the *Galls* being to make Payments every Month, he would needs reckon fourteen Months to the year, affirming, that *December* according to its name, was really the tenth, and that there were two that followed called *Augusti*, viz. an eleventh and twelfth, wherein Money must also be collected by the *Galls*. *Augustus* knew not how to carry himself, but sometimes accused, and otherwhiles excused him, being ashamed he had made choice of such a Governor. But *Licinius* by a Trick he used, came off, and deluded the *Galls*. Perceiving *Augustus* to be incensed against him, and that he should be punished for his Villanies, he brought him to his House, and there showing him great Treasure, called him *Lord*, and told him, That upon design he had gathered

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it for the use of *him*, and the *Romans*, left the *Galls* furnished with it, should have revolted; and having kept it for him, he now delivered it into his hands.

56. At the same time *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, with good Success managed several Wars against such as Rebelled against the Empire; These were the *Rhari*, who inhabiting the Country betwixt *Noricum* and *Gall*, at the *Tridentine Alps*, both infested the adjacent Territories of *Gall*, made Incurfions into *Italy*, and offered violence to such *Romans* as passed through their Coast. Nay, such was their Custom, that they put to Death all Males they took for Captives, not only those they found in view, but such as were in their Mothers Bellies, whom they pretended they could discover by a certain Art they had of Divination. *Drusus* with no great difficulty, defeated them near *Trent*, and obtained *Prætorian* honours; but for all that they were so bold as to invade *Gall*, and thither *Tiberius* was sent against them. Now both Brothers fet on them at once, and broke into *Rhætia*, partly by the indeavours of their Legates, and their own Prefence; *Tiberius* passing the Lake by Boats, destroyed such Forces as they had abroad, constrained them to submit, and because the Nation was populous, they carried away the greatest part thereof that was fit for War, and left the rest to Till the Land. Now it will not be amiss to follow the Example of *Dio*, and from him to relate that in this year died *Vedius Pollio*, a man famous for nothing performed, being a *Liberinus* by Original, and of the *Equestrian* Order, but remarkable for his Wealth, and his Cruelty. He kept that sort of Fish called *Mulletts* in a Pond, and when his Slaves offended him, such as he Condemned to Death, he was wont to cast into the Pond to eat these Fishes, being learnt to feed upon that sort of food. On a time he invited *Augustus* to a Feast, and it happened that one of his Slaves who waited at the Side-board, brake a Crystal Glass, for which Offence he Condemned him to the *Mulletts*; not at all moved by the presence of him he entertained. The Boy cast himself at the Feet of *Augustus*, who interceded for him; and when *Vedius* would not yield, desired that he might see all his other Glasses which were of so great a value, which when brought, he caused them all to be broken. He left to *Augustus* a good part of his Estate, particularly a Village called *Panslypas*, betwixt *Naples* and *Puteoli*. He required that some Publick Work might be erected for the use of the People, and upon this pretence, *Augustus* caused his House to be pulled down, with design indeed, that no Monument of him might be left in the City. There he built a *Porticus*, but upon it set not the Name of *Vedius*, but of *Livia*; which was done afterward. Now did *Augustus* send many Colonies into *Gall* and *Spain*; restored the Inhabitants of *Cyzicus* to Liberty; was bountiful to them of *Paphus*, who had been formerly distressed by an Earthquake, and permitted them to call their City by the Name of *Augusta*. This indeed was ordinarily performed by *Augustus*, and the Senate; and the Senate itself was wont in way of Honours, to give Surnames to Cities; though afterwards they themselves made choice of what, and as many, as they pleased.

57. The *Pannonians* much about this time Rebelling, were reduced to Obedience; the *Ligures Comati*, who hitherto had inhabited the *Maritim Alps*, in free condition, were reduced into Slavery, and Matters were settled in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, which tended to Defection. This was effected by the Conduct of *Agrippa*, in whose Name a Supplication was decreed; but though a Triumph was decreed him, he refused the Honour; neither at the beginning did he write any thing of it to the Senate. And in the Opinion of *Dio*, this Example of his was afterward taken, and observed as a Law, for, those that came after did not by Letters certify the Senate of what was done, neither did they Triumph, as formerly; no Triumph being indeed decreed to them, being only graced with Triumphal Honours. As for *Augustus*, he had by this time dispatched the Affairs of *Gall*, *Germany*, and *Spain*. Much Money he had expended, and much he had received: Liberty and Freedom of the City from some he took, and to others gave it; and having left *Drusus* in *Germany*, he returned to *Rome*, when *Tiberius* and *Quintilius Varus* were Consuls. The Senate having met, had ordered an Altar to be consecrated in the Court it self for his return, and Voted that such as became Supplicants to him, when he was within the *Pomerium*, should obtain Impunity. Neither of these Honours would he receive, neither would he permit the People to comeout and meet him, but entred the City by Night, as he was wont to do most commonly, that he might not be troublesome. The day after his Return, he favoured the People in the Palace; ascending the Capitol, he took the Laurel from about the *Fagæes*, and laid it at the Knees of *Jupiter*; and on the same Day, he

gave

gave to the People *gratis* the use of Baths, and Barbers. After this, he caused the Senate to be Assembled, but having got a Cold, he spoke nothing, but gave a Paper to the *Quæstor* to be read, wherein was related what he had performed; the Term of the Militia was determined (or how many years Soldiers were to serve before dismission) and what Moneys they should receive, when *Emeriti* for the Grounds they so earnestly desired. This he did to keep them from Mutining. The *Prætorian Cohorts* were to serve Twelve years; the rest Sixteen; and more Pay was received by the former, than by the latter. At present by this course he took, the Soldiers were neither fully contented, nor yet moved by any Indignation, as not despairing of their Fortunes.

58. We have seen how careful *Augustus* was for Modelling and Reforming the Senate, but his indeavours therein did not answer Expectation. He thought he did well to raise the value of a *Senator*, and this had such operation, that it so far kept out mean and insolvent Persons, that few could now be found that were able, at least willing, to undertake the Employment; and many swore themselves off from it. There was now a want of Persons to discharge the Offices of Judicature, and other Duties; and therefore the Fathers in his Absence made a *Senatus-consultum*, that twenty Persons should be chosen out of the Body of the *Equites*, and not to be thereupon made *Senators*, except some Office afterwards discharged should make them capable of that Dignity. That these twenty should succeed into the room of the former twenty six; of them three should judge in Capital Matters; other three look to the Coining of Money; four should Oversee the Ways of the City; and ten more be employed in such Judicial Proceedings as formerly were devolved by lot upon the *Centumviri*; as for those who took care of the Highways without the City, and four that were sent into *Campania*, they were now abrogated. Besides this *Senatus-consultum*, they decreed that because none would lightly sue for the *Tribuneship* of the People, some should be chosen by lot out of them that had been *Quæstors*, and had not yet attained forty years of Age. *Augustus* now surveyed the whole *Senatorial* Order, and omitting such as had passed their five and thirtieth year, compelled all the rest that had Estates of value to receive the Dignity, if they were not maimed in their Bodies; which he himself viewed.

59. For the value of Estates, he took the Oaths of the Parties; as also of such as bore Testimony on their behalf, and required an account both of their Poverty, and of their Lives. As for private Matters, he rebuked *Tiberius* for placing *Caius* in a Seat next to himself, at the Votive Games he made for his safe Return, and chid the People for applauding him for so doing. *Lepidus* being now dead, he took the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and upon occasion hereof, when the Senate was about to decree certain things in honour of him, he professed he would receive none of them, and when they were importunate, he rose and went out of the Court. Neither were their Decrees approved, neither did he receive a Publick Dwelling; but because it was requisite that the Habitation of the *Pontifex Maximus* should be publick, he Commanded part of his own House to be so accounted; and gave the House of the *Rex Sacrorum* to the *Vestal Virgins*, it being near their Dwellings. One *Cornelius Sefentius* being blamed for the evil Conversation of his Wife, said in open Senate, that he had Married her, *Augustus* both knowing and advising him to it. Hereat he was moved with very great Passion, but without any more to do, hastened out of the Court, and shortly after again returned; and this he told his Friends he did it, left if he had staid he should have been provoked to some act that might have been inconvenient and severe.

60. *Agrippa* was returned out of *Syria*, and honoured with a Continuation of *Tribunitial* Power for other five years. Thus rewarded he sent him into *Pannonia*, where now a War grew hot, with greater Power than any other employed out of *Italy*. He undertook the Expedition when Winter now came on, wherein were Consuls *M. Valerius Messala Barbatus*, and *P. Sulpicius Quirinius*, and so affrighted the *Pannonians* with the very noise of his March, that they ceased to rebel. Hereby prevented as to Action, he returned, and in his way fell sick in *Campania*. *Augustus* as soon as he heard it, made what haste he could to come to him, but found him dead. He brought his Body into the City, and placing it in the *Forum*, commended him by a Funeral Oration, a Curtain being drawn betwixt him and the Beire: What the meaning of this should be, our Author cannot tell us. Some thought it was, because *Augustus* was *Pontifex Maximus*; and others, because

K k k k 2

The Rhæti subdued.

The Cruelty of Vedius.

New Offices made.

Augustus is Pontifex Maximus.

The Example of Agrippa followed.

Augustus Returns to Rome.

Agrippa Dies.

because he Executed the Office of *Censor*; but he affirms both the one and the other fort to have erred therein; for neither was the *Pontifex Maximus* forbidden to look upon dead Bodies, nor the *Censor* any time, but when he made a *Lustrum*, or concluded his Office: then indeed if he beheld the Body of a dead-man before the Solemnities of the *Lustrum* were performed, all he had formerly done were rescinded. Then did *Augustus* carry him out into the place whither he himself was afterward conveyed, and buried him in his own Sepulchre; although *Agrippa* had a Monument of his own granted him in the *Campus Martius*. But such was the End of this Person, the best Man without Controverſie of his Age in the Opinion of *Dio*; the Friend of *Augustus*, and that to the great advantage both of Emperor and Empire. As he used his utmost Endeavour to serve him; so the Honours and Advantages he received as Rewards, he employed in well deserving of other men. Hereby it came to paſs, that he was neither troublesome to *Augustus*, nor obnoxious to the Envy of others; so Confirming his Authority and Domination, as if he seemed chiefly to desire that form of Government; and yet to obliging the People that he was esteemed as most Popular of all others. At his Death he bequeathed them his Gardens and a Bath, which was called by his Name, giving certain Grounds to *Augustus* for this use. And he not only gave to the People these Grounds, but distributed to them Money man by man, as if *Agrippa* had left it to them. Indeed by his death a great Estate came to *Augustus*, and amongst other things the *Chersonesus* at the *Helleſpont*, our Author wondering how *Agrippa* came by it. However, *Augustus* could not forget him of a long time, but honoured him amongst the People, and caused his Son born after his death, after him to be called by the name of *Agrippa*. This Name, *Pliny* ſaith, was first given to them that were born with the Feet forward, as one should ſay, *Born hardly, or with much ado*. And in this manner (he writes) as they ſay, *M. Agrippa* came forth of his Mother's Womb, the only Man, almost, known to have brought any good Fortune with him of all that were after that fort born. Yet he was much pained with the Gout, and passed all his Youth and many a day after in Bloody Wars, and in danger of a thousand deaths. He was unfortunate in his Children, and especially in his two Daughters, the *Agrippinae*, who brought forth two Sons pernicious to the whole Earth, namely, *C. Caligula*, and *Domitius Nero*, Emperors. He died in the One and fiftieth year of his Age, tormented with the Adulterie of his Wife, and oppressed with the Intolerable Servitude, in which he lived under her Father.

61. *Augustus* mourned much for the death of *Agrippa*, yet would he not suffer any thing instituted by the Antients to be omitted; and though none of the Nobility would be present at Games, Yet he himself solemnized those of the *Gladiators*, which were also often celebrated in his Absence. Being now made the Corrector of Manners for other five years, (for this Office he also took, as the Imperial Power it self, to a limited time) he commanded that Senators should when they came to the Court, or to his presence, burn Incense; both that they might carry themselves religiously, and come together with less trouble, such a Ceremony, as a Token of their Meetings, being used. The Province of *Asia* standing now in need of help, being much distressed with Earthquakes, he paid the Annual Tribute due from it, out of his own money, and assigned it a President, not chosen by Suffrages, but by Lot, for two years. It happened that *Apuleius* and *Mecenas* being blamed in a Court of Judicature, in a Case of Adultery, not that they were guilty of it themselves, but because they undertook the Defence of an accused Person, he came into the Court, and sitting down on the Bench, only gave warning to the Accuser, That he should not traduce his Kindred, and his Friends, and then arose and departed. For these and Other things they gathered Money amongst themselves and honoured him with *Statues*, and permitted what never formerly had been lawful to any, That upon his Birth-day unmarried persons, of both Sexes, might amongst the rest come to see, and be present at the Feast. Now *Agrippa* was dead, whom *Augustus* had loved for his Virtue, not any Relation he had to him, and it was necessary he should have some one to assist him in the Government, Superior to all others in Power and Dignity, the better to avoid Conspiracies: He was forced to make choice of *Tiberius*, his own Grandsons not being yet grown up. He caused him to quit his Wife, being the Daughter of *Agrippa*, by a former Marriage, though she had a Child living by him, and another in her Belly, and to Marry *Julia*; which done, he sent him against the *Pannonians*, who after the death of *Agrippa*, delivered of their fear, returned to their

His Commendation.

Other Honours conferred on *Augustus*.

He Marries his Daughter *Julia* to *Tiberius*.

their wonted Rebellious humour. He made use of the *Scordisci* their Neighbors, who observed the same way of Fighting, and after much mischief done both to Country and Inhabitant, subdued them, took away their Arms, and led away the younger fort into other Regions. For these Performances, the Senate decreed him a Triumph, but *Cæſar* would not suffer him to make use of the Decree, but in room thereof conferred on him Triumphal Honours.

The Success of the two Brothers, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*.

62. The same thing that befell him, happened to his Brother *Drusus*. The *Sciambr*, and their Associates, encouraging themselves upon the Absence of *Augustus*, and for that the *Galls* bore the yoke of Servitude very unwillingly, had begun another War. *Drusus* upon pretence of a Festival celebrated at *Lugdunum*, at the Altar of *Augustus*, secured the chiefest of the *Galls*, and thereby prevented the great mischief that would have followed upon their Conjunction with the rest. Then being intent upon the *German*s, when they should pass the *Rhine*, he repulsed them, and invaded the Territories of the *Osprete*, near the Island of the *Batavi*, as also the Country of the *Sciambr*, and wasted them to a great extent. After this, passing down the *Rhine* into the *Ocean*, he subdued the *Frifii*, and by a Lake passed the Borders of the *Chauci*. Here he was in Danger, by reason that upon fall of the Tide, his Vessels were left upon dry ground, but by the Industry of the *Frifii*, who supplied him with foot, he escaped, and Winter approaching came to *Rome*, where he was made *Prætor* of the City, though he had already obtained *Prætorian* Honours, in the Consulship of *Q. Ælius Tubero*, and *Paulus Fabius Maximus*. In the beginning of Spring he returned, passed the *Rhine*, subdued the *Osprete*, and thence by a Bridge crossing the River *Lupia*, invaded the *Sciambr*; and through their Country pressed into that of the *Cheruscii*, and as far as the River *Vesgarg*, which he might better do; because the *Sciambr* had with all their force at this time fallen upon the *Chatti*, who of all their Neighbors had alone denied them aid. And he had also passed the *Vesgarg*, but that want of Provisions, the approach of Winter, and a swarm of Bees seen in the Camp, deterred him. Returning into the Country of his Friends, he was near destruction by the Circumvention of his Enemies, who having done him much Damage, shut up him and his whole Army in a trait and hollow place; and he was only delivered by their temerity, who contemning the *Romans* as already vanquished, rushed upon them without any care or orders, and gave them advantage to Charge, and put them to Flight. After this they durst not approach, and *Drusus* then contemning them, built a Castle to restrain them at the confluence of *Lupia*, and *Aliso*; and another in the Country of the *Chatti* upon the *Rhine*. For these Achievements it was decreed that he should have Triumphal Honours, enter the City on Horse-back, and his *Prætorship* ended, obtain *Proconsular* Power. He had been flattered by his Soldiers, as also his Brother *Tiberius*, with the title of *Imperator*, but it was not given them by *Augustus*. However the Games which *Drusus* exhibited as *Prætor*, were discharged with great Expence, and the Birth-day of *Augustus* was celebrated in the *Cirque*, and other places of the City with Huntings; for which, though there was no Decree, yet was it yearly done by the *Prætor*. But those Solemnities called *Augustalia* were then first celebrated by virtue of a *Senatusconsultum*, and continued till the time of *Dio*.

63. But as if there had been an Emulation betwixt the two Brothers, who should do best, *Tiberius* now brought under, and forced to submit the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who encouraged at his Absence, had again Rebelled, invading them both together, and removing the War as occasion offered. For this the same Honours were decreed to him as to *Drusus*, and thenceforth *Dalmatia*, as requiring careful Watch, and the Defence of Arms, both in respect of it self, and the Neighbouring *Pannonia*, was committed to the charge of *Augustus*. Much about the same time *Vologesus* a *Thracian*, of the Nation of the *Belli*, the Priest of *Bacchus*, who was worshipped by them, by a vain show of Religion, associated many to himself, by their help raised a Rebellion, and killed *Rhaciporis*, the Son of *Cotys*. Still using a Pretext of his Religion, without Battle, he deprived *Rhymetaces* of his Army, pursued him, brake into the *Cherronesus*, and there did much mischief; about the time that the *Sialetæ* also invaded *Macedonia*. *L. Piso*, who now governed *Pamphilia*, was commanded to make head against them, who first received loss from the *Belli*, but engaging with them again, obtained to considerable a Victory, that wasting the Country far and wide, most of all these Nations submitted, and others that stood out by force of Arms, he constrained to undergo the yoke. For these things performed, a Supplication was decreed, and that

The Success of *Piso*.

that he should have Triumphal Honours. While Matters thus succeed in the East, *Augustus* employed himself in making an Inventory of his whole Estate, as if he had been a private man. Again, he surveyed the Senate, and perceiving that the Members thereof were slow to meet, he ordained that for the future a *Senatusconsultum* might be made, by fewer than Four hundred; which Number formerly was required to be present.

64. Now again both Senate and People contributed Money for making of Statues; but none he would permit to be erected, but only to Publick Safety, Concord, and Peace. Yet still would they go about it upon all occasions, and at length on the First of *January*, they repaired to *Augustus* himself, and every one gave him more or less, which he restored to them with advantage; not only one *Patricians*, but others also. Here *Dion Cassius* tells an odd Story: How he had heard that being moved by some Oracle or Dream, every year on a certain Day, he received some Silver by way of Begging from such as he met with; he adds, That whether we will believe it or no, so it was reported. This same year, to be sure, he Married *Julia* his Daughter to *Tiberius*, and his Sister *Octavia* being dead, he caused her Body to be laid publicly in State, in the Sacrary of *Julius*, where he made a Funeral Oration, a Curtain being drawn, as formerly. *Drusus* publicly changed his *Senatorian* Robe for a Mourning Gown, and then her Sons in a Law carried her away; yet would not *Augustus* admit all things that were decreed in her Honour. Now first after *Merula*, the *Flamen Dialis*, or Priest of *Jupiter* was ordained. And for as much as the *Tribuni Plebis*, and *Ædiles*, who were to look to the keeping of the *Senatusconsulta*, were wont to trust their Apparitors, and thence much Error and Confusion happened, they were delivered into the Custody of the *Questors*. It was also decreed, that the Temple of *Janus* should now be shut; but this was hindered by the *Daci*, who when *Ister* was frozen, passed over the Ice, and made Depredations in *Pannonia*; besides this, the *Dalmatians* not enduring the Exaction of Tribute, cast off the yoke. These Motions were quelled by *Tiberius*, who was gone with *Augustus* into *Gall*. And the *Germani*, and amongst those the *Chatti*, who not content with the Territories assigned them by the *Romans*, had joined themselves with the *Sicambri*, *Drusus* either infected or reduced to Obedience. Both the Brothers now returned with *Augustus*, who had spent most of his time in *Gallia Lugdunensis*, to *Rome*; these things being performed in the Consulship of *Julius*, and *Fabius Maximus*.

Sires in the East quelled by Tiberius.

Drusus Dies.

65. In the following year, wherein *Drusus* and *T. Quintius Crispinus* were Consuls, *Drusus* having invaded the Territories of the *Chatti*, wasted them as he passed; and having defeated them in Battel, proceeded into the Country of the *Suevi*, and thence turning, to the *Cherisci*, crossed *Risurgis*, and wasted all as far as the River *Albis*, which falling from the *Pandalick* Mountains, flows in a great Stream into the Northern Ocean. Having in vain attempted to pass this River, he erected Trophies, and retreated; For, a Woman (our Historian tells us) of greater Dimensions than Humane, met him in the way, and calling him by Name, demanded of him, Whether his boundless Ambition would carry him; She told him, the Fates did not permit that he should see all Quarters; and bade him be gone for the Period both of his Life and Actions approached. The death of *Drusus* he will have uttered in by this and other Prodigies, which according to his Custom, he particularly relates; for he died in his Return, before he reached the *Rhine*. *Livy*, who extended his History just so far, wrote that he died of a fall from his Horse. It seems he lay Sick so long, that *Augustus*, who was at no great distance from him, as *Dio* writes, sent with all speed for his Brother *Tiberius*, who at his coming found him alive, though drawing on: He conveyed his Body to *Rome*, *Centurions* and *Tribunes* carrying it at the beginning, and afterwards the chiefest of the Cities. It being placed in the Forum, there he was commended by *Tiberius* in a Funeral Oration, and again by *Augustus* in the *Flaminian Cirque*; because it was not lawful for such as had led forth Armies to enter the *Pomerium* of the City, before they had used such Ceremonies as were required by virtue of the ancient Custom. He was by the most considerable *Equestes*, and others of *Senatorian* Rank, carried into the *Campus Martius*, where being burnt, the Ashes were laid up in the Sepulchre of *Augustus*. The Surname of *Germanicus* was given to him and his Sons, besides the Honours of Statues and Triumphal Arches, and of a Monument upon the River *Rhine*.

66. *Tiberius* also for having in the life-time of *Drusus* suppressed the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who had made some small offers to stir, entered the City on Horse-back,

Horse-back, in a sort of Triumph, and gave a Collation to the People, in the *Capitol* and other places, and *Livia* and *Julia* entertained the Women. The same Solemnities were prepared for *Drusus*, and Holidays were again to be kept for his Triumph, when all these Expectations were blasted by his Death. *Livia* his Mother, to comfort her, was also honoured with Statues, and reckoned amongst such as had thrice brought forth. For though Fortune was not so favourable as to give three Children to all Married Men or Women, yet the Law first made by the Senate, and afterward confirmed by the Emperor, gave the Privilege obtained by three Children to some of them, so that they should not be liable to the Multitude imposed upon Barren People, and a few things excepted, they might obtain all the Advantages due to them that had a numerous Issue. *Augustus* applying himself to Publick Affairs, ordained that on certain Days the Senate should be assembled, whereas formerly nothing had been herein defined, and therefore many took the Advantage to be absent. To prevent this, he appointed certain Days in every Month, on which it should be necessary for all obliged by the Laws to be present. That no just excuse might be pretended, he took order that no Judicial Proceedings, nor any other thing should hinder them. Now also he determined what number should be present at passing Decrees, according to the Nature of the *Senatusconsulta*; and again he increased the Multitude, imposed upon such as absented without a Cause. But, as usually it happens, the multitude of Offenders seemed to plead for Remission of the Multitude, and therefore he commanded, that when many offended, every fifth man, as it fell by lot, should be certainly punished. To be sure he Published in a List the Names of all the *Senators*; which Custom continued till the time of *Dion Cassius*.

Augustus appoints certain Days for the Senate to meet on.

The Vote called the Authority of the Senate.

66. Such Care was taken by *Augustus*, to constrain *Senators* to Assemble and give their Suffrages. If it happened that so many did not meet together, as was needful, (for when the Emperor came thither, the List was always called over, and most commonly on other days) they that were present consulted of Matters before them, and what they resolved, was written down; but it did not obtain the force of a *Senatusconsultum*, but was called the Authority of the Senate, showing only what the Opinion was of those that met. The same course was observed when they suddenly Assembled, either in a Place, or at a Time not usual nor lawful, or called by some Edict that had no Authority to back it, or if the *Tribunes* of the People contradicted; for though in such Cases no *Senatusconsultum* could be made, yet the Senate would not have its opinion to be concealed, which afterwards being in due form ratified, obtained the name and force of a *Senatusconsultum*. This Custom was observed in those days, though in the time of *Dio*, he saith, it was in a manner abolished, as also what *Augustus* ordained concerning *Prætors*, to whom he gave liberty of Voting in the Senate; because they took it ill that in dignity preceding the *Tribuni Plebis*, they should have no Voice. As he now gave it them, so time afterward took it away. But *Augustus* before he enacted these things, caused them to be written down and exposed in the Senate, giving liberty to any two that came in to read them, to find what fault they could, and propound other Rules. Here it will not be amiss to add what *Suetonius* hath written concerning this Subject. He tells us, that before *Augustus* his time, the Number of *Senators* was rude and deformed, being above a thousand, some of them most unworthy, as being after the Death of *Cæsar*, taken in for favour or reward, and therefore by the vulgar they were called *Orcini*. Then *Augustus* by two Scrutinies, restored the Senate to its ancient lustre, in one of which, one man chose another amongst themselves, and the second was made at the choice of himself and *Agrippa*, at which time it was thought he wore a Breastplate under his Robe, and had ten of the most Valiant *Senators*, all his Friends, standing about his Chair. *Cordus Crematius* wrote that at that time no *Senator* was admitted, but alone, and his Robe being first searched. Some he compelled to excuse themselves, but to such he granted the *Senatorian* mark in their Habit, the right of sitting to behold Sports in the *Orchestra*, and of Feasting publicly. That such as were chosen and approved, might more Religiously, and with less trouble execute their Offices, he ordained before any fate down in the Senate, he should first supplicate at the Altar of that God, in whose Temple they met, with Wine and Frankincense; as also that a legitimate Senate should be held, but twice in one Month, viz. On the *Calends* and the *Ides*; that in the Months of *September* and *October* (Months of Vintage) it should not be necessary that any should be present; but such as were chosen by lot,

in *Orcini*, c. c. 35, 36.

being

being a sufficient number to do the work. Moreover he procured that the Acts of the Senate should not be Published.

67. As to what he writes concerning Feasting in Publick, granted to such Senators as excused themselves, we must know that upon three Accounts the Romans used Publick Feasts. One was at the Funeral of some Eminent Person, *Vide Donatus* ^{is 1.} Another when they Sacrificed, and then there were Persons called *Eponones*, sometimes three; and otherwhiles seven in number, who took care of those *Epula* or Feasts. The third was after some Victory, as was often practised by *Julius Caesar*, and others; and at this sort of Feasts chiefly Senators were entertained. From what both *Dio* and *Suetonius* write concerning the Incense, we may observe that the Senate was not wont to Assemble but in some consecrated place, as in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, of *Jupiter Stator*, erected over against that of *Vesta* at the foot of the *Palatine Mount*; that of *Concord* near the *Capitol*; of *Tellus* or the Earth; of *Apollo*; and *Castor* and *Pollux*. To foreign Ambassadors the Senate was wont to give Audience in the Temple of *Bellona*, without the Walls; as also to such Magistrates as returned from the Provinces, and were not yet to enter the City before something was performed. Sometimes indeed the Senate Assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and in other places, but these were also Inaugurate and Consecrated; at least ordinarily it could not Assemble but in such. For the time when the Senate met, of old it might meet on any days but the *Dies Comitiales*, because then the *Comitia* of the People being held, the Senators could not be absent from them; nor were not to be hindered from giving their Suffrages. Neither could the Senate meet on unlucky days, because then no Sacrifices could be offered, which were requisite as we see. Neither when it Thundered, or Winds and Tempests raged; nor when both *Consuls* were absent from the City, at least till the ninth day from their Absence. And some think, that because the *Comitia* were dissolved if any were taken with the *Comitial Disease* or *Epilepsie*, the same was observed in the meeting of the Senate. Seeing then that on all other days the Senate might lawfully meet, some there are that admire how *Augustus*, a man loving Business, should be for its Assembling but twice in a Month, at the beginning and middle. But their wonder ceaseth when they consider, that having taken upon himself the whole Government, he did it with design that the greatest Affairs might first be debated by himself and his Councillors, whom, as *Suetonius* in the same place affirms, he chiefly let every six Months for this very purpose. The truth is, he had transferred all the Power to himself, both of Senate and People, and he would have them do nothing but what he pleased, though he pretended that he took this course that things might be transacted with more mature Consideration and Advice. Indeed adventuring upon so high and dangerous an Enterprize, as the changing of the Government, he used all the Cunning he could to cover his Designs, and he was to pretend all Modesty and Self-denial imaginable. This made him shun all needles and invidious Ceremonies and shadows of Respect, so long as he was possessed of the Substance; and even to make a shew of waving the Substance it self, as a burthen too heavy for his no way ambitious Shoulders; at least of a resolution to be the publick Drudge, only for a certain and limited time. And yet he was content they should please themselves, sometimes in fancying, that they honoured him in giving him Titles, and Voting he should have such and such Powers, when he was already possessed of the Supreme. Let us hear what *Dion Cassius* further writes of these matters.

68. He desired to appear so popular, that one of his fellow Soldiers praying he would undertake his Cause, and he saying that because he was hindered by business, he would send him an Advocate; when the man replied in Anger: That he did not serve him in this fashion when he wanted his help, not sending one in his room to do it, but in his own Person undergoing all dangers for him, he went into the *Forum* and pleaded his cause. In like manner he assisted another Friend he had, at the Bar, having communicated the matter first to the Senate, and he saved him; and not only not prosecuted the man's Accuser, though he had used great liberty in his discourse, but being called to account for his ill manners, absolved him. He appointed *Quaestors* on the Sea Coast near *Rome*, and in other places of *Italy*, there to preside; which course he observed many years: but he himself would not enter into the City because of the death of *Drusus*. The Year that followed, wherein *C. Asinius Gallus*, and *C. Marcus Censorinus* were *Consuls*, he came to *Rome*, where he found both them and other Magistrates accused for having

Where and when the Senate was wont to Assemble.

Augustus dies to be Popular.

having procured their Places by Money. Yet did he dissemble the matter, and made no Inquisition, having resolved to punish none by hear-say, nor to pardon any that was manifestly convicted. But of such as would stand for any Office, he took money by way of pledge; and if they were found to use any Bribery, they made forfeit of it. This was commended as laudable, but it was not another thing by all sorts of Persons. The Laws forbade that a Slave should be tortured to confess any thing against his Lord. He therefore commanded that such Slaves should be sold to himself or the Publick when occasion required, that the propriety being altered, they might be Examined against those who were not now their Masters. Some Complained that the Law was eluded by this changing of Lords; and others said it was necessary to be done, for that many in confidence that their Slaves could not be questioned, were encouraged to conspire against him and the present Power. Not long after he pretended he would lay down, and the second Ten Years being over, was brought, unwilling, to receive the Government for other Ten.

War in Germany.

69. He undertook a War against the *Germans*, but slaying himself at home employ'd *Tiberius*, who passing the *Rhine*, all the *Clanns* sent their Ambassadors and begged Peace, except the *Cantabri*. *Augustus* refused to accept of their submission, except the *Cantabri* were concerned in it; and neither when they joined would he grant them Peace, but disposed through several Cities the Ambassadors of the *Cantabri*, who being many and most considerable amongst them, would not endure the Uneasiness of it, but killed themselves. So the Peace continued unmade, and the *Barbarians* were quiet, though to purpose afterward they avenged themselves. *Augustus* gave money to the Soldiers, not upon the account of Victory, though he himself received and gave the Title of *Imperator* to *Tiberius*; but because in this Action *Caius* was first trained up to Military Exercises, Promoting now *Tiberius* to the Imperial Power in the room of *Drusus*, and gracing him with the Name, he made him *Consul* the second time, and commanded him according to the ancient Custom to expose his Letters to view, and honoured him with a Triumph: For he himself would not Triumph, but rather chose that on his Birthday perpetual Games should be solemnized with Horfes. He enlarged the Bounds of the *Pomerium*, and named the Month *Sexstilis*, after himself *Augustus*. Others would have given this Name to *September*, because in it he was born; but he preferred *Sexstilis*, because in it he was first made *Consul*, and obtained many notable Victories: So writes *Dio*. And the same reason of his preferring *Sexstilis* before *September*, is given by *Suetonius*, who mentions this passage as relating to his new modelling or reforming of the year. And this he did, he tells us, as *Pontifex Maximus*, which Place he resolved never to take from *Lepidus* while living. When he was dead he took it, and for a first Essay, he caused all the Fortune-telling Books, both *Greek* and *Latin*, which either had no Authors known, or those of no reputation, to be fought out and burnt, above Two thousand in number. The *Sibylline* Books he only retained, and those choicely selected, which he laid up in guarded Repositories under the Basis of *Palatine Apollo*. Then he adds, That the Year being regulated by *Divus Julius*, but afterward through negligence disordered and confused, he restored it to its former Course; and in this reformation chose to give the Name of *August* to the Month *Sexstilis*. After this he tells us what further he did about the Superstition of the *Romans*, as his honouring the *Vestal Virgins*, and restoring several Ceremonies in order to it, amongst which were the *Secular Games*. But as to the reformation of the Year, *Pliny* and others relate, how in the space of Thirty six years, twelve dayes were intercalated; whereas there ought to have been but nine. He therefore Commanded that Twelve years should pass without any Leap-year at all, that so these three dayes might be swallowed up, which increased by the over-hastiness of the Priests. For the naming of *Sexstilis* after him *Augustus*, a Decree of the Senate passed; and also one of the People, *Pacuvius* one of the *Tribuni Plebis* propounding the Law; and concerning which *Macrobius* in his *Saturnalia*, is to be consulted.

The Month *Sexstilis*, called *August*.

Augustus reformed the year.

The Death of *Mecenas*.

70. *Augustus* was well enough pleased with these things, but grievously afflicted with the death of *Mecenas*, who was serviceable to him in several respects. He held him so faithful that he committed the Government of the City to him, though but of *Equestrian* Rank for a long time; and he found him useful to him when he was transported with immoderate Anger, to allay his Passion, and reduce him to a more quiet mind. Of this *Dion Cassius* gives us one instance. It happened, that when *Augustus* sat in Judgment upon accused Persons, *Mecenas* himself was present in Court, and perceiving that He would condemn many of them, being not able

to come at him for the Croud, he wrote these words, *Rise up at last Executioner*; and as if it had contained some other matter, cast the Paper into his Lap; which having read, he presently arose without fentering any of them. And he was not at all displeased, but rejoiced that his Friends would take the liberty to reprove him, when his own Nature or that of the Matter before him inclined him to Anger. This is taken as a great Evidence of his Virtue, that though he opposed the Extravagant desires of *Augustus*, yet he was held by him amongst his familiar Friends, and withal approved himself well to all other Persons; and having such Interest in the Emperor, that he obtained for many of his Friends, Honours and Places of Magistracy; yet was he not so ambitious as to accept any Dignity himself, being contented with the *Equestrian* Degree. But what *Dio* attributes to his Humility, Others do it to his desire of Ease and love of Pleasure, though indeed more that of a *Virtuoso* than *Sensualist*. And herein he was much encouraged and humored by the Poets, of which he was a great Patron as of all Learned Men. Whoever reads the Poems of *Horace*, wherein he so much commends a retired life, and resolutely troublefome greatness, cannot but fancy them sitting together, hugging themselves, and laughing at the follies of such as bustle and make a stir a little while, and prefer not the real enjoyment of a short life, before being hurried out of the World in a Crowd of Cares and Business. It's agreed, that he loved to live within his Fortune. *Cilnius* was the ancient Name of his Family, and *Arretium* in the *Tyrrhenian* Coasts the place of it. *Pliny* tells strange passages of him, as that he never was without an Ague; and for three years before his death never slept a quarter of an hour together. But *Dio* adds, That for the reasons related, *Augustus* was grievously afflicted for his death, and this made him love his Memory the more, that though *Mecenas* was angry with him about his Wife, yet he left him his Heir, and excepting Only a few things, left it in his power to be kind to his Friends. *Mecenas* first made use of a swimming place furnished with warm Water, and invented certain Notes or Characters for speedy writing, which he communicated to many by the means of *Aquila* his Freedman. This Year also wherein *Augustus* mended the Calendar, *Horace* the Poet died in the Fifty seventh year of his Age; His familiarity with *Caesar* and *Mecenas* is sufficiently known. His Life is written by *Suetonius*.

71. *Tiberius* on the Calends of January of the DCCXLVII. Year of the City, wherein he himself and *Cn. Piso* were *Consuls*, called together the Senate into the Court or *Forum* of *Othavins*. He undertook the Repairing of the Temple of *Concord*, thereon he set his own Name and that of *Drusus*. After this he Triumphed, and this being over, he dedicated the Temple of *Livia* together with his Mother. Then did he Feast the Senate in the Capitol, and *Livia* the Ladies apart by themselves. A little after he went into *Germany* where some Stirrs were made, but nothing memorable was performed in that Country all this Year. A great Fire happened about the *Forum*, which consuming many Buildings, was said to have been procured by those that were deeply in Debt: Who conceived themselves much injured, as if this would ease them of their Burthens; though they were deceived, getting nothing thereby. But it produced this Effect, That from amongst the *Plebeians* were constituted certain Officers called *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted on certain days within the Extent of their authority, to wear the Robe of a Magistrate, and to have two *Lictors* go before them; and to them were assigned the Slaves which formerly had attended the *Ediles* for quenching of Fires. And now was the City divided into Fourteen Regions, the Government of which was assigned to these *Curatores Vicorum*, the *Tribuni Plebis*, and the *Prætors* by Lot.

72. The following Year had *C. Antistius Vetus*, and *D. Lælius Ballus* for *Consuls*. *Caius* and *Lucius* being Educated in an high condition, in no wise imitated the modesty of *Augustus* his Father by Adoption. They not only lived more delicately, but grew insolent upon their Fortune; inasmuch that *Lucius* on a time going to the Theatre, and there being received with Applause which some gave him with a willing mind, and others out of Flattery, was puffed up to that degree of Pride, as to ask that the Consulship might be given to his Brother *Caius* though yet a Boy. *Augustus* hearing of it was angry, and wished that never any such Necessity might lye upon him, as he had found formerly, that the Consulship should be given to one under Twenty years of Age; but for all this his Son's pressing him to it, he answered, That the Office was to be discharged by a man, that could take care that he himself offended not, and could resist the Extrava-

*Mecenas Epus
Augusto de
sequestro regem,
Istria fortissim
qui capis apt
tuan.*

His Commenda-
tion.

Horace dies.

Part divided
into Fourteen
regions.

Young Lucius
and Caius,
Caesar's Sui-
tesses.

gant desires of the People: At length he gave the Priesthood to *Caius*, and leave to go into the Senate, and be present with *Senators* at Shows and Feasts. However, *Tacitus* writes, that he earnestly desired that both of them not being yet Seventeen years old, should be called *Princes of the Youth*, and *Design'd Consuls*. Yet *Dion* adds, that to make them something more modest, he granted to *Tiberius* the *Tribunitial* Power for five years; and committed to his care *Armenia*, which had revolted. This he did to no purpose, for he offended both them and *Tiberius*; them, because they thought themselves undervalued; and him, because he feared their Indignation; and therefore he betook himself to *Rhodes*, under colour of Study, and he took not all his Attendants with him, but did withdraw himself from their view and their Actions. Some say left his Glory should dim the Lustre of the two rising young Men. Others thought that *Augustus* his Children being grown to man's estate, he quitted now, as it were, the Place and Possession of the second Degree, so long held by him after the Example of *Agrippa*, who when *Marcellus* was admitted to publick Offices, went to *Mitylene*; that being present, he might not seem either to withstand or detract from them, and thus Account he gave of his withdrawing; yet a long time after. Some yet there were who thought he did this because of his Wife *Julia*, whom he could endure no longer; it's certain that he left her at *Rome*. Others imagined he took it ill that he was not adopted *Caesar*; and some fancied he was sent thither by *Augustus*; because he used some Treachery toward his Sons.

73. However we are further told, That dissembling the Cause of his Resolution, he asked leave of *Augustus* his Father-in-law, (both in respect of his Wife and himself) to depart. Neither would he yield to his Mother, that humbly besought him, nor to his Father-in-law, complaining that he also was forsaken by the Senate, and when they resolutely detained him, he eat nothing in four days. At length having got leave, he went down presently to *Osilia*, not speaking a word to them that went with him, and kissing very few at his departing; yet he opened his Will, and read it before his Mother and *Augustus*. As he sailed along the Coast of *Campania*, hearing that *Augustus* was Sick, he stayed a little, but hereupon a Report being raised that he tarried upon occasion of greater hope, he failed to *Rhodes* almost, in foul weather. He went and acted like a private man in all respects, except in this, that he compelled the *Pharians* to sell him a Statue of *Vesta*, which he Dedicated in the Temple of *Concord*. He contented himself with no great House, and as little a Country place, being much taken with the pleasantness and healthfulness of the Island, since he Landed there, in his return from *Armenia*. He walked sometimes into the places of Exercise, without either a *Lictor* or *Viator*, conversing with the *Greeks* almost on equal terms. Nevertheless *Paterculus*, his Flatterer, writes, That all *Proconsuls* and *Legats* going into the Provinces, coming thither to visit him, always submitted their *Falces*, although in this privacy, and protested that this Retirement of his was more Honourable than his living in the Principality. And yet as *Suetonius* tells the Story, Sometimes, even in *Rhodes*, he exercised the Power of the Principality it self; for, being a diligent Hearer of *Theodorus* the *Gadarean* (a *Rhetorician*, who desired to be called the *Rhodian*) and of other Professors, it happened that the Readers differed, and the Difference in Opinion procured a hot contest and quarrel in the School. Hereupon he interposed, and being thought to be Partial, was reviled by one of the contrary Faction, who used such Language, that *Tiberius* provoked therewith, went home like a private man, but speedily came abroad again like a Publick Magistrate with his *Apparitors*, and calling before him by voice of a Crier the Person that reviled him, commanded from the Tribunal that he should be carried to Prison.

74. *Augustus* reduced the undetermined Number of them that were to receive Corn from the Publick to Two hundred thousand, and some reported that he gave to every one Sixty Drachmes. When he exhibited the *Speltacula*, he brought the *Flaminian* Water into the *Circus*, and in it Six and thirty Crocodiles were killed. Now first of all he instituted two *Præfects* of the *Prætorian* Guards. When he entered his twelfth Consulship with *Lucius Sylla*, he brought *Caius*, being now come to man's estate, into the Court, and designed him *Princeps Juventutis*, or *Prince of the Youth*, and made him *Præfect* of a Tribe. That this title of *Prince* was given him by the *Equites*, who gave him also Silver Spears, he himself shewed in the Breviary of his Acts, wherein he mentioned also

*Tiberius with-
draws to
Rhodes.*

Where he
lives privately.

Agrippa pro-
motes Caius
and Lucius
Consuls.

that the Senate and People designed both *Caius* and *Lucius* Consuls, to do him Honour, though they were but fifteen years old, that they might enter upon that Office, after five years to be reckoned from the day that they were to be brought into the Court. In his Thirteenth Consulship he brought his Son *Lucius* into the Court, and conferred the same Honours upon him, that he had done three years before upon his Brother *Caius*, which the Coins do testify, in which are the Effigies of *Caius* and *Lucius* with Bucklers and Spears, and this Inscription, *Caius and Lucius Cæsars, the Sons of Augustus, designed Consuls, Princes of the Youth*. Thus he honoured the Sons, but found Cause to treat the Mother quite after another fashion. He found their Mother, and his Daughter, *Julia* arrived at that Excess of wantonness and Prodigality, that even in the Forum, and at the *Rostra* she held her Meetings and Junketings by Night, abusing these Courts with lascivious Acts, in which her Father had made the Law against Adulteries. He had believed formerly that she lived no strict sort of life, but did not think she had been so wanton and Notorious, having the same misfortune with other Princes to be least acquainted with his own most intimate Concernments. Now was he seized with so extraordinary a Passion upon full Discovery of her wickedness, that he could not contain his grief within his own doors, but Communicated his misfortune and the disgrace of his Family with the Senate; not being there present himself, but by a Writing which was read by the *Quæstor*. For he kept himself from Company a long time for very shame, and thought of putting his Daughter to Death. At last he banished her to *Pandataria*, an Island of *Campania*, whither her Mother *Scribonia* did voluntarily accompany her, who had been divorced from *Cæsar*, that day she was Delivered of her, in the Consulship of *L. Martius*, and *C. Sabinus*. So that *Julia* was Eight and thirty years old at this time, as some observe. Her Husband now at *Rhodes* was not loath to hear these things, and that a Divorce was sent her in his Name by *Augustus* his Command; yet, as he thought it his duty, he begged of him by frequent Letters to Pardon her, and though she deserved very ill, yet that he would grant her whatsoever he had given her.

Banished her
Mother.

Videuffer. in
Annal.

Armenia Re-
volved.

75. *Augustus* in this great misfortune was diverted by being necessitated to cast his thoughts upon *Armenia*. *Pompey* had only laid this Servitude upon them of that Country, to receive their Governors from *Rome*, and *Augustus* had set over them *Artabazdes* (or *Artabazes*) with this title. Him they now expelled, set up *Tigranes* in his room, and called in the *Parthians* to assist in maintaining what they had done, who leaving the Alliance of the *Romans*, laid hold on *Armenia*. *Augustus* hearing of the Revolt, and of the Conjunction, was much concerned, and doubted what course to take. He could not manage the War himself by reason of his old Age. *Tiberius* had withdrawn himself, neither durst he trust any of the more powerful Citizens of *Rome*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were young and unfit for such an undertaking; but necessity urging, he made choice of *Caius*. He had indeed before this brought them, though young, into some charge in the Commonwealth, and being designed *Consuls*, sent them about the Provinces, and Armies. He made *Caius* *Proconsul*, and Married him, thereby to procure him more Esteem and Friends to give him Council. His Wives Name was *Lollia Paulina*, the Daughter, or Niece of *Marcus Lollius*, whom he appointed the Governor of his Youth. It's said that *Caius* behaved himself variously in this Expedition, so as to afford matter both for commendation and dispraise; but through the Greatness and Majesty of the *Roman* Name, he quieted all things. At first *Phraates* King of *Parthia* was no whit terrified, although *Augustus* in his Letters had not called him *King*, but only by his Name; but proudly Writing back again, called himself *King*, and *Augustus* nothing but *Cæsar*. But when he knew that *Caius* was come into *Syria*, and suspected that his Subjects out of the hatred they bore him, would not be quiet at home, he obtained a Peace from him, but upon this condition, that he should leave off pretensions to *Armenia*. And now *Artabazes* being dead of a Disease, *Tigranes* sent Presents to *Augustus*, and not Writing himself *King*, begged the Kingdom. *Augustus* moved herewith, and fearing the *Parthian* War, accepted of his Presents, and commanded him with some hope to go into *Syria* to *Caius*; and the *Armenians* thought it more profitable to be reconciled to the friendship of the *Romans*, and to live in their own Country, than to join with the *Parthians*, lose their Country, and have the Enmity of the *Romans*.

Reduced by
Caius.

76. *Augustus*

The birth of
our Lord Je-
sus Christ.

76. *Augustus* having again quieted all Nations, and shut the Temple of *Janus* the third time; having ordained a general Taxation throughout the Empire, that he might know the State and worth thereof, having also refused the name of *Dominus* or Lord with great earnestness, which he forbade about this time even his Children and Nephews by an Edict to use towards him, the Lord and Heir of all things came into the World, in the fulness of time, revealed by the Angel *Gabriel* to the Prophet *Daniel*, for the fulfilling of the Promises made concerning the Seed of the Woman, which should break the Serpents head. Great difference there is in assigning the Year of the World, wherein our Saviour was born, by reason of the difficulty of computation arising from the several Versions of the Scriptures, the intricate and uncertain Successions of the Judges, the variety of the forms of years, and the several reckonings as to parcels of such as are related in Scripture. A great help for the regulation of these things, is afforded from Prophane History. But it beginneth but with *Cyrus*, whose History, as to the restoration of the Jews, pretereth us with the first certain note of conjunction (he being so named both by holy and prophane Writers, but not *Nebuchadnezar*) and yet the duration of his Reign is also uncertain. Yet as from all these Opinions weighed together, a good account may be given in another place, more proper for the length of it, as to the Year of the World, so the *Evangelist* teaching us, that in the Fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, *Christ* was about Thirty years old, it must needs follow, that *Augustus* reigned Fifteen years after his Birth; so that if we count (as some do) the Reign of *Augustus* from the death of *Julius Cæsar*, it lasted fifty seven years, and then must *Christ* be born in the forty second of it. But if we follow them (as the order of this Work doth) who with more reason fetch the beginning of his Empire from the death of *Antony*, and the Conquest of *Egypt*, then *Christ's* Birth fell into the twenty eighth year thereof, and according to the computation which we most approve, into the 4003 year of the World, the 752 of the City, and the third year of the 194 *Olympiad*, wherein *Cæsar Augustus* himself the thirteenth time, and *M. Plautius Silanus* were *Consuls*. Although *Cyrenius* (who was *Consul* ten years before, and is called elsewhere *P. Sulpicius Quirinus*) might not formally be *President of Syria* (which *Office*, as others say, was now obtained by *Quintilius Varus*, the Successor of *Saturninus*, who as yet was not departed out of the Province) yet being set over this Taxation by *Augustus* in that place, this Title might well be given him, though he then governed *Cilicia*, as *Herod* is by *Iosephus* said to be continued *Procurator* of all *Syria*, though it had its Officers, who were to act by his assistance and direction. *Herod* had now reigned 37 years and odd months, and being deluded by the Wife Men, (whom he willingly suffered to search out *Christ*, that he might destroy him) killed all the Children in and about *Bethlehem* of two years and under; which Cruelty was but agreeable with his disposition and constant practice. Here, that we may describe his Affairs, we must make a little digression, and take them where we formerly left them.

A. M. 4003.
O. 154. 403.
P. C. 752.
Cæsar Augustus
13.
M. Plautius Si-
lanus Cæf.

I. Josephus Antiq.
l. 17. c. 7.

De bello Ju-
daico. l. 1. c. 15.

March 2. 15.

A Digression
into the Affairs
of Herod.

He maketh a
very Avisholus.

77. After he had obtained the possession of his Kingdom, he put to death forty five of *Antigonus* his Friends, having procured him to be beheaded, as we formerly shewed. Then did he prefer to the *Priesthood* one *Ananel* an obscure man, neglecting *Arifobolus* the Son of *Arifobolus* the King, and Brother to his own Wife *Marianne*; and *Antony* desiring to see this Youth, for the fame of his Beauty, he fearing the *Roman* might advance him, to slay him at home, gave him the *Priesthood*, and excused his neglect to fend him, by the inclination of the Jews to rebellion. Perceiving him then to be in extraordinary favour with the Jews, and that his Mother *Alexandra* (which he kept very close because of her restless spirit) plotted the escape of her self and Son into *Egypt*, a year after, as he was swimming, he caused him to be drowned, and though *Cleopatra* accused him herof to *Antony*, yet by Presents he made his Peace. In the Civil Wars he sided with *Antony*, who having Forces sufficient, desired him to chastise the *Arabians*, that denied the Tribute imposed on them. This he did, and though at first his attempts miscarried, yet in another Battle he quite overthrew and brought them under. After the overthrow of *Antony*, he had little hope that his own matters would go well. He murdered *Etyrcanus*, who only survived of all the Males of the Royal Family, and whom he had recalled from *Babylon*, whither he was carried by the *Parthians*. He took the advantage of the Old man's intent to flye into *Arabia*, through the importunity of his Daughter *Alexandra*, who promised him great things, if *Herod* should miscarry under the power of *Augustus*. Then providing as well as he could for the worst, in case it should happen, he went

I. Josephus Antiq.
l. 15. c. 15. 06.

Ant. 13. 15.

went to *Rhodes* to visit *Cæsar*, from whom he concealed not the love he bore to *Antony*, but with notable courage declaring it, withal signified that he was ready to serve him as faithfully; which so wrought upon the Magnificent Prince, that he liked him extremely, and confirmed him in his Estate. After *Cæsar's* return out of *Egypt* into *Syria*, he entertained him, and as he thereby procured the reputation of a noble and heroic spirit, so also an addition to his Kingdom. Yet was he unfortunate at home, having commanded several times, That if any thing happened in his absence, they should make away his beloved Wife *Mariamne*. She hearing of it, used him frowardly, whereat being enraged, he was thoroughly persuaded to put her to death, by his Sister *Salome*; which envious Woman feigned some accusations against her. But after the deed was done, having extraordinarily loved her, he fell even mad, and thereby into a great sickness, to that casting off all Government, he departed to *Samaria*, then called *Sebasté*, in honour of *Augustus*.

Is reconciled to *Cæsar*, having sided with *Antony*.

Killeth his Wife *Mariamne*.

Groweth cruel.

78. *Alexandria* in the mean time endeavoured to get the strong places of *Jerusalem* into her hands; wherewith he being acquainted, ordered her to be put to death, and then returning to the City, grew exceeding cruel and distastful. The prejudice was increased by his making Games in honour of *Cæsar*, and hanging his Theatre with Trophies, which the People sorely distasted, as being by their Religion principled against Pictures. Ten men conspired against him, but were discovered and put to death. Not long after he redeemed his credit by liberality in a great dearth, and married the Daughter of *Simon*, whom he preferred to the Priesthood, having displaced *Jesus* the Son of *Phabes*. Then did he employ his time and Treasure in Sumptuous and Royal Buildings, as that of *Cæsarea* amongst the rest, formerly called the *Tower of Straton*; and he built a Temple to the honour of *Augustus*, who had again enlarged his Dominions, and bestowed a *Tetrarchy* at his desire upon his Brother *Pheroras*. To the People, which was ready to mutiny, because of his Idolatry, he released the third part of their Tributes, to please them, forbad all their Meetings, punished severely such as were obstinate, and bound the rest to him by an Oath. After this, taking down the Old Temple of *Jerusalem*, he built another much more stately and magnificent (being a work of most admirable Beauty) in the space of Nine years and six months; during which time, it is said, that it only rained on Nights, lest the Work should be hindered. In the dedication he sacrificed 300 Oxen, and the rest of the People according to their abilities. He made a Law, That Thieves which broke Walls should be sold for Slaves, out of the Kingdom. This the People ill resented, as against their Religion, which not only provided otherwise concerning Thieves, but would be broken also by these men, who must necessarily serve Idolaters. Now he himself fetched from *Rome* *Alexander* and *Arifobulus* his Sons by *Mariamne*, whom having sent thither to be bred, *Augustus* had kindly entertained. These Youths were reared by *Salome* and *Pheroras*, as intending to revenge their Mother's death, and therefore they resolved they must not live, especially he that was encouraged by the success he had had against their Mother. And they presented her with an opportunity of accusing them, seeming indeed not to be well affected toward their Father, desiring the Kingdom, and exclaiming greatly against the authors of their Mother's Ruine. *Herod* troubled hereat, called to Court *Antipater* his Son, begotten when he was a private man, that opposing him against them, he might make them more careful of their behaviour. But thereby were they more incensed, and *Antipater* making use of his time, got more and more into his Father's affections, who commended him in especial manner to *Cæsar*, (though he had not a thought at first of making him his Heir) and sent him to *Rome* to procure the Emperor's favour.

Accuseth his two sons begotten of *Mariamne* unto *Cæsar*.

79. *Antipater* improving his Father's displeasure against his Brothers, wrought so for, that he carried them to *Augustus* then at *Aquileia*, and grievously accused them of an intention to poison him. Yet the young men by their tears, and *Alexander's* refutation of the calumny, so moved *Cæsar*, that he reconciled them; and for that *Herod* had given him three hundred Talents, & been very liberal, as his custom was to be in all places, unto the people of *Rome*, he bestowed on him half of the profits of the Mines in *Cyprus*, and gave him liberty to leave which of his Sons he pleased his Successor; or if he would, to distribute his Kingdom amongst them all, which *Herod* presently would have done, but *Cæsar* would not permit it. In his absence the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis*, a considerable part of his Dominion rebelled, and were reduced by his Captains. After his return he made a Speech

to the People, and named to succeed him first *Antipater*, and then his Sons by *Mariamne*; which naming a Successor before-hand, when the Inheritance is uncertain, hath ever wrought great inconvenience to both parties. After he had opened *David's* Sepulchre to search for Treasure, (as *John Hyrcanus* had done before him) where he found none except very costly attire, and Ornaments of Gold, 'tis observed, that his Family fell into a very sad condition, nothing being heard but complaints and accusations one against another. The greatest part of *Antipater's* malice fell upon *Alexander*, and the Court hereby was filled with tortures and slaughters. *Herod* suspecting all, and trusting none, put many to death, and those of his most intimate Friends, and committed *Alexander* to Prison, being captivated by so great a fear of an untimely death, that he was almost ready to run mad. These things were diverted by the rebellion of the Inhabitants of *Trachonitis* (which Countrey *Cæsar*, having taken it from *Zenodorus*, gave unto him) who again revolting, were protected by *Syllæus* an Arabian, that being to marry his Sister *Salome* was rejected, because he would not turn Jew. *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Presidents of *Syria*, resolved he might by force of Arms chastize these Rebels; whereupon he entered *Arabia*, and having formerly destroyed their Families, which they left in their Corn Countrey, took a Castle they held there. *Syllæus* now being at *Rome* accused *Herod* unto *Cæsar*, as having wasted all *Arabia*; and he so far believed it, that he twice denied his Ambassadors audience. The Rebels and Arabians hereupon did him much injury, which he was glad to put up for the present, but sent *Nicholaus Damascus* to plead his cause.

After his rising of *David's* Sepulchre, his affairs decline.

80. He first joined with the Ambassadors of *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, in accusing *Syllæus*, thence came to lay open his Forgeries against *Herod*, to whom *Augustus* was thoroughly reconciled, and had given him *Arabia* too, but that he received from him other Letters, containing another complaint against his Sons. For whilst he was thus out with *Cæsar*, the former flurs were renewed in his house by means of *Eurycles* a *Lacedæmonian*, who winding himself into *Alexander's* acquaintance, betrayed him first to *Antipater*, and then to *Herod* himself. He denied all accusations, except that he intended with his Wife to fly to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, her Father; but *Cæsar* being consulted, as we said, willed *Herod* to call a Council at *Berytus* with the Roman Presidents, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, and the rest of his Friends and Nobility thereabout, and do as he should be advised. He called all but *Archelaus*, and in an Assembly of 150 men declared most furiously against his Sons, not producing any proof at all, further than that they intended to fly, and not suffering them to be present to answer for themselves; He only required the suffrages of the Assembly to countenance his private resolution, which the major part giving (though *Saturninus* and his Sons gave an indifferent Sentence) he, acted by fury, and unnatural madness, caused them to be strangled at *Sebasté*. *Antipater*, after the death of his Brothers, quickly plotted the destruction of his Father, and for that he was hated by all men, procured some esteem by his Gifts, and drew *Pheroras* into the Conspiracy, to the issue of whom the *Pharisees* promised the Kingdom. For refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, they were fined by *Herod*, to whose Kingdom they prophesied destruction, and happiness to the Family of *Pheroras*, because his Wife payed their Fine. *Herod* getting out these things by the means of *Salome*, put the principal of the *Pharisees* to death, with others, and urged his Brother *Pheroras* to put away his Wife; which he refusing to do, he banished him his Kingdom. *Pheroras* then departing into his *Tetrarchy*, died shortly after, being visited by *Herod*, who buried him honourably at *Jerusalem*. *Antipater* standing in fear of his Father, wrought by his Creatures at *Rome* to be sent for by *Cæsar*. But this availed nothing; for in his absence all came out, which confirmed *Salome's* words (to which the King in this matter had given but little credit, knowing her to be too free in accusations) and brought vengeance upon him, notwithstanding all his craft, for the Murder of his Brethren.

Pooreth his Sons to death.

Joseph Antipater, lib. 17. cap. 1.

A grievous Conspiracy against him.

81. *Pheroras* his Wife being accused of poisoning her Husband, her Maids were tortured, and in their pain gave some suspicion of the conspiracy, which was more cleared by one *Antipater* that had the ordering of *Antipater's* affairs, who confessed that his Master had compounded a poison, and delivered it to *Pheroras* to be given to the King in his absence, and that it was kept by *Pheroras* his Wife. She confirmed the same, declaring that the Poison was bought in *Egypt* by *Antipater's* procurement, that it was committed to her charge, and how; that when

her Husband was Sick, and *Herod* came out of kindness to visit him, being overcome with his love he forbade her to give it him. Amongst the Accessories was *Herod's* own Wife, the Daughter of the *High-Priest*; he was put away, her Father deposed, and *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus* preferred to his place; *Herod* also her Son was put out of the King's Testament, wherein he had bequeathed the Kingdom to him after his death. In the mean time *Bathilus* the Freed-man of *Antipater* returning from *Rome* was tortured, and confessed that he had brought with him a Poison to deliver to *Pheroras*, wherewith the King might be certainly and speedily dispatched in case the other should fail. *Antipater* returned ignorant of these passages, for that almost every one was his Enemy, and before his Father and *Quintilius Varus*, though he fought to cover his wickedness, all things were made plain against him, whereupon he was committed to close Prison. Shortly after *Herod* himself sickened, and became exceeding teasty and wrathful, as well for these things, as for that he thought the People was glad of his misfortunes, having at the instigation of the Doctors of their Law, cut down an Eagle of Gold of great value, that stood over the Portal of the Temple. But his Sickness more and more increased.

He sickened.

82. His Dislike was strange and fearful. He burned with an inward heat, which pierced and tormented him in his Bowels. He was also vexed with a ravens and insatiable appetite, and an Ulcer in his Entrails, with a strange and furious Colic. His feet were swollen with moisture, and a shining kind of flegm, his Stomach being no less afflicted. His body rotted, and was full of crawling Worms, which afforded an intolerable stench; besides, he was held with a filthy and troublesome Priapism, a strong Convulsion of his Nerves, and shortness of Breath, being generally judged thus to be punished for his infinite Impieties and Sins committed against the Majesty of God; and doubtless his intention to kill *Christ*, with the innocent blood of the Infants cried loud. He used all means for recovery, and went over *Jordan* to the hot Baths of *Callirhoe*. Thence returning to *Jericho*, a Melancholic humour seized on him, which rendered him unfloable, and displeased with all men. Perceiving now that he should die, and supposing that the Jews would much rejoice in his death, he shut up many of the chiefest of them in the Hippodrome, and gave in charge to his Sister *Salome*, and her Husband *Alexas*, that as soon as he was dead, they should cause them all to be killed, that a Lameation might accompany his Funeral. Before his death he received Letters from *Caesar*, who gave him leave to deal with his Son as he saw occasion. *Antipater* yet believing that he was dead, plotted how to escape and seize on the Kingdom, but his Jaylor with whom he dealt revealed it to *Herod*, who commanded one of his Guard instantly to kill him; and to such an end came he for the Murder of his Brethren, and the sad Tragedies he had raised in his Father's House. *Herod* having attempted to kill himself, died some five days after his Son, in the seventy second year of his Age, twenty seventh after his getting possession of the Kingdom, and twenty ninth after he had been declared King by the Romans; 'tis uncertain how long after the Birth of *Christ*, but as is supposed not above two years, in the first of the 195 Olympiad, the 754 of the City, *Caius Caesar* and *L. Amilius Paulus* being Consuls. *Salome* and *Alexas*, before his death was thoroughly known, to their great honour discharged those that were locked up in the Hippodrome.

He kills his Son Antipater, who had procured the Death of his Brothers, and plotted against his Father's life.

And died.

Archelaus his Son being left his Successor in Judaea.

83. *Herod* not long before his end renewed his Testament, wherein he ordained his Son *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, having before this appointed him his Successor in the Kingdom, for that he was incensed against *Archelaus* and *Philip*, by the means of *Antipater*. Now he made *Archelaus* King, gave the Province *Gaulonitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Batanea*, and *Peneade* to *Philip*, left *Salome* very well, and gave great Legacies to *Caesar* and *Livia* his Wife. *Archelaus* at first was much cried up by the People; but afterwards the multitude calling to mind the death of *Matthias*, and his Confederates whom *Herod* had slain for breaking down the Eagle, fell into a Sedition (many flocking out of the Country to the Passover) and demanded justice against divers of his Officers; but this tumult was settled by the slaughter of Three thousand men about the Temple. Then went *Archelaus* to *Rome*, not daring to take upon him the title without the leave of *Augustus*, to whose disposal his Father had referred his Testament. Many followed, and spoke against him, being affected better towards *Antipas*, the Jews also sent their Ambassadors, with whom joined 8000 of their Country-men then living at *Rome*, in a Petition to *Caesar*, that they might be joynted to *Syria*, and live under *Roman* Governors with-

out

Augustus gives him half of the Kingdom, and the other half to his two Brothers.

Seditious in Judaea.

One counterfeit Alexander the Son of Herod by Mariamne.

And is detected by Augustus.

Judaea governed by Depu-ties.

Tiberius denied to return to Rome.

out any King. At length *Caesar* came to this resolution, to give half that Dominion, which *Herod* enjoyed, unto *Archelaus*, viz. of *Idumæa*, *Judæa*, and *Samararia*, with *Cæsarea*, *Sesbaste*, *Toppa*, and *Jerusalem*: the other half be divided betwixt *Antipas* and *Philip*. The former had the Country lying on the further side of *Jordan* and *Galilee*, with 200 Talents of Annual Revenue. *Philip* obtained *Batanea*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis* with 100 Talents. *Archelaus* had 500 Talents of yearly Rent out of his Country. Whilest these things were in hand at *Rome*, grievous Seditions tore the Jews in pieces at home; for they being now destitute of a King, several took upon them that title: *Sabinus*, who super-intended the affairs of *Caesar* there, gave the occasion, by pilling the people, which now at the Feast of *Pentecost* gathering together from all quarters, fought to shake off that yoke. After great slaughters, at length all was quieted by the coming of *Varus* from *Antioch*, who left the first Legion in Garrison at *Jerusalem*.

cap. 122

84. The Succession being settled by *Augustus*; a young man, and a Jew, born at *Sidon*, counterfeited himself *Alexander* the Son of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, affirming, that both he and *Aristobolus* were delivered by a Friend, who had it in charge to see them Executed, others being killed in their rooms. He deluded thousands of Jews inhabiting *Melus*, as also them at *Rome*, by whom he was received as their King. But he could not deceive *Caesar*, who made him confess the forgery, and because he had promised him pardon, if he would acknowledge the deceit, for that he had formerly laboured with his hands, he condemned him to the Gallies, and put the man to death who persuaded him to turn counterfeit. As for *Archelaus*, he tyrannized for ten years, and then being accused by the Jews, *Augustus* sent for him to *Rome*, where his Cause being heard, he banished him to *Vienna* in *Gall*, and confiscated his Goods. After this *Cyrenius* being sent into *Syria* to succeed *Varus*, valued the Goods of each Inhabitant, and seized the Estate of *Archelaus*. This Cesse or Valuation of their Estates, gave occasion to a great Sedition, by the means of one *Judas a Gaulonite*, *Sedoc a Pharise*, and his Confederates, alleging that this Description was no other than a manifest token of servitude, and exhorting all to maintain their liberty, to no purpose. For *Judaea* now having no more Princes of its own, was governed by *Depu-ties*, of which *Coponius* being the first, was shortly after succeeded by *M. Ambrius*, and he by *Ammius Rufus*.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 13. c. 5. J. 1. 5. 37.

85. Now that we may return to *Roman* Affairs, it will be convenient to inquire after *Tiberius*, and see how the former humour of Retirement holds him. The time of his Tribuneship being over, he fairly confessed, That he went away merely to shun all suspicion of Envy betwixt him and the two Brothers. And he requested that seeing there was no danger of that, now that they were grown Men, and next to the Emperor in Authority, he would give him leave to see again his Friends, with whom he had a very great desire to be. This would not be granted, but instead of leave he was bid lay aside all care of those whom he had so resolutely left. Against his will therefore he staid at *Rhodes*, and by his Mother's Intreaties scarcely obtained to be there as *Legatus* to the Emperor to cover the Ignominy; in the mean time, living not only privately, but in danger and fear, lurking in the middle of the Island to shun the Compliments of them that sailed by. When *Caius* went to the *Armenian* War, he crossed over to *Chius*, to present his Service to him, and purge himself from all suspicions, and he was very humble both to him and his Attendants. So writes *Dio*, though *Paterculus* a great Flatterer of *Tiberius* talks of *Caius* his giving all honour to him as his Superior. *Suetonius* speaks of his going to meet him at *Samos*, and that there he found him much alienated from him, through the false Accusations of *Marcus Lollius*, being also come into suspicion by the means of some Centurions devoted to him, who going to the Camp, seemed to tempt the Soldiers to Innovations. *Augustus* dealt softly with him as to tell him plainly of it, upon which he continually implored him to send one to him of what Rank or Quality soever he pleased to be an Observer of his Words and Actions. Now left he off his usual riding, and other Martial Exercises, and laying aside the Habit of his Country, reduced himself to the *Pallium* and *Crepide*; and in this condition he continued almost two years, every day more contemned and hated, inasmuch that the Inhabitants of *Nemausus* defaced his Pictures and Statues, and in a familiar Banquet mention being made of him, one of the Company rose up and promised *Caius*, that if he would but speak the word, he would bring him the Head of that Banished Man. Not so much through fear now, as manifest danger, he was moved

M m m m

both

both by his own, and his Mother's interest to solicit his Return. But *Augustus* resolved to do nothing in this Affair, without the consent of *Caius*.

86. It happened luckily for *Tiberius* that *Caius Cæsar* fell out with *M. Lollius*, about this time; and if the *Parthians* told true, just cause he had for so doing. They discovered his perfidious and subtle Councils, how he took Bribes of the Kings, and Robbed all the Countries of the East, whereupon he renounced Friendship with him, although his own Wife the Daughter or Neice of this *Lollius* is said to have got a Gown in this Expedition to set with Pearl that it was valued at four hundred *Sesteria*. The Death of *Lollius* happened not long after their falling out, and most say by Poison which he took, and he being dead *Quirinius* was made Governor to *Caius*, who served *Tiberius* at *Rhodes*, being a good Friend to him, as *Lollius* was the Author of the ill will betwixt him and *Caius Cæsar*; if *Tiberius* himself was to be believed. Now then the case was all altered, that by *Caius* his Permission *Tiberius* was recalled; but with condition that he should bear no Office in the Commonwealth, and accordingly being come to *Rome*, he gave himself wholly to ease, doing some private Courtships, but meddling with no Publick Buſiness. Not long after it happened, that *Lucius Cæsar* being appointed to go to the *Armies in Spain*, died at *Marſilles* suddenly, being a man of no fame; after whose death, if we believe *Paterculus*, his Grandfather *Augustus* would have adopted *Tiberius*, but he fearing the Envy and Power of *Caius* vehemently resisted it. But *Caius* and his fear, were both shortly after removed out of the way. For he received a wound in *Armenia*, being incited by Treachery to the Wall of a Town by one who pretended a Revolt, after which he performed no great matters. Then he began in Body to be less able, and in his Mind less disposed to be profitable to the Commonwealth. And he wanted not the Company of such Men as by their Flattery fomented his Vices, by which means he was come to be of that humour, that he had rather spend all his time in any corner of the World, than return to *Rome*, though his Grandfather courted him by Letters, and at last grieved at his Resolution, advised him but to return into *Italy*, and he should do what he pleased. With much Reluctancy then he complied, and put himself upon the way, but being brought by shipping into *Lycia*, he died at *Limyra*, a City of that Country, twenty two Months after his Brother *Lucius*. The Bodies of both Brothers were brought to *Rome* by the Tribunes of *Armies*, and the silver'd Bucklers and Spears they received from the *Equites* when they came to be Men, were hung up in the Senate-House. But thus we see the end of both the Brothers, concerning whom this must be added, That they were taken out of the way, as a suspicion went, by the Arts of *Livia* to make room for her Son *Tiberius*.

87. *Augustus* his third ten years being ended, undertook the Government, unwilling and by constraint, for ten more; and now being more gentle and unwilling to exasperate the Senators against him, he would offend none of them any more. It happening that his Palace was burned, and many offering him much Money to Repair it, he accepted only an *Aureus* from a Body or Corporation, and a *Drachme* from a private man; and by an *Aureus* or golden Coin, *Dion Cassius* tells us, he means the *Nomisma*, that was twenty five Drachmes in value, as certain Greek Authors took it, whom he had read out of his love to the *Attick* Dialect. When his House was Re-edified, he would have it be counted Publick, either because the People contributed Money towards it, or because he was *Pontifex Maximus*, and would live both in a Publick, and his own Dwelling. He made *Tiberius Nere* his Partner in the *Tribuneship*, which he also eagerly refused both at home and in the Senate-House; some say for five years, and others for ten. Another cast of his Office he gave again as *Pontifex Maximus*, in setting right the *Roman* Calendar. The third Intercalary Day being superfluous, which had increased by the Default of the *Roman* Priests, was in the Month of *February* omitted; but afterwards he commanded that one Day in the beginning of every fifth year should be intercalated according to the Institution of *Cæsar*, and for the perpetual observation of this Order, he caused it to be Ingraven in a Table of Brass. And thence afterward the Accounts of Times took their rise, this course being constantly observed till the change made in the Calendar by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, in the year MDLXXIX, just an hundred years ago. But left the Fairs kept by the *Romans* every ninth Day, should fall upon the Kalends of *January*, one Day was often added in the end of the precedent year, over and above the Custom, and taken away again in the year following.

He is permitted to Return

The Death of Lucius,

And of Caius Cæsar,

Augustus again regulates the year.

following, that the course might agree with the former Institution of *Julius Cæsar*.

88. About this time the People, whether out of kindness to him or his Daughter, earnestly requested him to restore her: He answered, That fire and water should sooner meet than that she should be restored. Yet after some five years Confinement, they forced him to let her come out of the Island into the Continent, but he could never be brought to recall her all together; and when the People still intreated him for her, and were very urgent with him, he used this Imprecation openly, That they might have such Daughters, and such Wives. But he was very kind to her Husband, though the People affronted him for her sake; so as *Ælius Catus*, and *Sentius Saturninus*, being *Consuls* on the fifth of the Calends of *July*, he adopted him, swearing before the People, that he adopted him for the Commonwealth's sake. But the same day he also adopted *M. Agrippa Posthumus*, the Brother of *Caius* and *Lucius*, and fearing that *Tiberius* elevated with his condition, should make disturbance, before he adopted him, he caused him to adopt *Germanicus*, the Son of his Brother *Drusus*, although *Tiberius* had a Son of his own, of his Brother's Name. *Tiberius* upon his Adoption, was immediately sent into *Germany*, where three years before, a War had broken out, and with him *Valerius Paterculus*, the Historian (formerly a *Tribune of the Cavalry*) served in quality of *Præfekt* of Horse, as succeeding his Father in his Places, and for eight years was, as he telleth us, the Spectator of *Tiberius* his Heavenly Actions, either in that place, or as *Legatus*, and as far as his meanness could reach, an Assistant in them. After this, he tells his Reader, or rather *Tiberius*, how gladly he was received by both Cities and Soldiers in *Germany*; how of the Soldiers one said he had served under him in *Armenia*; and another in *Rhetia*, and another had received from him a Donative in the *Findelici*, another in *Pannonia*, and a third in *Germany*. Upon the first entrance into this Country, he saith, the *Canninefates*, *Attuari*, and *Bructeri* were subdued, the *Cherusci* were received; and the River *Visurgis* afterward rendered famous by the overthrow of the *Romans*, passed over, *Cæsar* taking upon himself the most difficult part of the War, and leaving the more easy to *Sentius Saturninus*, who had been formerly in *Germany* *Legatus* to his Father. This year's Campaigne continued till the Month of *December*, and thereby, as he words it, procured the Emolument of a vast Victory.

89. Now if you believe him, the Piety of *Tiberius* drew him back to *Rome* for defence of the Empire, though the passages of the *Alps* were in a manner choked up with snow, and the time at the beginning of Spring brought him back into *Germany*, in the middle whereof, at the Head of the River *Julia*, he had appointed the Winter Quarters. The Historian falls into a Rapture considering how great things, requiring how great a Volume, they did the following Summer under his Conduct. All *Germany* was over-run. Such Nations were subdued, as were almost unknown by any Names, and those of the *Chanci* yielded themselves in an humble posture before the General's Tribunal. The *Longobardi* were distressed, being more fierce than the very *German* fierceness. In conclusion, he tells us, that from the *Rhine*, as far as to the River *Albia*, which flowed by the Borders of the *Senones* and *Hermandori*, the *Roman* Army passed with Ensigns display'd, and thither also by wonderful good fortune, through the care of the General, and due observation had of the time, came the Fleet, out of the unheard of, and formerly unknown Sea, up the *Albia*, and after Victory obtained over many Nations, with great plenty of all things; joynd with the Army of *Cæsar*, a thing which never before had been conceived in hope, never before in fact attempted. The fawning of this Writer is indeed intolerable, neither can nor ought we to relate his extravagant flourishes; but he saith, that his *Cæsar* being Conqueror of all Nations and Places whither he came, with a Conquering and untouched Army (except at one time, and that to the great loss of the Enemy, who did something by fraud) reduced the Legions into their Winter Quarters, and went to *Rome* with as much speed as he had done the preceding year. Indeed nothing now in *Germany* remained which could be overcome, except the People called *Marcmanni*, who by Persuasion and Conduct of *Marobodus*, forsaking their former Seats, and retiring into the inner Countries, had taken up the Grounds of the *Herzian* Wood, and through his management, had arrived at a considerable, nay, *emulous* greatness. *Marobodus* was now to be feared, having so placed himself as to have *Germany* on his left hand, and

M m m m 2 before

He adopteth Tiberius.

Who is sent into Germany.

Subdues his Vintages.

vid. lib. c. c. 104. 105. 106.

before him *Pannonia*; at his right, and behind him the *Noric*, at all which Coasts he might make an Impression. Neither could *Italy* be secure, the beginning of his Territories being not much distant above two hundred Miles from the *Alps*. This Man and this Country did *Tiberius* resolve, to fall upon the following year from several Quarters. *Sentius Saturninus* had Orders, that through the Territories of the *Catti*, cutting down the *Herzian* Woods, he should bring the Legions to *Bohæmus*; for so the Region was called, which *Maroboduus* inhabited; and *Tiberius* himself attempted to lead the Army that served in *Ilyricum*, from *Carnuntum*, a place bordering on the Kingdom of *Moricum* against the *Marcomanni*. But Fortune sometimes breaks, sometimes delays the purposes of Men. *Cæsar* had prepared the Winter quarters at the *Danube*, and the Design was to be executed when *Pannonia* grown insolent with ease, and *Dalmatia* trusting to its strength, by content Rebelled, drawing all the Nations of that Tract into the Conspiracy, and making up eight hundred thousand Men.

Pannonia and
Dalmatia Re-
bel.

90. With part they determined to invade *Italy*, and with part *Macedonia*, under Conduct of two *Batones* and *Pinnetus*. In *Pannonia* both the Roman Discipline and Language was known, and also Learning was common, and there was a familiar Conversation. This gave them the Advantage, that no Nation managed such a matter with more Discretion and Expedition. The Roman Citizens and Merchants were slain upon and slain, and many Soldiers cut off in places at great distance from the Emperor. *Macedonia* was overrun and wasted with Fire and Sword, and so great a fear thus struck into the Minds of men, that *Augustus Cæsar* himself trembled at it: Levies therefore were made, the veteran Soldiers were recalled every where to their Colours, and both Men and Women were compelled to find Soldiers even though *Libertines*, the Prince being heard in Senate to say, That without much care was used, in ten days, the Enemy might face *Rome*: both *Senators* and *Equites* promised their utmost endeavours. *Tiberius* was appointed General. *Paterculus* was designed *Quæstor*, and though not yet a *Senator*, made equal to *Senators*; and now being designed also *Tribunus Plebis*, he led part of the Army delivered by *Augustus*, to his Son. Being afterward *Legatus*, what wisdom he then could not but observe in the Conduct of *Tiberius*, he declares in way of Rapture. After that, he relates how *Messala* Governor of *Ilyricum*, with the twentieth Legion half full, though surprized with the Rebellion, dejected and put to flight the Enemy. How that part of their Forces, which opposed it fell to *Cæsar*, not daring to engage, seized on the *Claudian* Hill, and there fortified it self. Another that met with the Army which came from the *Transmarine* Provinces, under the leading of *A. Cæcina*, and *Sylvanus Plautius*, Men of *Consular* Dignity, put the Auxiliaries of *Thrace* to flight, falling upon them ere the unwary Captains thought of an Engagement; and had not the valour of the Roman Soldier exceeded the Courage and Abilities of their Officers, the whole Party had miscarried; but when many *Centurions* and *Tribunes* were lost, and much hurt received, the Legions exhorted one another to play the Men, and wrested the Victory out of the Hands of the Rebels.

Reduced.

91. Thus this War was full of Difficulties at first, but was in three years concluded by *Tiberius*. *Pannonia* first asked Peace. *Bato* and *Pinnetus* both came into the hands of the Romans, the one being taken, and the other yielding himself, and though the *Dalmatians* were hard to be overcome by reason of the difficult situation of their places, the fierceness of their Natures, and their great Abilities in Matters of War, yet they were not long after reduced, being almost ruined. While *Tiberius* was here in *Germany*, the Ambassadors of the *Parthians* having delivered their Message at *Rome*, were ordered to repair to him; being sent by the Nobility to desire to have for King one of the three Sons of *Pbraates*, that remained Hostages at *Rome*. Hereupon *Vonones* was preferred before the rest, and being aided by *Cæsar*, was joyfully accepted by the *Parthians* for some time. In the mean while, that we may return into *Italy*, *Paterculus* tells us, That *Agrippa*, who had been adopted the same day that *Tiberius* was, by his natural Grandfather, and for two years before had given sufficient notice how he would prove by his wonderful pravity of mind, being inclined to run headlong into mischief, alienated from him the affections of his Father and Grandfather *Augustus*; and his Vices every day increasing, he had such an end as he deserved. His end followed afterward, and was brought about by *Tiberius*, whom *Paterculus* flatters, as such a virtuous and deserving Person as scarcely ever the like, writing a Panegy-
rick

rick to him, rather than an History to another Reader. But we are told from other hands, that *Augustus* did prohibit his only Nephew *M. Agrippa Pothumus*, who was unlearned indeed and foolish, fierce out of a proud conceit of his strength, but yet found Guilty of no Crime; and that confiscating all his Goods to the Military Treasury, he banished him into *Plangia*, an Island near to *Corfica*.

92. But *Augustus* after he had adopted *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, thinking himself strengthened by such an Addition, went about another Purging and Modelling of the Senate. Few now quitted it of their own Accord as formerly, but some were cast out whether they would or not. That he might not seem to do this as *Cæsar*, to do the work and solemnize the *Lustrum*, he took *Præconial* Power. Several Young men both of *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* Dignity, fallen to decay without any Crime, he recruited. Taking notice how many Slaves were now Manumitted, he ordained of what Age both the Lord and the Manumitted Person should be, and other Rules to be observed both by Patrons and others toward Manumitted Persons. In the mean time was discovered a Conspiracy against him, the chief Author whereof was found to be *Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus*, the Nephew of *Pompey* the Great by his Daughter. He knew not what course to take; for if he put them to death, he feared he should not thence free himself from the Plots of others; and if they were not punished, it would encourage others to do the like. He was not able to rest Night nor Day by reason of these anxious Cares, till *Livia* his Wife, took notice of his trouble, and got the matter out of him. *Dion Cassius* relates, a Conference betwixt them, whether real or framed by himself, but the issue of it was this, that *Augustus* moved by her Arguments to method of Clemency, only corrected the guilty Persons by words, and so dismissed them; nay, he designed *Cornelius* to be *Consul*. And the Historian tells us, That by so doing, he so far obliged all men to him, that thenceforth not only no more Conspiracies were made against him; but not the least suspicion was had of any; but so by the means of *Livia*, was *Cornelius* preserved, though he was suspected afterward to have procured the Death of *Augustus* himself. In the Consulship of the said *Cornelius*, and *Valerius Messala*, horrible Earthquakes happened, and *Tiber* so swelled, that it brake down the Bridge, and made *Rome* Navigable for seven days; the Sun was eclipsed, and there was a Famine. The *Senators* and *Equites* began to behold the *Circenian* Games apart, which was afterward observed. And the Nobility being backward to give their Daughters to be *Festal* Virgins, a Law was made, that those of *Libertine* condition might become Preiits in that College, and a Dispute being made about it by many, some were chosen by lot in the Senate, their Fathers being present; but not one was taken in to be a *Festal*.

A Conspiracy
against Au-
gustus.

Livia pro-
cures Pardon
for the Parties.

93. At this time the Soldiers grievously complained of the scantiness of their Pay, and the rewards they received for their Service, and the more for being apprehensive of impending Wars, and none would bear Arms beyond the term allotted to warfare. Hereupon it was Decreed that to the *Prætorian Cohorts* should be given after they had served sixteen years, Five thousand Drachmes, and to others after the service of twenty years, Three thousand, man by man. At this time were maintained three and twenty Legions of Roman Citizens, or as some affirmed, twenty five, whereas in the days of *Dion Cassius*, when he wrote his History, only nineteen remained, which he mentioneth in particular. Namely, the second Legion *Augusta*, which wintered here in the upper *Britain*, Three that bore the Name of *Tertia*, viz. One in *Phœnicia*, called *Gallica*; another in *Arabia*, called *Cyrenæica*; and a third called *Augusta*. There was fourth known by the name of *Scythica* in *Syria*; a fifth *Macedonica* in *Dacia*; two fixths viz. one in Lower *Britain*, called *Vidrix*, and another in *India*, named *Ferrea*; there was a seventh in Upper *Myfia*, and called *Claudia*. An eighth was *Augusta* in the Upper *Germany*. Then two *Decimæ*; one called *Gemella* in the Upper *Pannonia*, and another in *Myfia*. An eleventh in the Upper *Myfia*, had the Name of *Claudia*, both it and the former having received the Name from *Claudius*, because they did not Rebel against him in the Sedition of *Camilus*. A twelfth was *Fulminifera* in *Cappadocia*. A thirteenth *Gemella* in *Dacia*. A fourteenth *Gemella* in Upper *Pannonia*. A fifteenth was Surnamed from *Apollo*, and lay in *Cappadocia*. A twentieth *Valeriana* and *Vidrix* had their Stations in the Upper *Britain*. These were the Legions of *Augustus* remaining when *Dio* wrote, the rest being either Distended, or by him and other Emperors mixed with other Legions, whence the Names of *Gemella* are thought, to have been derived.

The Legions of
Augustus re-
maining in the
time of *Dio*.

Such as were
inflamed by
succeeding
Princes.

Outer Guards.

94. And because he had undertaken to speak of the Legions, he further tells us, He thinks fit to mention such as were afterwards inflamed by following Princes, that those who desired to know their Originals, might understand it better in one continued discourse; Having the same Reason as he to inform the Reader, we shall follow him herein. Nero then instituted the first Legion called *Italica*, Wintering in the Lower *Myfia*: *Galba* the first *Auxiliary* in the Lower *Pannonia*; and the seventh in *Spain*. *Vespasian* the Second *Auxiliary* in the Lower *Pannonia*; and the fourth *Flavia* in *Syria*. *Domitian* the first *Minervia* (or *Athenienfis*) in Lower *Germany*. *Trajan* the Second *Egyptia*, and the Thirtieth *Germanica*, to which he gave his Name. *Marcus Antoninus* the Second in *Noricum*, the Third in *Rhetia*, which were also called *Italica*. *Severus* the First and Third *Parthia* in *Mesopotamia*, and the Second *Meda* in *Italy*. So many Legions *Dio* took notice of, besides that of the City and the *Prætorian* in his time. Under *Augustus* Twenty three or twenty five were maintained (he adds) and many other Auxiliary Companies of Horse and Foot, and Sea-men, of which he knew not the certain number. The Guard (saith he) of the Emperor's Person, consists of Ten thousand divided into ten Parties. Six thousand are appointed for a Guard to the City, divided into four Companies. Then are there the Strangers, Horsemen, called *Batravi*, from *Batavia*, an Island in the *Rhine*, the Inhabitants of which excel in the Art of Riding; of them and of the *Evocati* he confesseth he knew not the Number. *Augustus* then began first to use them, when he called together the *Veteran* Soldiers of his Father against *Antony*, and so kept them; and they continued to be a peculiar Body, bearing Staves as the Centurions. Upon these Accounts wanting Money, he consulted the Senate concerning the Establishment of a perpetual Revenue, whence without injuring any Person he might maintain and reward his Soldiers. They buying themselves herein, and no man of his own accord seeking to be *Edilis*, some were chosen by Lot from amongst the *Questors* and *Tribuni Plebis*, and constrained to Execute the Office, as often at other times was practised. Thus much *Dio* writes concerning the Legions and other Forces of the Empire, which indeed grew and increased, and again decreased as the State had need they should. Some reckon in *Galba's* time One and thirty Legions. In the Court of the Capitol was found a Stone, having the same Number of them as *Dio*, with some variety in the Names. As for the *Evocati*, we scarcely know what they were; but *Lipius* points us to a certain place in *Suetonius*, which he thinks to make out the signification of the word. Speaking of *Galba* his being saluted Emperor, and of his Lifting up numerous Soldiers above the former Army, and chusing a Council resembling a Senate, to which he would have things of consequence referred, he adds, That he made choice of Young Men of the *Equestrian* Order, who retaining the use of Golden Rings, were called *Evocati*, and were to watch about his Bed-Chamber in the room of Soldiers.

95. But such were the Forces *Augustus* thought fit to raise and maintain; it was another thing to procure the Money. In the Consulship of *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Arruntius*, and the DCCCLIX. of the City, no Revenue could be found out whereon to fix the Expence which should be approved by all sorts of persons, who yet were vexed that there should be such need of inquiring after it. *Augustus* then for himself and *Tiberius* brought in Money to a Treasury which he named *Military*, and committed the Charge thereof to three Persons of *Prætorian* Rank chosen by Lot, and that for Three Years, who should be attended with two *Lictors*, and other Servants; which Ceremony was observed for several years; but in *Dio's* time they were chosen by the Emperor, and had no *Lictors*. But Money being thus paid in by him, and he promising to do it every Year, several Kings and People also subscribed; for as for private persons, though there were also that offered, he would receive nothing. For all this Revenue would not in the least answer the Expence, and there being still need of constant supply, he engaged the Senators every one in particular to find out a way, and deliver it in Writing to be considered of by him; which he did not therefore do, because he found out none himself; but that they might be brought to approve that course which he was resolved to follow. Many being propounded, but none approved, he ordained that the Twentieth part of Inheritances and Legacies, those excepted which were left to the near of Kin and to the Poor, should be brought into this Military Treasury; and he did it, as having found this sort of Payment in the Commentaries of *Cæsar*. Indeed there had been formerly mention made of this thing,

De Magnitudinis Rom. Urbis.
c. 4.
c. 10.

A great Famine at Rome.

it was put off till this time. But so was the Revenue increased, and then *Augustus* ordered three Persons from amongst the *Consulares* to be chosen by Lot, partly to Contract, and partly to take away Expences.

96. But these things were no whit pleasing to the *Romans*, who were besides at this time afflicted with a grievous Famine: It was so urgent, that the *Gladiators* and saleable Slaves were sent away to Eighty miles distance from the City, and as well *Augustus* himself, as many others sent away their Servants; non-term was proclaimed; Senators were permitted to go whither they pleased: And left the *Senatusconsulta* should thereby be of less force, it was decreed, That such as should be made by those that continued at *Rome*, should be valid. Men of Consular Dignity were appointed to Oversee the Corn and Bread, so that a certain quantity thereof should be sold to particular Persons. *Augustus* gave as much Corn gratis to those who were wont to receive it from the Publick, as they were wont to have; and yet all this being too little, he would not suffer them to Ear publicly on his Birth-day. And whereas the City was in several Quarters much defaced by Fires, he appointed a Watch of the *Libertini* in seven places to prevent them, and over this Watch set a Person of *Equestrian* Degree; and though he did not intend they should Continue, yet finding them very serviceable, he thought fit to Continue their Employment; and when *Dion Cassius* lived, those *Libertini* who had Charge also of the Walls, and received publick Wages. But the Common sort now harrassed with Famine, Tribute and Fires, was much iraged, and openly talkt many things Seditiously, and desired a Change, and many Libels were thrown about by Night, one *P. Rufus* being reported to be chief Author of these Middlemeasures. But the Supplication light upon others, and indeed *Rufus* himself was absent, and not in Capacity to be Mover of such matters, but others under his Name went about to make an Alteration. An Inquisition was decreed to be made into the Offence; Judges were appointed, and had Salaries allotted, and some were accused as guilty. But the Tumults ceased not in the City till the Scarcity being over, *Germanicus Cæsar*, and *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, the Sons of *Drusus*, in honour of their Father, set forth a Show of the Gladiators. The People was pleased that this was done in memory of *Drusus*, as also that *Tiberius*, when he dedicated the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* not only set upon it the Name of *Claudianus*, (for so he called himself after he was adopted into the Family of *Augustus*, instead of *Claudius*) but of *Drusus* also; for it was his custom, whilst he managed Wars abroad, to come to the City as often as he might, partly to do some business, but chiefly out of fear lest *Augustus* should prefer any other in his Absence. This Year the Governor of *Achaia* dying when but half of his time was out, one part of his Province lying within the *Isthmus*, was assigned to his *Questor*, and the other part to his *Legatus*. *Herod of Palestine* being accused by his Brethren, was banished beyond the *Alper*, and part of his Dominions were made publick. Of this we shall hear from other Hands more fully than from *Dio*.

Sitrs in the
Provinces.

97. At this time he tells us there were many Wars. Into many Countreys Invasions were made by Rovers, inasmuch that *Sardinia* for several years had no Senator to govern it, but had Soldiers and Officers of the *Equestrian* Rank. Not a few Cities attempted to Revolt, so that the Provinces belonging to the People of *Rome*, for two years were governed not by such as were chosen by Lot, but by Suffrages; whereas such for many years were wont to prelide over the Provinces of *Cæsar*. The *Isauri* began with Depredations, but proceeded to a War, and were overthrown. The *Gæuli* not enduring to be subject to *Juba*, rose up against him, wasted his Borders, and killed many *Romans*, whom he employed together with his own Army, and thereupon they were so Elevated and made such work for *Cornelius Cossus*, that for subduing them he obtained Triumphal Honours, and the Surname of *Gæulicus*. Several Expeditions were made into *Germany*, and by *Tiberius* as well as others, who pierced as far as *Vesargis* and *Albia*; and yet no very memorable thing was done, though both *Augustus* and he received the Name of *Imperator* from the *Germans*, and *C. Sentius* who governed that Province had Triumphal Honours; because out of fear of them the *Germans* had twice made Peace with the Empire. They did not deserve to be granted, having violated their Faith, but the Affairs of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* were now so unsettled, and required such speedy Correction as wrested it from the *Romans*. The *Dalmatians* not enduring the burthen of the Tributes laid upon them, having been formerly

The Rebellion
of the Dalmatians and
Pannonians.

formerly inclined to rebel, were now encouraged to perfect their Resolution, because that *Valerius Messalinus* (so he calls him) the Governour of both Countries, was gone to the War which *Tiberius* now the second time made in *Germany*. At first some few rebelled, at the suggestion, especially, of one *Bato Dysidatus*, and overthrew the *Romans* that went against them, by whose Example the rest broke out into rebellion. Then the *Breuci*, a People of *Pannonia*, taking for their Leader another *Bato*, went to *Sirminum*, which was held by a Garrison of the *Romans*; And might have taken it, but that *Cæcina Severus*, who governed the Neighbouring *Myfia*, hearing of their Motions, met with and defeated them at the River *Drinus*. Notwithstanding the Victory, yet many of the *Romans* having fallen in the Battle, the Rebels hoped they might recruit by the assistance of their Friends, to procure which, they bent their utmost endeavours. In the mean time, *Bato* the *Dalmatian*, made an Inroad as far as *Salomæ*, where he received a great Bruise by a Stone, and returning without having any thing performed, sent others on the same Errand, who wafting all the Maritime Tracts as far as *Apolloniæ*, in several Encounters with the *Romans*, both gave and received Deaths.

98. *Tiberius* having notice of these Disorders, and fearing the Rebels might invade *Italy*, sent before him *Messalinus*, and then followed with greater Forces out of *Germany*. *Bato* though not fully recovered of his Bruise, met and fought with *Messalinus*, and had the better of him; but afterwards was Circumvented and beaten, and then he betook himself to the other *Bato Breucus*, and they jointly seized on the Hill *Alma*. There they were worsted by *Rhymetæles* the *Thracian*, whom *Severus* had sent against them, and afterward sustained the Violence of *Severus* himself; and when he was called away into *Myfia* by the *Daci* and *Sauromætae*, there infesting that Country, and *Tiberius* with *Messalinus* stayed at *Siscia*, they took the advantage, and invading the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, drew many into Rebellion with them. *Tiberius* came up with them; but they refused to give him Battle, and wandered up and down wafting all things in their passage with Celerity, to which their Skill in the Country and the lightness of their Habit did Contribute, Winter now drawing on. Some of them again invaded *Macedonia*, and were set upon and defeated by *Rhymetæles* and *Rejcepolus* his Brother, and the rest having their Territories depopulated, when *Q. Cæcilius Creticus* and *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus* were *Consuls*, left them and retired to Places more fortified by Nature, whence they made Incursions upon occasion. *Augustus* having notice of these passages, suspected *Tiberius* as out of design to have a Command, drawing out the War in length, when he might put an end to it. Thither he sent *Germanicus*, now bearing the Office of *Quæstor*, and with him Soldiers not only ingenious, but Freedmen, many of whom he redeemed both from Men and Women with Victuals sufficient for Six Months. As he made this Provision for the War, he put off the Choice of *Equestes*, which was wont to be performed in the *Forum*, and vowed to Celebrate the *Ludi Magni* upon some Prophecies pretended to be uttered by a certain inspired Woman. And though he knew well enough she was a Counterfeit, and acted a part out of Design, yet the People being exceedingly perplexed both by reason of the Wars, and of a Death which again oppressed them, he made a show as if he gave credit to what she said, and did all he could to give satisfaction to the Multitude.

99. The charge of Provisions he again committed to two *Consulares*, to whom he allowed *Littors*. When there wanted Money for carrying on Wars, and maintaining of night-Watches, he settled a Tribute consisting of the fiftieth part of price given for slaves; and he forbade the Money which the *Quæstors* were wont to lay out upon the shows of Gladiators to be expended. Now that he sent *Germanicus*, and not *Agrippa* to the War, our Writer tells us; the servile Disposition and Humour of *Agrippa* himself, was the cause, who spent his time in Fishing and at Sea, and thence took upon him the Name of *Neptune*, fell out into Extravagant Passions; railed at *Julia* as his Step-mother; and not seldom accused *Augustus* as guilty of retaining his Father's Estate: when he would not be reclaimed, he was proscribed by *Augustus*, his Estate was confiscated to the Military Treasury, and he himself banished into *Planasia*, an Island near to *Corfica*. Now *Germanicus* was got into *Pannonia*, and all the Forces marched thither; but the two *Batones* observing the time when *Severus* came from *Myfia*, suddenly fell upon him as he incamped himself in the *Volcan Fens*, and worsted him, after which the *Romans* were dispersed to invade the Enemy in several Quarters. No great

Agrippa's Disposition at his Extravagancies.

great matters were performed by other Parties; yet *Germanicus* overcame in fight, and much damned the *Maceæ*, a Nation of *Dalmatia*. The year following in the Consulship of *M. Furius Camillus*, and *Sextus Nonius Quintilianus*, both *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* desired Peace, being distressed by Famine, and a Disease thence arising, from their feeding on Herbs and Roots, to which they were not accustomed. They desired it by their Ambassadors, and yet still made resistance through the procurement of them who expected no Security from the *Romans*. As *Germanicus* was besieging a certain strong City, and could not take it, one *Pulio an Eques* and *Germanus* by Nation, cast a Stone at the Wall, which broke and disordered the Battlement, that a man leaning against it, it fell down; and this so affrighted the Defendants, that they fled into the Castle, which afterwards they yielded up with themselves. *Bato the Dalmatian* treated with *Tiberius*; and the day after being brought before him, as he sat on the Tribunal, *Tiberius* asked him, For what Reason they would revolt, and continue in Rebellion so long against the *Romans*? He answered him thus, *Tou your selves are in fault, who appoint to the keeping of your Flocks not Dogs nor Shepherds, but Wolves*. But so *Dalmatia*, partly by force of War, and partly by Composition returned into Obedience to the *Romans*.

100. At this time *Augustus* gave the Senate leave to take Cognizance of most things in his Absence, and obtained from appearing in Publick. And as in the preceding year, when Disturbances were great, he himself made all the Magistrates: now such as he would have advanced, he commended to the People. He was during the Wars in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* so intent upon them, that for better Correspondence, and to give Directions, he betook himself to *Arminum*, whither when he went. Vows were made, and at his return Sacrifice was offered, as if he had returned from the Field. About the same time, *Bato the Breucus*, having betrayed *Pinnes*, and for a reward received the Kingdom of the *Breuci*, was taken by his Namesake, the other *Bato* (who it seems for all his meeting with *Tiberius*, was still his own Man) and put to Death as he went about the Garrisons to require Hostages: He had him delivered up by some that held a Castle whither he had entred, and carrying him to the Camp, condemned him. After this, still many other *Pannonians* rebelled, but *Silvanus* had the better of them, and *Bato* seeing no hope to be remaining in *Pannonia*, fortified the Passages out of that into *Dalmatia* with Guards, and wafted this Country. The *Pannonians* seeing also their Territories harried by *Silvanus*, received terms, though they could not for some time be restrained from Robberies; to which these Nations were extremely addicted. *Tiberius* against Winter, wherein *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus*, and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* were *Consuls*, came to *Rome*, and was met by *Augustus* in the Suburbs. He brought him into the *Septa*, and saluting the People from the Tribunal, performed what was wont to be done at celebrating Victories, and particularly exhibited the *Spelæacula* by the assistance of the *Consuls*. The *Equestes* now were mightily concerned to have a Law abrogated, which had been made concerning unmarried Persons, and such as had no Children. He therefore called before him such of them as were Batchellors, as also those that were Married, and had Children, each fort apart and by themselves.

101. Finding the Married fort to be far inferior in number to the unmarried, he was troubled thereat, and first spoke his mind unto them, if our Historian doth not make his Speeches for him, to this purpose. He applauded them both, for serving the ends of Nature, and of civil Society. Shewed how Mankind was ordained, Male and Female, by Conjunction, as it were, to prevent Mortality; and how without Children, as the Species it self could not subsist, so no Commonwealths could be supplied, either with Men for War, or Civil Employments. He told them they alone deserved the Name of Men and of Fathers, and as such he both praised them, and would prefer them as occasion should serve, to such Offices as they might transmit to their Children. And to some of them he presently gave rewards; and promised to do the same to others of them. To the Batchellors, he made a Speech quite contrary, affirming, He was marvellously troubled because of them, whom he knew not by what name to call. Not by that of men, for they performed no manly thing; not by that of Citizens, for the City might come to an end and perish for all them; neither by that of *Romani*, for they intended to destroy the *Roman* Name. But by what Name soever they called themselves, or whoever they were, he said an unusual thing had happened to him upon their Account. For he was wont to leave no-
thing,

Pannonia submits.

Augustus makes a Speech to encourage the Married Equestes.

And to the Batchellors in behalf of Marriage.

Dis lib. 55.

N n n n

thing undone, whereby to make of them a great multitude, but now he was, as sorry to see them so many, and could have wished the number of them to whom he spake before, to have been as great, and that they had either been joined with them, or not seen by him: forasmuch as without having regard to the Providence of the Gods, or the forecast of their Ancestors, they purposed to abolish their Nation, destroy the *Roman* Name, and put an absolute end unto it. What seed or remainder, saith he, of Mankind would be left, if all People should imitate you? and the beginning of mischief proceeding from you, you were justly to sustain the blame of Universal Ruine. And if none shall follow your example, for this very cause all must hate you, seeing you neglect that which none other do, and introduce such Rules and Courses of living, as if all would imitate them, Mankind must fail and be lost; but if it hate and disapprove them, you must be condemned. He affirmed, That all Crimes laid together, would not equal theirs. For they committed *Murder* in not suffering those to be born, which ought to proceed from them; they were guilty of *Impiety*, in forcing the Names and Honours of their Ancestors to cease; they were *Sacrilegious*, in abolishing their Kind, which proceeded from the Immortal gods, and destroying Humane Nature, the greatest thing consecrated to them; and in this respect they, overturned their Temples, and their Altars; they dissolved the City in not obeying its Laws; betrayed their Country by making it Barren and unfruitful; nay, utterly demolished the City, in depriving it of Inhabitants. For a City consists not in Houses, *Porticus*'s or *Forums* void of Inhabitants; but in Men.

102. He farther bad them consider what *Romulus* their Founder would think of them; and if he would not be angry to purpose, when he compared his Original with their course of life, who refused to beget Children even by lawful Marriage. And what those *Romans* that were with him would think, recollecting that they ravished Virgins that were Strangers; whereas these their Posterity would not love those that were of the same stock with themselves; that they entered into War to procure an Offspring, and these would not endeavour to have Children by their fellow Citizens. He urged the case of *Curtius*, who died, that the *Romans* might not want Marriage, and of *Hesilia* that followed her Daughter, and shewed to the Citizens Nuptial Rites. In truth their Ancestors, he said, in behalf of Marriage, waged War with the *Sabines*, and that Peace was made, which they by their celibacy did break and dissolve. And to what purpose, and with what design? to live in celibacy as the *Vestal* Virgins? If so, they ought to be punished as well as they, if they did not preserve their Chastity. He told them, they ought not to be displeased, at what he said, for if they were displeased with his words, he, and their fellow Citizens had much more reason to be displeased with their Actions. Therefore if they found themselves touched, he advised them to repent, that in stead of reprehending, he might commend and thank them for the time to come, as owning what a good Legislator ought to establish. He told them, That before his time it was not lawful for any to neglect Marriage and Posterity; Laws having been made against it at the first founding of the Commonwealth, and the Senate and People having since that, ordained many things against it. That he had increased the Multitude of unmarried Persons to render them Obedient, and appointed such Rewards to the Obedient, as never formerly had been proposed, as an Incentiment for any Virtue; that if nothing else, yet these Advantages might provoke them to Wedlock, and the Procreation of Children. But for their parts, they neither desiring the Rewards, nor regarding the Penalties, but as if they lived in no Society or Commonwealth, gave out that they made choice of a Life that was free and void of trouble, without Marriomony or Children; whereas in so doing they were no better than Thieves and Robbers, and the most savage Beasts. For really they were not so far taken with any solitary kind of life, as to live without Women, or not to have a Bedfellow or Companion at the Table, but by this course studied how to gratifie their wanton Lust and Appetite.

103. Yet he had permitted them to court such Virgins as were not quite ripe for Marriage, that pretending to the title of *Sponsæ*, who would shortly celebrate the Nuptials, they might the more look after their Families; and he had allowed the Marriage of *Libertine* to those that were not Patricians. Neither had he put them upon any haste, having given them first the space of three years, and then of two. But neither by threatening, exhorting, deferring or intreating, had he gained any thing. They could not but perceive how many more they

were,

were than the Married men, whereas they ought to have produced as many, nay, as many more in their Progeny. By what other course was the Nation to be continued? How could the Commonwealth be preserved without Wives and Children, except they expected the Fable to be fulfilled of Persons rising out of the Earth? For shame he bad them esteem it the greatest wickedness after the Extinguishment of the *Roman* Stock and Name; to deliver over their City to Strangers, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*. Shall we, saith he, for this reason, manumit our Slaves because we would have many Citizens? Shall we give freedom of the City to our Associates, that it may be filled with People, and you, who from the first Original are *Romans*, having reckoned up the *Quintii*, *Valerii*, and *Julii*, resolve together with your selves to destroy all such Names, and Families? I am ashamed with words to let forth what it is that you practice. Therefore put a stop to your madness, and now at length consider, that many of us being consumed with Wars and Dificases, the City cannot be safe, except it be supplied with a stock of Children. Yet let no body think I am ignorant that there are some difficult and troublesome Occurrences in Marriage and Procreation of Children; but you ought to consider, that there is nothing good that hath not some bitterne mixed with it; that the greatest and most excellent enjoyments have many sad and harsh things joynt with them, which if you would decline, you must not desire the good themselves, seeing we cannot attain to sincere Virtue or Pleasure, except labour be used to attain them. Though Marriage trimony have its Inconveniences, yet compare the Advantages and them together, and you shall find them over-balanced by far, not only as to the Conveniences which the thing in its own Nature affords, but as to the Rewards also proposed by the Laws, of which a little part doth allure some men to undergo Death it self; and these ought to induce you all to obey me. And it's a shameful thing, if for the same reason you will not marry Wives, and bring up Children, for which others will not stick to give their lives. I thought fit (*Citizens*), for I hope you are now persuaded to retain this Name, and to accept of those of *Husbands* and *Fathers*) thus to expostulate with you, unwillingly truly, but out of necessity; not as an Enemy, or one that hates you, but out of love and desire to have many like your selves; so that inhabiting lawful Houses, and having our Habitations full of a *Roman* Offspring, we may approach to the gods, with our Wives and Children, and Communicating with one another in all Publick things may converse together in the enjoyment of them. For how can I be said to govern you, if I suffer always some part of you to be diminished? How can I be called any more your Father, if you beget no Offspring? Therefore if you really love me, and have given me the Name of Father, for Honour, and not out of Flattery, do your endeavour to become Husbands and Fathers; so that you may be partakers of it, and I my self may not bear it in vain. Having spoken in this manner to both sorts, he increased the Rewards of such as had Children, and made a difference by setting a Multitude upon Batchellors, yet so, as he gave them the space of a year to consider; and such as would obey him should be free from the Multitude. Nay, he was so kind, that whereas by the Law called *Lex Voconia*, Women were Prohibited to come to any Inheritance above a certain Sum, he loosed some from that Obligation; and bestowed upon such as had vowed perpetual Virginitie, the same Rewards as upon Mothers. In order to these things, was framed the Law *Papia Poppæa*, preferred by *M. Pappius Mutilus*, and *E. Poppæus Secundus*, who being *Consuls* for part of the year, neither of them had either Wives or Children; by which very thing *Dio* suggests how necessary it was that that Law should be made.

104. While these things were done at *Rome*, the *Romans* that with *Germanicus*, marched against *Rhaetium*, a City of *Dalmatia*, received loss by Fire, wherewith the besieged did surround them, and retired themselves within the Castle. Several Towns were taken, yet many still held out, and a Famine being by this means occasioned in *Italy*, *Augustus* sent *Tiberius* again into *Dalmatia*. He perceiving the Soldiers were impatient to finish the War, though it were with danger to the State, that being together, they might be able to plot new Matters, divided them into three Parties, whereof one he committed to *Silanus*, another to *M. Lepidus*, and with the third he and *Germanicus* went against *Bato*, *Silanus* and *Lepidus* without difficulty overcame their Adversaries in Battle. *Tiberius* over-ran the Country, and still pursued *Bato*, till he besieged him in a Castle called *Anderium*, which was extraordinarily fortified by situation, and that Pro-

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vision

Tiberius sent
again into
Dalmatia.

vifion they had made within for fuch extremity. Nay, they laid Ambucado's to flop the befiegers from forage, fo that *Tiberius* befieging them, in a manner was befieged. He knew not what to do, the Siege being troublefom and dangerous, and yet he thought it would be very ignominious to raife it, and the Soldiers fell into a Mutiny, with fuch a noife that the Enemy who watched under the Caftle out of very fear retired from their Station. *Tiberius* being partly pleaed and partly angry at what had paffed, both rebuked and commended his Army, and yet not daring to flir, he kept himfelf quiet till fuch time as *Bato* fent and defired Peace, and his Allies being not perfuaded to imbrace it, he forfook them, and refufed to give them any relief upon demand. Hereupon *Tiberius* defpised them that kept the Caftle, and refolving to Storm it, moved his Men by Arguments to mount the Precipice on which it flood, and by conftant Supplies fo encouraged them, that part of the Defendants having iffued out and betaken themfelves to the Woods, were purfued and knock'd on the head like fo many Sheep, and thofe in the Caftle yielded it up upon Conditions, which *Tiberius* performed. After this *Germanicus* took a Fort called *Arduba*, and *Postumius* reduced other places. Now did *Bato* fend his Son *Sevea* to *Tiberius*, and offered if he might be accepted to deliver up himfelf and all his into the Power of the Romans. Having received his Faith, he came by Night into the Camp, and being the day after brought before *Tiberius*, fitting on the Tribunal, he did not at all deprecate his own Punifhment, but ftretching out his Head as to be cut off, ufed many words to excufe his Companions, and being again asked by *Tiberius*, why they had Rebelled, and fo long continued the War? He answered, That the Romans themfelves were the caufe of it, who fent not Dogs nor Shepherds, but Wolves to keep their Flocks. Thus *Dio* by degrees and order of time, what *Paterculus* tells in fhort.

105. After this fort was this War compofed, with fmall advantage on the Roman fide, much Money being expended, many Legions being maintained, and but very little booty got. But *Germanicus* brought the News of the Victory, for which the Title of *Imperator* was added to *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, a Triumph decreed them, and two Triumphal Arches in *Pannonia*, on which Trophies were to be placed. To *Germanicus* were decreed Triumphal Ornaments, as to others of the Captains, and *Prætorian* Honours: they voted that firft after the *Confulares*, he fhould give his Opinion, and being loofed from the Laws, might ftand for the *Confulfhip* fooner than ufual. It was farther decreed, That *Druſus* the Son of *Tiberius*, though he had no part in the War, might before he was taken into the Order, come into the Senate, and having executed the *Quæſtorſhip*, ſpeak his Opinion before thofe of *Prætorian* quality. Such things were decreed, but News brought out of *Germany*, ſpoiled all the Sport of the Triumphs. The Romans in that Country held feveral Places, but not altogether, but as they were brought into ſubjection by chance here and there, and therefore in Hiftories, no mention is made of them. But however in thofe places they had their Winter Quarters, and built Towns; the *Barbarians* admitted of their ways and Cuſtoms, and met with them at the *Forum*, yet fo as not to forget their own Cuſtoms, and the liberty of their Country. Now was *Quintilius Varus* ſent to govern there, one born, if you will hear *Paterculus*, rather of an Illuſtrious than a Noble Family, a Man both as to Body and Mind addicted to reſt, and accuſtomed to the idleneſs of the Camp, rather than Action, but not a Contemner of Money, as *Syria* bore witneſs; which being Rich (as *Præſident*) he entered Poor, but left it Poor coming away Rich. He thought the *Germans* as tame as Sheep, and having nothing but the Voice and Members of Men, though they could not be conquered with the Sword, yet might be tamed by Laws. He therefore ſpent his time amongſt them in Careſſes, and deciding Controverſies, yet even then he would Command them as *Roman* Slaves, and exact Money of them as from Subjects. The *Germans* could not brook his management of Matters, and the rather becauſe the chiefſt of them were fenſible of the loſs of the Supreme Command, and impatient to have it reſtored to their Country. But ſeeing many Romans to live about the *Rhine*, and many amongſt themſelves, they durſt not break out into open Rebellion, but ſo humourd *Varus* as ready to obey him in all things. They pretended great Controverſies amongſt themſelves, and drew him from the *Rhine* to the Territories of the *Cheruſci*, and the River *Viſurgis*.

106. There living ſecurely in perfect Peace, they perfuaded him that without the aſſiſtance of the Soldiers, he might hold them in that Subjection. And he was ſo filly as being in an Enemy's Country, not to keep together his Men, and in

He compoſed the War.
Honours voted to him and others.
The Sport ſpoiled by News out of Germany.

Man uſuſi magis quam ſubili or- tui ſimilis.

one place, but diſtributed many of them to ſeveral weaker People of *Germany*, who deſired to have them upon pretence of ſecuring the Garrifons for ſeizing Highway-Men, and conveyance of Proviſions. There was a young Man, Noble in Birth, Valiant of his hand, of quick apprehenſion, and of a prompt Wit, for a *Barbarian*, by Name *Arminius*, the Son of *Sigimer*, Prince of that Nation; who by his very Eyes and Countenance diſcovering the ardour of his Mind, had formerly been a diligent Attendant in the *Roman* Wars, and had obtained the *Jus Civitatis*, and the *Equeſtrian* Degree: He well knowing, that no man can ſooner be ruined than he who hath no apprehenſion of danger, and that the moſt frequent beginning of Calamity is Security, abuſed the ſottiſh humour of the General, who converſing with him every day, and being told of Plots that were to be againſt his Perſon, would not believe the Informers, but bad them have a care of themſelves. Then by Conſpiracy did ſome of the furtheſt *Germans* make an Inſurrection, with deſign that *Varus* going to ſuppreſs it, might paſs through the Territories of thofe he ſuppoſed his Friends, and be the more liable to Deſtruction. They had ſo ordered their Affairs, that he ſhould have no Forces at hand to reſcue him, and thoſe Romans that they had received in ſeveral places, as was ſaid, they put to Death. Then did they ſet upon him as he went through a Wood, which was very difficult to paſs, when he had not the leaſt apprehenſion of any miſchief, but marched in his Rear very diſorderly.

107. Abundance of Rain falling, took away from the Romans the uſe of their Arms; ſo that more *Germans* pouring themſelves upon them, they were cut down and ſlain: *Varus* and other of the Principal Officers left they ſhould fall into the Enemies Hands, killed themſelves. This being underſtood, none of the Soldiers made any reſiſtance, but either followed their Example, or caſt away their Arms, and expoſed themſelves to the Sword. Now were both Men and Horſes killed without any oppoſition, and all the Romans had either been ſlain or taken this day, but that the *Germans* hurried away to take the Booty; whereby it came to paſs, that the moſt hardy eſcaped, and the Trumpeters founding, it being now dark, the Enemy believed that ſome Succours were ſent to them by *Arprenas*. This belief reſtrained the *Germans* from purſuing, and *Arprenas* indeed as ſoon as he had notice, haſted to their relief. But thus were cut off in a manner three Legions, as many *Alæ*, and ſix Cohorts; an overthrow the greateſt of all the Romans received ſince that of *Craſſus* from the *Parthians*. This was the moſt valiant Army they had, and the chiefſt for Diſcipline, Strength and Experience, as *Paterculus*, who then lived aſſures us, who adds, that the General had a greater mind to die, than to fight, ſtabbing himſelf, as his Father and Grandfather had done before him. Of the two *Præſidis* of the Camp, as *L. Eggius* gave a good example of Valour, ſo *Cecinius* afforded as bad, who after that moſt of the Soldiers were cut off, became the Author of yeilding, and choſe to die rather as a Malefactor by Punifhment, than in Battle. But *Voluminius* the *Legatus* of *Varus*, being otherwiſe a quiet, and an honeſt man, deſerted the Foot, and ran away with the *Alæ* of Horſe to the *Rhine*, which ſaſt fortune it felt revenged; for he did not ſurvive the deſerted; but himſelf periſhed a Deſertor: The Body of *Varus* when half burnt, the furious Enemies tore in pieces. His Head was cut off and carried to *Maroboduſus*, who ſent it to *Cæſar*, and at length it was honoured with the Sepulture of his Family.

108. When *Augustus* had the News of the Deſeat, he was affliated in an extraordinary manner. He had in all his life-time, as *Suetonius* tells us, but two great overthrow, and they were both received in *Germany*, viz. that of *Lollius*, and this of *Varus*; that of *Lollius* brought more Infamy than loſs, but this of *Varus* he terms almoſt excuſable, three Legions with the General, the *Legati*, and all the *Auxilia* being cut off. Upon notice of it, he ſet Guards up and down the City, that no Tumults might be raiſed upon this occaſion, continued the Government to the *Præſidents* of Provinces, as by their experience moſt fit to keep the Associates in order. To *Jupiter* he vowed the great Games if he reſtored the Commonwealth into a better condition, as had been done in the Wars of the *Cimbri* and *Marſi*. It was reported, That he was ſo far dejected with the loſs, that he let his Beard and the hair of his Head grow for ſeveral Months; ſometimes would knock his Head againſt the Doors, and roar out, *Reſtore the Legions, Quintilius Varus!*; and he obſerved the Day of the Deſeat every year, as a Day of Mourning. *Dio* tells us; he feared the *Germans* and *Galls* would be in *Italy*, and was ſenſible that their *Roman* youth was inconfiderable, and the *Auxilia* of the Associates were much diſtreſſed. Yet

The Deſeat of *Varus*, and the Legions.

Augustus wonderfully concerned at it.

Provides for
prevention of
further mil-
itancy.

he set himself all manner of ways he could, and as the present posture of Affairs would permit, to prevent mischief. For as much as such as were of the Military Age would not give their Names to the Service. Some on whom the lot fell, he punished by Confiscation of their Estates, and branding them with Infamy; and this not being effectual, but that many yet disobeyed, some he punished with Death. Then gathering by lot from amongst the *Veteran Soldiers*, and the *Libertini*, as great a Force as he could make, he dispatched it away under Command of *Tiberius* into *Germany*. And there being many *Galls* and *Germans* at *Rome*, some upon the account of Travel, and others serving in the Guards, he alarmed and sent them out of the City. These things he did, and the usual Sports, and other things were omitted. But hearing afterwards that some Soldiers survived the Defeat, that a Guard was put upon *Germany*, and the Enemy durst not pass the *Rhine*, he was freed from his terror, and began to examine the matter. He suspected that so sudden and great a mischief came by the Anger of their gods, declared by Prodigies both before and after, which *Dio* relates.

Tiberius in-
vades Germany
to smalt pur-
pose.

809. *Tiberius* made an Invasion into *Germany*, together with *Germanicus*, who had the Power of *Proconsul*. Some Parts of it they wasted, but subdued no Nation thereof; fighting not one Battle, nor engaging with any Enemy, for whatever *Paterculus* may talk in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dio* writes, that they were in heavy fear of another overthrow, and flirred not far from the *Rhine*, but kept themselves somewhere thereabouts till Autumn, at which time having celebrated the Birth-day of *Augustus* with Games, and by the help of the Centurions, having had the Exercises of Horfemen, they returned into *Italy*. Now at *Rome*, *Dryus* *Cæsar* the Son of *Tiberius* was *Quæstor*, and sixteen *Prætors* were made, for so many stood for the Office, and *Augustus* in this conjuncture of Affairs, would disgust no man, though in many years that followed there were but twelve. He forbade Fortune-tellers either privately or before others to predict the Death of any man, nor that he was solicitous concerning himself, for he publicly exposted to view the Scheme of the Heavens, under which he was born. He also required of all that were subject to his Command, that they should not give any Honour to any of the Governors in the time of their Administration, nor within sixty days after their departure, because many by virtue of the Honours and Applauses they received in the Provinces bore themselves high, and did very bad things. To Ambassadors at this time three *Senators* gave Answers. And, which was accounted wonderful, *Equites* were permitted to fight in the Exercises of the *Gladiators*, some of them counting it no Ignominy; and an Edict having been published to restrain them: notwithstanding they were resolute, and the more, because their Combats were greedily beheld, and *Augustus* himself was present with the *Prætors* who distributed the Rewards.

110. After this *Germanicus* bore the Office of *Consul* together with *C. Capito*, though he had not yet executed the Office of *Prætor*, and did nothing worthy of Memory, but only over-balanced his Colleague. But *Augustus* now grown very old, by Writing recommended *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to *Tiberius*. He himself being not in a condition, did not read the Writing, but *Germanicus*, as he was wont to do. Having made an excuse about the German War, he desired of the Senate that they would not salute him at his own House, nor take it ill if for the time to come he did not publicly converse with them, for it had been the Custom frequently to salute him, especially when the Senate was held, in the Court, and Forum, as he went in or out, and as he sat or lay in the Palace, not only of *Senators*, but *Equites*, and some *Plebeians*; yet for all this did he not cast off the care of the Commonwealth. For he granted to *Equites* a Right to stand to be *Tribuni Plebis*, and he commanded an Inquisition to be made after *Libels*, which being found in the City should be burnt by the *Ædiles*, and out of the City by the Governors of the several places; and he animadverted upon some of the Authors of them. And whereas it was found that of many Persons that were Banished, some lived out of the places to which they were confined, and others too delicately there where they were appointed to abide, he ordained, that none of those to whom Water and Fire were forbidden, should remain in the Continent, or in any Island which was not fifty miles distant from the Continent, *Cos*, *Rhodes*, *Sardinia*, and *Lesbos* excepted, though *Dion Cassius* knows not for what reason. He forbade they should pass over any whither, or have any more Vessels than one of Burthen, containing a Thousand *Amphoræ*; and two for Sailing; neither above twenty Slaves or Freed-men; nor possess above fifty thousand

thousand *Nammi*; in case of Disobedience, he both threatned to punish the Exiles, and such as assisted them in the breaking of these Laws.

111. When *L. Munatius*, and *C. Silus* were *Consuls*, *Augustus* undertook, unwilling, the Government for ten years, now the fifth time. He Prorogued the Tribunal Authority to *Tiberius*; he granted to *Dryfus* his Son, Power to stand for the *Consulship* in the third year, though he had not born the *Prætorship*; and not coming now into the Senate himself by reason of his old Age, he desired to have twenty Councillors for a year assigned him, whereas formerly he was wont to have fifteen for six Months. It was Decreed that whatever he resolved upon with those, the *Consuls*, and *Consuls* designed, his adopted Nephews, and others he at any time assumed, after deliberation, should be of the same force and virtue as if they had been Voted in the *Curia*. These things were ordered by a *Sensuconsultum*, though he had the Power before, and as he lay upon his Bed he would give Judgment. The Payment of a twentieth part of Inheritances lately mentioned, seemed generally a grievous burthen, and some firs it was feared would happen upon it. Hereupon he sent a Writing to the Senate, wherein he desired they would consider and find out some other ways of raising Money; and this he did not to abrogate that way of Tribute, but that they finding out no one more convenient, it might be established by them, though unwilling, and the *Odiu* be taken off from himself. But because if *Germanicus* and *Dryfus* should speak their Opinions, the Senate might think they spoke as he directed them, and so might leave the matter undiscussed, he forbade them to give any Vote at all. The Debate in the Senate was very high about it, and by Letters he was told, that some would indure any thing sooner than the twentieth part, whereupon he transferred the Payment upon Lands and Houses, and speedily without shewing how it should be paid, sent Officers up and down to take an account of the Wealth both of Cities and private Men, that out of fear of greater expence they might submit to the twentieth part. And his Design had its Success. But now in the *Augustalia*, or Games celebrated upon *Augustus* his Birth-day, it happened that a Mad-man fate down in the Seat of *Julius Cæsar*, and taking away his Crown, put it upon his own Head; and in the Opinion of *Dio*, it did really portend (as it was imagined) something to *Augustus*; for in the following year wherein *Sex. Apuleius*, and *Sex. Pompeius* were *Consuls*, going into *Campania*, and having exhibited the *Spellacula* at *Naples*, he died at *Nola*.

Augustus dies.

112. His Wife *Livia* was suspected by some as having set him forward to another World. For not long before, he had gone without her knowledge into the Island to his Nephew *Agrippa*, and he seemed now to be reconciled to him, which the fearing might amount to as much at length as to deliver up the Empire into his hands, was thought to poison some particular Figs, as they grew in the Garden, and to avoid suspicion, to have her self eaten the wholsome ones from the same tree. His Death is said to have been foretold by some tokens the year wherein he died. He made his third *Census*, in the *Lustrum* whereof were found Four Millions and one hundred thirty seven thousand Polls of *Roman* Citizens. Celebrating the *Lustrum* in the *Campus Martius*, with great concourse of People, an Eagle they say flew about him several times, and directing her flight to a Chappel, sat down over the Name of *Agrippa*, at the first letter. *Augustus* considering this, commanded *Tiberius* to make those Vows, which it was the Custom to make for the following *Lustrum*. For though the Tables were written and ready, yet he refused to undertake that which he should not perform. About the same time the first Letter of his Name on his Statue in the Capitol was struck out by a Thunderbolt. Hereupon the Fortune-tellers said, he should live only One hundred days longer, which was signified by the letter *C*. and was to be reckoned amongst the gods, *Æsar* the rest of the Name in the *Hætruscan* Language, signifying a God. In the mean time he wrote a Breviary of his Actions, which he commanded to be cut in Brass and set before his *Mausoleum*. His time being come, he sent for his inward Acquaintance, and spoke what he had a mind to recommend to them, and told them this, That he received *Rome* made of Brick, but left it of Marble; by which expression, *Dion Cassius* tells us, he did not mean the Elegancy of the Structure, but the firmness of the Empire. Some say he called for a Looking-Glass, caused his hair to be Combed, and his wrinkled Cheeks smoothed up. Then like an Actor upon the Stage, he asked his Friends if he had performed his

Part well, and upon their answer yea, he said *Plaudite*, and so died in the embraces of his beloved Wife *Livia*, bidding her remember their Marriage, and farewell. He died in the same Room as did *Ottavius* his Father, and on the same Day (*August* the Nineteenth) on which he entered upon his first *Consulship*, having lived Seventy six years, all but thirty five days, having held the Monarchy from the Battle at *Actium*, as *Dio* computes, forty four years, wanting thirteen days, in the Seven hundred sixty seventh year of the City, the second of the One hundred ninety eighth *Olympiad*, the fifty seventh after the Death of *Julius Caesar*, and the fifteenth after the Birth of Christ, *Sextus Pompeius*, and *Sextus Appuleius* being *Consuls*.

His Character.

813. He was the Founder of the *Roman* Monarchy, his Uncle having been rather the chalk of it out. He obtained it with the Destruction of many Persons, and spared none to make way for his Purposes. Faults he had. He deceived *Pompey* under colour of Peace, and *Lepidus* under a show of Friendship, as some observed. He drew on *Antony* with the Treaties of *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, and with the marriage of his Sister, which deceitful Alliance, they say, cost the other his life. A Peace followed this, but a bloody one, as witness the Death of *Lollius* and *Varus*, and in *Rome* it self of *Varro*, *Egnatius*, and *Julius*. It was objected against him, that he took *Nero's* Wife from him, and asked the Opinion of the *Pontifex* in a Scoff; Whether there might be a lawful Marriage betwixt them, she being still with Child by her former Husband. They forgot not the lasciviousness, and Riot (so *Tacitus* writes) of *L. Atedius* and *Vedius Pollio*, and to be sure not the demeanour of *Livia*, whom they esteemed a burthenfom, nay intollerable Mother to the Commonwealth; and to the House of the *Cæsars*, a dangerous Stepdame. They added, that there was no honour left for the gods, seeing he would himself by the Priests and *Flamines* be worshipped in the Temples, with all the Ornaments belonging to their Deities. They judged that *Tiberius* was designed Successor, neither out of love to himself, nor care of the Commonwealth, but out of a deep insight into his lofty and bloody disposition and design, that being so unequally compared with him, he might win glory afterward to himself. For though not many years before, he had uttered Honourable Speeches in the Senate concerning *Tiberius*; yet when he moved for the Tribuneship to be again renewed to him, he interlarded in his Speech some things concerning his Attire and Behaviour, which in excusing of him seemed to turn to his Reproach. But on the other side we have seen how kind and Popular he was. His Defects cannot be excused; but they must needs be heard, who in his Commendation alledge, that the Empire he bounded with the Ocean and other Rivers at a great distance, that the Legions, Provinces, and Navy were conjoynd in Peace and Unity, Justice was administered in the Cities, the Allies treated with Civility, the City beautified with sumptuous Buildings, and if rigorous dealing had been used against some few, it was setting of Peace and quietness in the whole.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Augustus, to that of Tiberius.

The Space of Twenty and two years, seven Months, and odd Days.

1. THE Death of *Augustus* was not presently known. For *Livia* fearing *Tiberius* being as yet in *Dalmatia*, some stir might happen to his disadvantage, concealed it till his coming. So *Dio* tells us most Authors, and those most worthy belief delivered; though there were not wanting, who wrote that *Tiberius* was with *Augustus* in his Sickness, and received something in Command from him. *Tacitus* makes it a doubt, whether *Tiberius* found him alive or dead; For *Livia* had beset the House, and gave out words sometimes as if he recovered, and having made all sure as the time and occasion required, the same rumour, which not long before gave hopes of *Augustus* his Amendment, now published his Death, and that *Nero* was in possession of the Empire. The Body of *Augustus* was by the Principals of the several Cities born from *Nola* to *Rome* in Courfe; it was received by the *Equestrians*, and brought to *Rome* in the Night. The day after, the Senate assembled, to which the other Senators came onely in the *Equestrian* Habit, and the Magistrates in the *Senatorian*, except the *Priest*. *Tiberius* and his Son *Drusus* came in common Mourning, and offered Incense at their coming, omitting the one on the Bench of the *Prætorians*, and the usual places, but the *Consuls* lower. Impunity was granted to *Tiberius*, for having touched, which was by Law forbidden, and accompanied the Body: Then did one *Polybius* a *Libertus* of *Cæsar*, read the Testament of *Augustus*, it not being thought fit that a Senator should read it; wherein he left most he had to *Tiberius* and *Livia*: For he had desired of the Senate, That he might have leave to give her more than was permitted by the Laws. He gave Legacies to many private persons, to those of the *Prætorian* Guards, and every Inhabitant of *Rome*. To the Sons of such as had left him their Heir, he commanded: that the Inheritances should be restored; which indeed had been his practice all along. He was kind to the Children of other men, but his own Daughter he would not reduce into her Country; nay, he forbade she should be buried in his Sepulchre, though he left her something by his Will.

The Body of Augustus brought to Rome.

His Will read in the Senate.

And four other Writings.

2. Besides his Will, four Writings more were produced in the Senate. In one he had left Instructions concerning his Funeral: In another, an Enumeration was made of his Achievements, which he Commanded should be cut in Pillars of Brass, and exposed before his Sepulchre. The third Writing contained an Account of the Number of the Forces; of the Publick Revenues and Issues; of what Money was in the Treasure, and other things belonging to the Publick Government. In the fourth he gave advice to *Tiberius* and the Commonwealth. Amongst other things it was his Opinion, That many Slaves should not be immittred, lest the City should be pestered with a croud; nor many be made free of the City, that they might preserve a difference betwixt themselves and their Subjects. Then he would have them commit the Government to those that were most qualified for it, and not to put too much upon one man, lest he should turn Tyrant, or in his Ruin the Commonwealth might receive danger. He charged them to be content with their present Fortune, and not to desire to enlarge the Bounds of the Empire; for it being difficult to keep more, lest what they had already got, they would probably by endeavouring to get more, lose what they had already got. And that this was his Opinion, he refused not only by Words but Actions; for though he might have brought many *Barbarians* under, yet he never would. His Funeral was performed in great State, and an Eagle let loose from the Pile as to carry his Soul to Heaven. *Livia*, and with her the chiefest of the *Equites* continued in the place five dayes, to gather up his Bones and put them into the Monument. Men mourned for him according to the Custom not many dayes, but Women an whole Year, as had been decreed. Indeed few really mourned for him at present, but afterwards all found reason to do it, whilst they had the sad occasion to compare him and his Successor together. But now at present, Temples were erected to him, and a Summe of Money was given by

O o o o

Livia

Livia to Numerius Atticus a Senator, and one of Prætorian Degree, for having sworn that He saw him ascending up into Heaven, as Proculus antiently had said of Romulus.

Tiberius was by birth a Patrician, had liberal Education, and a Wit more than ordinary. He made no show of aiming at such things as he desired, and would use discourses contrary to his design; denying what he desired, and seeming to consent to what he disliked. By the practice of him and his Mother, Agrippa Posthumus was Murdered ere the death of Augustus was known. He had secured the Sovereignty sufficiently by strong Hand, though he played the Dissembler most egregiously; refusing the Government so long as till the Senators fell down at his feet, and besought him to accept of it; whom he answered with ambiguous words, and at length complaining that a miserable and intolerable Servitude was imposed on him, received it as by constraint, and yet so as he seemed to signify that he would again relinquish it. Indeed there was cause for him to say, as he did, that he took a Wolf by the Ears. For Clemens the Slave of Agrippa had got a considerable party together, under pretence of revenging his Lord's death: Scribonius Libo secretly plotted his own advancement, and the Legions both in Germany and Illyricum mutined, the former chusing Germanicus for their Prince, who earnestly refused to accept of their Offer, and at length quieted them with much ado, as Drusus did the other in Pannonia, they being frightened into obedience by a total Eclipse of the Moon, which fell out on the 27th of September, five hours after Midnight. Clemens was apprehended, and Libo not effecting any thing, was in the second year accused to the Senate. Tiberius in the mean while looking carefully to himself, notwithstanding these motions, obtained the Supreme Power, betwixt which and his rule with Augustus for two years there was this difference; That his former Command extended only to the Armies and Provinces subject to Augustus, but this to the City it self Mistress of all. Formerly he had Tribunitia and Censorian Power; but now he became Monarch, and was loose or exempt from all power of Laws, as Augustus before him. For he had not together with him when living, no equal authority as afterwards L. Verus had with M. Antoninus the Philosopher; which two first governed the Commonwealth upon equal terms; but such like as Antoninus Pius had with Adrian, who also adopted him, and made him his Collegue in the Proconsular power as to Provinces, and in the Tribunitia power at home. And therefore Suetonius telleth us, that Tiberius first assembled the Senate by virtue of his Tribunitia Office only.

Tiberius at first
ing with marvelous
diffimulation those
enormities which
afterwards appeared.

Envieth Ger-
manicus.

4. Tiberius at first carried himself (as ever in some cases) very cunningly, cloak-
ing with marvelous diffimulation those enormities which afterwards appeared. For
some time he counterfeited incredible patience, stooped too low in his complement-
ing of Senators and Magistrates, rejected all high Titles and Honours (not enduring
the name of Dominus or Lord) and consulted the Senate continually, not doing
little or much without its consent; nay, suffering some things therein to be
carried against his mind; he was also at first very temperate in his diet, and exact
in reforming manners, by degrees falling into his natural humour. From the
beginning he was much afflicted with the fame of Germanicus, his Brother Drusus
his Son by Nature (begotten of Antonia the younger, Daughter of Antony the
Triumvir, by Octavia the Sister of Augustus, concerning which Antonia, Pliny re-
porteth that she never spate) and his own by adoption; who now prosperously
carried on the War in Germany. Within two or three years a very plausible occa-
sion presented it self for the calling of him back from those Legions which were
so much at his devotion. For it hapned then that the Partians were in great
commotions about their Kings. Phraates had twenty seven years before for his
own security sent four of his Sons as Hostages to Rome, through the procurement
of his Wife Thermusa an Italian woman, which having been formerly his Concu-
bine had then a Son by him, and that this her Son might obtain the Crown,
gave the rest to be sent out of the way, and then they two murdered the King.
This Bastard called Phraataces reigned; but being hated by the People for his
Paricide, was not long after slain, and then was set up one Orodes of the Family
of the Arsacide, who being also hated for his cruelty came to the same end. Then
sent the Partians for one of the Hostages, and Vonones the eldest was dismissed
by Tiberius. But they counting it a disgrace for any to reign over them, who
(as they termed it) had been a slave to Cæsar, rebelliously cast him off, and called
in Ariabannus, who then reigned in Media, and was also one of the Arsacide or
the

In Tiberius
cap. 23.

Sueton in Tiberio
cap. 26. Tacitus
lib. 1. cap. 12.

Suetonius An-
tiquit. lib. 18.
cap. 3.

Tacitus Annal.

lib. 2.

the Blood Royal of Parthia. He at his first entrance was repulsed by Vonones;
but the second time overthrew him, and got possession of the Kingdom. Vonones
retiring into Armenia sent to Tiberius for aid, who, for that Artabanus threatened
hard, and the principal of the Armenians were of his faction, did not think fit to
make War upon him: therefore Vonones yielded himself to Creticus Silanus, who
governed Syria, and Artabanus let Orodes, one of his own Sons over Armenia. At
the same time Antiochus King of Commagena dying, a contention arose betwixt
the Nobility and Commons; the former would have the Countrey reduced into
the form of a Roman Province, but the people were for a King. Now also Philo-
pator King of Cilicia being dead, his subjects were divided upon the very same
grounds. Syria also, and Judæa being weary of their burthens, desired a dimi-
nution of their Tributes.

5. Tiberius now persuaded the Senate that the abilities of Germanicus were re-
quisite for quieting the East, whereupon the Provinces beyond the Seas were de-
creed to him, with larger power than had been granted to any that governed
them, either by lot or the gift of the Prince. Germanicus was often importuned
by Tiberius upon this ground to return, yet intent upon his business he first sub-
dued several Nations in Germany, and by the overthrow of Arminius obtained
great glory, which was something obscured at last by a Shipwreck. It was the
design of Tiberius to expose him unto danger and treachery; therefore he re-
moved Silanus his friend, and put Cn. Piso a troward man into his room, to whom
he gave in charge some secret thing as many believed. Germanicus, being thus ex-
pelled to compose the affairs of the East, as * one truly termeth it, placed Zeno the
Son of Polemo King of Pontus over Armenia. Q. Perantius a Knight, had the over-
sight of Cappadocia, which was made a Province; for Archelæus the King thereof
courted not Tiberius enough when he was at Rhodes, and therefore was called to
Rome, and there kept till his Death. Q. Servæus also was set over Commagena.
Artabanus sent to Germanicus about renewing the league, and good correspon-
dence, desiring that Vonones might not be kept in Syria, nor suffered by his Mes-
sengers to sow discord amongst the People, offering him also leave to come to
the bank of Euphrates; to which he answered, as became the State and himself.
This year died Levy the Historian, who was born at Padua; and also Ovid the
Poet, having remained a banished man in Pontus several years, whither the dis-
pleasure of Augustus confined him, either for that he had seen him do some un-
seemly thing which he would not have known, or for publishing his wanton books
concerning Love, as he hints himself. This was the 771 year of the City, the
nineteenth after the birth of Christ, Tiberius Augustus the third, and Germanicus
Cæsar the second time being Consuls.

6. Germanicus the year following made a Voyage into Egypt, to view it for the
rarity of its Antiquities, for which he was chidden by Tiberius, as going without
his leave. Thence returning into Syria; he was most shamefully, and without
any measure affronted by Piso, and at length died of a lingering Disease at An-
tioch, being thought to miscarry by the fraud of Tiberius, and the Ministry of Piso,
who plainly said, That he must either displease Father or Son. But the fruit he re-
aped in pleading thus the Father; was but unpleasant; for returning to Rome
the year following, he escaped narrowly tearing in pieces by the People, and be-
ing condemned by the Senate, killed himself. For Germanicus there was an uni-
versal mourning, not only in Rome and the Provinces, but also amongst Barbarians
and Enemies themselves. He was a Person excellently accomplished, and
of a most sweet disposition, whereby he became the love and delight of the Peo-
ple, and Augustus long debating with himself whether he should not leave him
his Successor, at length caused Tiberius to adopt him, who 'tis thought, being re-
strained by fear, and reverence of him, after his Death broke out into such
courses as made the other more misfied and glorious. By his Wife Agrippina (the
Daughter of Agrippa and Julia) he died Father of three Sons, viz. Nero, Drusus,
and Caius; and of as many Daughters. He died in the thirty fourth year of his
Age, and that which followed his second Consulship, M. Junius Solanus, and C. Nor-
banus Flaccus being Consuls.

7. Three or four years after was Tiberius punished in his own kind by the
poisoning of his own Son Drusus, and by his greatest Favourite Ælius Sejanus.
This man being the Son of Seius Strabo a Roman Knight, when very young, fol-
lowed Caius the Nephew of Augustus, and afterwards by divers Arts wound him-
self into the Affections of Tiberius, who used him as his most inward Counsellor,

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Under pre-
sence of quiet-
ing the East
expel him from
to danger and
treachery.

Who dieth of
a lingering dis-
ease at Antioch.

His Illness.

Sueton in Ti-
berius cap. 49.
Tacitus ad
Annal. lib. 1.

idem cap. 43.

* Sueton in Ca-
p. 1.
Tacitus ad
Annal. lib. 1.

Enrich in Chris-
tiana.

A. D. 19.
P. C. 771.
Lib. 1.
De Tiberio.

Tacitus lib. 2.
cap. 59. 60.

P. C. 771.

Sueton in Cali-
gula cap. 1.

Tacitus ad
Annal. lib. 1.

Josephus Anti-
quit. lib. 18. c. 8.

Tacitus Annal.
lib. 4.

or

Minister of State, and erected to his honour his Statue of Brafs in the Theatre. Now he thought of no less than the Empire it self, as a step to which, he poisoned *Drusus* the Son of *Tiberius*, having brought *Livia* the young man's Wife to a compliance with him by his filthy dalliance, and corrupted *Lygdamus* the Eunuch to betray his Trust. *Drusus* had the year before the *Tribunitial* Power conferred on him; but for that he was none of the most towardsly, was little regarded by his Father, who as soon as his Funeral was over, returned to his wonted Employments, forbidding any longer vacation upon his account. The Inhabitants of *Livium* sending their Ambassadors something too late to condole his death, he answered, that *He also was sorry for the death of Hector their excellent Countryman*. *Tiberius* after this commended the two Sons of *Germanicus*, *Nero* and *Drusus*, to the Senate; which done, *Sejanus* began to strike at them, though at first through the sides of their Mother, labouring to bring them all into suspicion and hatred. The first advantage he took was from the Prayers of the Priests, who made Vows for their Health, as for that of *Tiberius*; for he took it hainously, that they here in should be made equal to him. Then did he provoke them, and never ceased till he caused them to be declared Enemies by the Senate, after which he starved them to death, using also their Mother most injuriously, for that she was not sparing of her Tongue in reprehending and upbraiding him. Now was *Tacfarinas*, who had maintained a tedious War in *Africa*, slain by *Dolabella*. As for *Tiberius*, by the persuasion of *Sejanus*, he withdrew into the Isle *Capreae*, and thence forward minding nothing, gave up himself to all sorts of enormities.

8. For, casting off all care of the State, being out of fight, he returned to his natural disposition, not looking to the supply, either of Army or Provinces; suffering *Armenia* to be seized on by the *Parthians*, *Mesha* by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, and *Gall* to be wasted by the *Germans*. He instituted a new Office for the management of Pleasures, unto which he preferred a Knight, *I. Calpurnius Priscus*: He held such in greatest esteem, and bestowed Offices on men that were most for his turn that way, being given up to such beastliness as is incredible, and not to be mentioned. He was excessively covetous, both as to getting, and keeping what was unjust. He was so unprofitful to his Mother, as he refused to come at her, when living; and when dead, he neglected to bury her; neither would he perform her Will, but persecuted her Friends; but she was justly rewarded (though as to him unjustly) having over and above other wicked practices, being suspected to have had an hand in the death of *Germanicus*. So cruel, and filthy he became, that he verified the Character given him, when but young, by *Theodorus Gadareus* his School-master, that he was *καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸν θεοῦ, or Dirt mingled with blood*. Having chosen Twenty of the Principal Men of the City to be his Counsellors, he scarcely left two or three of them alive, *Sejanus* being found out, and punished justly for his wickedness. Amongst others that were innocent, he spared not the familiar Friends of his Mother, Nephews, *Agrippina* or *Sejanus*. No day either holy or prophane was free from slaughters. Every offence little or great was Capital. Many were condemned with their Wives and Children. Rewards were propofed to Informers, and all Testimonies taken for true. Simple death he accounted nothing, and therefore invented painful waies; especially after he knew how his Son *Drusus* died, he neither spared any person nor sort of Torments. *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus* he cared not for, as suspecting him; and *Tiberius* his Grandson by *Drusus* he despised, as conceived in Adultery.

9. In the Twelfth year of *Tiberius* was *Pontius Pilate* sent into *Judea* to succeed *Valerius Gratus*, the fourth Governour after the banishment of *Archelaus* the Son of *Herod* to *Vienna*. *Coponius* was the first, *M. Ambivivus* was the second, *Annus Rufus* the third, and *Gratus* the fourth. *Pilate* at his first entrance set up the Images of *Cæsar* at *Jerusalem*, which moved the *Jews* to Sedition; but overcome by their intreaties, he removed them to *Cæsarea*. He being now Governor of *Judea*, *Herod Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, his Brother *Philip* Tetrarch of *Ituraea* and *Trachonitis*, and *Lysanias* of *Ablene*, *Annas* (who, formerly having had the Office, though displaced by *Gratus*, yet for his authority still carried the name) and *Caiphas* (otherwise called *Joseph*, whom lately *Gratus* had placed in the room of *Simon*, by him deposed also) being *High-Priests*, in the Fifteenth year of *Tiberius* entering, *John Baptiff* began to Preach and Baptize in the resemblance and spirit of *Elias*. Amongst others he Baptized *Christ* himself, of whom he was the fore-runner. His Ministry is thought to have commenced on the Tenth day of the Seventh Month, which was *Penitential*, and so great a *Fest*, that the

John Baptiff begins to Preach and Baptize.

Tiberius returns to his natural humors.

His Character given him by his School-master.

Pontius Pilate succeeds *Gratus* in *Judea*.

Sueton in *Tib.* lib. cap. 52.

Tacitus at *lib.*

Sueton in *Tib.* cap. 40.

idem *ibid.* cap. 41, 42, 43.

Joseph *Antiq.* lib. 18. c. 3. *Epiph.* *Epiph.* lib. 1. c. 6. *Luc.* 3.

A.D. 29. Oct. 20. *ex. 4.* *J. C.* 78.

foul which did not afflict it self, was to be cut off from amongst it's People; and was also *Expiatorie*, wherein the *High-Priest* (the Type of him before whose face *John* was sent) entred into the *Holy of Holies* alone, with blood expiating the sins of the People, this being also the same day wherein by Trumpet the *Jubilee* was proclaimed.

10. *Jesus* now about Thirty years of age, being baptized of *John* in *Jordan* (and owned for the *Messiah* and Son of God, by the descending of the Holy Ghost in the form of a Dove, and resting upon him, as also by a Voice from Heaven) was led of the Spirit into the Wilderness to be tempted of the Devil. After his temptation he returned in the Power of the Spirit into *Galilee*. Going into *Galilee* he received *Andrew* and *Simon* his Brother, the day following called *Philip* of *Bethsaida* the City of *Andrew*, and *Simon* surnamed *Cephas* or *Peter* by the Lord. On the third day being invited to a Marriage in *Cana* of *Galilee*, he turned Water into Wine, this being his first Miracle, and by it his glory was manifested, and his Disciples believed in him. Afterward he went down to *Capernaum* with his Mother, his Brethren, (or Kinsmen) and Disciples, where they abode not many days. Then came he to the exercise of his Ministry, the Acts whereof are distinguished by four Passovers. Amongst the four Evangelists which describe them, *Matthew* alone hath neglected the order of time, which is constantly observed by the rest, except in the History of *John's* casting into Prison, as *Luke* hath recorded it.

11. *Jesus* having ascended to *Jerusalem* at the time of the first Passover, cast buyers and sellers out of the Temple, wrought Miracles, and instructed *Nicodemus* in the mystery of Regeneration, and Faith in himself. Leaving then *Jerusalem*, he went into *Judea* with his Disciples, where abiding, he baptized by the Ministry of them; *John* then baptizing in *Amon*; for he was not yet cast in to Prison. A certain question arose about Purifying, betwixt some of *John's* Disciples and the *Jews*. *John* instructed now his Disciples concerning *Christ* the last time, as they told him of his ads with some emulation, and not long after he was cast into Prison, for reprehending *Herod* the *Tetrarch* his Incest with his Brother *Philip's* Wife. *Jesus* hearing of his Captivity, and that the *Pharisees* took notice that he baptized more by the hands of his Disciples, departed out of *Judea* (where he had remained some Eight moneths) and came into *Galilee*. In his passage through *Samarita* he discoursed with a Woman at a Well near unto the City *Sychar*, the Inhabitants of which by her means he brought to the acknowledgment of himself, four moneths before Harvest, or the Passover, about the middle of the Ninth Month called *Ab*. Having stayed two days at *Sychar*, he proceeded, and returned the second time into *Galilee* out of *Judea* after his Baptism, being received with great respect by the *Galileans*, who had heard what he did at *Jerusalem*. Preaching in their Synagogues here, he also healed at *Cana*, the Son of the Nobleman that was sick at *Capernaum*, which was his second Miracle in *Galilee*. Having wrought Miracles at *Capernaum*, he went to *Nazareth*, where he had been brought up, and expounding the Prophet *Esay* concerning himself, they first admired, and then cast him out, and would have thrown him down headlong, but he passed away through the midst of them.

12. Leaving then *Nazareth*, he taught at *Capernaum*, where they were astonished at his Doctrine, and cast out an unclean spirit that was first commanded silence. Departing out of the Synagogue into the house of *Simon* and *Andrew*, he cured of a Fever *Simon's* Wife's Mother. At Sun-set he healed sick Folks brought to him, and cast out Devils, first put to silence. In the Morning he went out into a desert place to Pray, and the multitudes endeavouring to detain him, he answered, He must also Preach in other places; and coasting through *Galilee*, he Preached in their Synagogues, and cast out Devils. Then taught he the People out of *Simon's* Ship on the Lake of *Genesareth*, and helped them to a miraculous draught of Fishes; whereupon *Simon Peter*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, being commanded to follow him, he maketh Fishers of men. Then going through all *Galilee* healing and teaching, his Fame spread through *Syria*, and multitudes flocked to him. In a certain City he healed a Leper, which though forbidden, yet moved his Fame, and such Companies now followed him that he could not enter the City, but taught without in desert places, and prayed. After a few days he returned to *Capernaum*, and teaching in his own house he healed the *Paralytic*, who was let down in a Bed, and forgave him his sins before the *Pharisees*. Thence going towards the Sea he taught, and passing by called *Levi* or *Matthew*, then sitting at the recit of Custom, by whom being feasted, he defended his Disciples against

The Lord *Jes.* executeth his Ministry.

The first Passover thereof.

Ex *usque* *de* *mattheo*, *et* *ib.* *12* *Richard.* *San* *Epiph.* *Antiquit.* *in* *provincia* *Armenia*.

the *Pharisees*, for eating with *Publicans* and Sinners, and for not fasting. And it came to pass, that on the second Sabbath after the first (that is, on the second Sabbath of the new year, instituted after their return out of *Egypt*, and beginning with the Month *Nisan* or *Abib*) *Jesus* passing through the Corn-Fields, defended his Disciples, who plucked and eat ears of Corn, against the *Pharisees*, and explained the Doctrine of the observance of the Sabbath.

The second
Passover.

13. After these things there was a Feast of the *Jews*, (that is, the second Passover *John* 4. of his Ministry) and *Jesus* went up to *Jerusalem*, where on the Sabbath-day he healed one who had lain 38 years diseased at the Pool of *Bethesda*, for which thing, and because he had called God his Father, the *Jews* went about to kill him, and he opposed against them his most Divine Apology. Departing thence, in the Synagogue, on another Sabbath, he healed a man that had a withered hand, for which the *Pharisees* and *Herodians* presently fought to kill him. *Jesus* knowing this, departed to the Sea, where teaching the People, he commanded a little Vessel to wait on him, because the multitude crowded him. In these days he spent a whole Night in Prayer upon a Mountain, and when it was day, made choice of Twelve, whom he called *Apostles*. Going down into the Plain he healed the Sick, and coming home, such was the press, that they could not eat, whereupon his Friends came to take him, supposing he had been besides himself. When he had seen the multitude he ascended into the Mountain, and his Disciples coming to him, there he Preached his long Sermon, first speaking to the *Apostles*, and then to the multitude. Having ended all his words in the audience of the People, he entered into *Capernaum*, and healed the Centurion's Servant ready to die. The day following he raised from the dead the Widow's Son in the City *Naim*, whence his Fame was spread abroad. Then sent *John* his Disciples from Prison to him, to ask Whether he was the man, or they must look for another; who being departed with an answer, Christ took occasion to speak of *John*, and upbraided the Cities, acquiescing in the Will of his Father as to the revealing or hiding the things of Salvation. Then *Simon* the *Pharisee* inviting him to Dinner, a Woman that was a sinner washed his feet with her tears, which defending against *Simon*, he forgave her her sins. And it came to pass afterward, that he Preached through every City and Village, his Disciples being with him, and certain Women ministering to him, amongst which was *Joanna* the Wife of *Chusa*, *Herod's* Steward. Then healed he a man possessed with a dumb and deaf Devil, and defended himself against the *Pharisees*, who said, that he cast out Devils by *Beelzebub* Prince of Devils. To the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* demanding a sign, he only giveth that of *Jonas*, and his Mother and Brethren asking to speak with him, he declareth who are his nearest Relations. On that day going to the Sea, he taught the People from the Ship in the Parable of the Sower and others. On this same day when it was Evening, he would they should pass to the further side, and having dismissed the multitude, when in their passage a great Tempest arose, he chiding the Winds stilled the Sea, and saved his Disciples then in danger. Coming unto the further side into the Country of the *Gaderens*, or *Gergesens*, which lyeth over against *Galilee*, two *Demoniacs* met him, exceeding fierce, (whereof *Mark* and *Luke* mention but one) out of which he casting the Devils, permitted them to enter into the Swine. The *Gaderens* hereupon desiring him to depart out of their Coasts, he (having dismissed the man who desired to be with him and upon refusal, Preached throughout *Decapolis* what things *Jesus* had done for him) returned by Ship unto the further side, and so to *Capernaum* his own City.

14. And it came to pass, that when *Jesus* was returned, the People gladly received him; for they were all waiting for him. And being by the Sea-side, he answered the Disciples of *John*, inquiring why his Disciples fasted not, seeing they, and the Disciples of the *Pharisees* fasted often. Whilst he spake, he was brought to heal the only Daughter of *Jairus*; and as he was going down, a Woman that had an issue of blood Twelve years, was by touching the hem of his Garment made whole. Passing thence, he cured two blind men, whom he charged with threatening to say nothing of him; but in vain. As they passed away, a man possessed with a dumb Devil was presented unto him, whom he healed, the company admiring, and the *Pharisees* blaspheming. Then going about to all the Towns, he Taught and healed, and coming into his own Country was contemned again by his Country-men, as he taught in the Synagogue on the Sabbath-day, they calling him *Carpenter*, though they admired him. Going about the Villages he taught, and pitying the multitude because the Harvest was great and the Labourers

ers few, he bade his Disciples Pray for Labourers into the Harvest. Then sent he out his Twelve Disciples two and two, commissioned with Power to preach and heal. Having made an end of commanding them, he went and Preached in their Cities: and the Twelve went about the Villages, teaching and healing every where. Now about this time was *John Baptist* beheaded, through the procurement of *Herodias*, which being told unto *Jesus* by his Disciples, who buried him, after the return of his own, he went with them by Ship into a desert place called *Bethsaida*. The multitude hearing of it, got thither before him, where he taught and healed them. And *Jesus* went up into a Mountain, and there sat with his Disciples, and the Passover was nigh. It being late, he having Compassion on the multitude, fed the number of Five thousand men (besides Women and Children) with five Barly Loaves, and two small Filches, whereof twelve Baskets full of fragments were taken up. When they would come and take him by force to make him a King, he caused his Disciples to pass over to the other side opposite to *Bethsaida*, and towards *Capernaum*. Having Prayed in a Mountain apart, he came towards his Disciples, walking upon the Sea, when they had now rowed Twenty five or Thirty Furlongs, and were troubled with a contrary Wind. They being affrighted at him, he made known himself, and saying *Peter* (who had desired he would bid him come to him on the Water) when he was sinking, he passed over with them. Coming into the Land of *Genesaret*, they brought all sorts of diseased persons to him, desiring they might touch but the hem of his Garment, which as many as touched were made whole. The day after his passage came the People which he had left on the further side to *Capernaum* to seek him, where in the Synagogue he Preached concerning the Bread of Life, ascribing himself to be it against the murmuring of the *Jews*. Many now of his Disciples departed from and walked no more with him. And though the Twelve refused to depart, yet he declared that one of them was a Devil, meaning *Judas Iscariot*, who should betray him, being one of the Twelve.

The third
Passover.

15. After the Third Passover of his Ministry, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* that were come from *Jerusalem* came to him, and complained that his Disciples eat with unwashed hands; To whom he answered concerning their abolishing God's Commands by their Traditions, and taught the multitude what he declared to his Disciples, that *Not what entreib in, but what cometh out, defileth a man*. Departing into the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, he cast the Devil out of the Daughter of the *Syrophenician* Woman, because of the greatness of her Faith. Passing thence to the Sea of *Galilee* through the midst of *Decapolis*, he healed a deaf man, who had an impediment in his speech, and ascending into a Mountain healed many. In those days a great multitude having stayed with him three days, he fed them to the number of Four thousand Men, besides Women and Children, with seven Loaves, and a few little Filches; and seven baskets full of fragments were taken up. Taking Ship presently, he came into the Parts of *Dalmathia*, or the Coasts of *Magdala*. The *Pharisees* asking a sign, he digged deeply in his Spirit, for that these Hypocrites could discern the face of the Sky, and not the signs of the times; and refusing to give them any other sign than that of *Jonas*, he left them, and returned by ship to the further side. His Disciples having forgot to take Bread, and brought but one Loaf with them, he bids them beware of the Leaven of the *Pharisees* and of *Herod*; and expounded his meaning to be of the Leaven of Doctrine. Coming then to *Bethsaida*, he cured a blind man by degrees without the Town. Passing thence into the Towns of *Caesarea-Philippi*, he asked his Disciples concerning the opinion which men had of him, and then what they themselves thought; To which for themselves *Peter* answered, That he was the Christ; which thing he forbade them to declare, foretold his Death and Resurrection, called *Peter* Satan, for checking him about his Sufferings, and foretold his Transfiguration, which after some six days was fulfilled. The day following coming down, he cast out a Devil out of the *Lunatick*, which his Disciples could not eject. Passing thence, they journeyed through *Galilee*, which he would not have known, and taught his Disciples that he must die, and rise again; which they understanding not were troubled, and afraid to ask him. Being arrived at *Capernaum*, the Lord paid Tribute-money, and taught his Disciples Humility by the example of a little Child; speaking also against offending one's weak Brother, and forgiving one another seventy seven times by the Parable of the King's two debtors. *John* telling him that they had seen one casting out Devils in his Name, he said he was not to be forbidden; and again spake against offending weak ones, and bade them

John's Authority, spake the Parable of the two sons, asking them, whether did the Will of his Father: and that of the husbandmen, who killed the heir of the vineyard, applying them to these men, who now studied how to apprehend him, but feared the People. Again, he spake to them the Parable of the marriage of the King's son, and the Excuses of the invited, with the Want of the Wedding-garment. Then the Pharisees sent some to entrap him in his Talk, who asking him whether it was lawful to give tribute to Caesar: admired his Answer, and left him. On that day the Sadducees asked him concerning the woman married to seven Husbands, whose the should be at the Resurrection: to which having answered, and asserted the Resurrection, a Lawyer tempted him, asking him, which is the greatest Commandment: Having answered him, he asked the Pharisees whose Son Christ is: and no man could answer him any thing, nor durst thenceforth ask him any more questions. Then speaking of the Scribes and Pharisees, he pronounced eight Woes against them, and upbraiding Jerusalem with her cruelty and obduracy, foretelleth her destruction. Sitting over against the Treasury, he saw a poor Widow cast in two mites; and going out to his Disciples, who admired the Structure, he foretold its ruine. His Disciples asked him on the Mount of Olives, when these things should be, concerning the Sign of his coming, and the end of the World; he answered largely, advising them to watch, for they knew not what hour their Lord would come, illustrating his Doctrine by the Parable of the Ten Virgins, and the talents committed to the servants, to traffick. And he described the last Judgment by a Severing of goats from the sheep. By day he taught, at night he went to the Mount of Olives, and all the People came in the morning to hear him in the Temple. When he had ended these Sayings, he said to his Disciples, You know that after two days is the Feast of the Passover, and the son of man is betrayed to be crucified. The great ones assembling in the house of Caiaphas the High-Priest, consulted how to kill him; but they said, not on the Feast-day, lest there be an uproar amongst the People. Jesus being in Bethany in the house of Simon the Leper, a woman poured Ointment upon his head, which he defended against his Disciples, foretelling his Burial. Then entered Satan into Judas, who offered himself, and coveted for Money to betray him.

20. In the Fourth Passover Jesus himself, Our Passover, was offered, and an end thereby was put to all Sacrifices, which were but types of this. Some think that he did not this time eat the Paschal Lamb, but only unleavened Bread and bitter Herbs, such as were used by those that could not come up to the Sacrifice, being in another Country. For a learned Man distinguisheth betwixt *adage Sionys* and *paschos Sionys*, which later was performed by those that were a far off, in memorial of the thing, it being unlawful to kill the Lamb any where out of Judaea. Now Christ would not sacrifice, because he himself was now to be offered. That he did not do it, appeareth, because as soon as he came into the house he sat down; and this many of the ancient Greek Fathers did believe. These words of Christ, *with desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer*, the same learned Man expoundeth as meant, that he hastened to that Supper because the time of his death was at hand, which would take from him the liberty of celebrating the *adage Sionys*. It being granted that he kept the Passover a day before the Jews observed it, (b) another contendeth that Christ kept it on the true day, and that the Jews receding from the Law, put it off till the following day, or the fifteenth of the Month Nisan, being the Sabbath, lest they should be debarred of working for two days together. But the other opinion is more probable, which holdeth that he anticipated it, being as the true Passover, to be offered up on the true day of killing the Passover, which fell out on the day preceding the Sabbath, and not on the Sabbath day. It clearly appeareth in Scripture, what things our Lord did and suffered for unworthy Sinners, after he had eaten this Supper, though the order of the former passages concerning his Preaching be obscure, and therefore we have more largely described them. Being betrayed by Judas into the hands of the Chief-Priests, and by them delivered up to Pilate the Governour, he, convinced of his innocence and their malice, sought how to deliver him, till they told him, that if he did it he was not Caesar's friend; whereupon fearing to be accused to Tiberius, of Protecting one who affected the Kingdom, he condemned him, and delivered him to the Soldiers to be Crucified. This was about the sixth hour, or a little after Noon, at what time a great darkness arose, for the Sun was obscured, and so continued till the ninth hour, or three of the clock. Then Christ to shew the bitterness of his torment cried (yet) with

The Fourth Passover, wherein Christ the true Passover himself was offered.

(c) *Passus de laetia, cum dominice Symonis discipuli.*

A. D. 33. Ol. 202. an. 4. P. C. 787.

with a loud voice, *Eli Eli Lamasabachani*, and receiving the Vinegar, after he had commended his Soul into the hands of his Father, gave up the Ghost. Thus he who was in the form of God, and counted it no Robbery to be equal with God, made himself of no reputation, and suffered Death, even the (most ignominious) death of the Cross for ingrateful men.

21. Some think that the darkness which happened at our Saviour's Passion, was only in the Land of Judaea. But others, finding that the Evangelists mention * the whole Earth, conclude that this Eclipse was Occasional or Universal, Luke * expressly saying, *That the Sun it self* (the eye of the whole World) *was darkened.* Some conceived that the Sun was darkened by the interposition of the Body of the Moon, whereof (a) Dionysius the Areopagite (as he calleth himself) was an eye-witness, at what time he and Apollonides the Philosopher being at Heliospolis, observed the Moon suddenly to cast her self before the Sun (though it was not the time of Conjunction) and again from the ninth hour to the evening, opposing her self to the middle line of the Sun. If so, it was an extraordinary miracle, the Moon being now at the full (as (b) St. Augustine observeth it to have been ever at the Passover) and consequently at the greatest distance from the Sun, out of which 2d. c. 15. respect others seem to have held, that the Sun was darkened, not by the interposition of that luminary, but the retention of his beams. That the darkness was Universal, appeareth from the Records of Heathen Writers, which, as (c) Origen faith, besides the Evangelists, mentioned the greatness of the Eclipse. And (d) Tertullian writing to Pagans faith, *You cannot make this wonder suppleed, seeing your own Calendars have remarked it, and your Jewes retain the testimonies thereof in your own registers.* Amongst Greek Authors, Phlegon (e) Trallianus the Freed (f) man of Adrian the Emperour, in his Work of Olympiads or Chronicle, which consisted of sixteen Books, clearly spake of this Eclipse, writing in his thirteenth Book, that in the fourth year of the 202 Olympiad, the greatest Eclipse happened that ever was known; for, at the sixth hour of the day it was night, so that the Stars were seen in the Heavens.

22. That Christ was put to Death in the reign of Tiberius by Pontius Pilate (a) (c) Cornelius Tacitus writeth, an Author guilty of Ethnic ignorance, and prejudice. But (b) Josephus the noble Jewish Historian giveth him an honourable testimony, writing, *That At the same time there was one Jesus a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a worker of wonderful works, and a teacher of those willingly receive the truth. He had also many followers, not only Jews but Gentiles: and he was believed to be Christ.* And whereas by the malice of our Princes, Pilate condemned him to be crucified, yet notwithstanding they who first loved him have persevered. For he appeared to them alive the third day; the Prophets having foretold in their writings, these, and many other wonderful things concerning him: and to this day the People from him called Christians hath not ceased. This he relateth, after he had spoken of that Sedition which happened because of Pilate his bringing in of Caesar's Images. Some from amongst our selves have not given credit to this relation, thinking it to be foisted in by some Christians, for the greater honour of our Religion. But as the *pia fraudes* supposed to have been used by the Primitive Christians, are rather excused than otherwise, by some, who either pedantically, and out of ostentation seek for applause from the prejudice of their own cause (as one hath done of late in reference to the matter in hand) or as out of a melancholick and distrustful humour question the evidence of the truth; so is there no reason that this testimony should be condemned amongst them. For Josephus maketh mention of John Baptist, giving him large commendations, and relateth also that he was beheaded; though he assigneth the cause to have been out of jealousy of him, and left he should make some commotions through his popularity, which likely enough might be some cause, especially the malice of Herodias considered, which woman would not be wanting to fill his head with suspicion, although the main reason was his reproving of the incest. He also maketh mention of James the Brother of Alphaeus, whom he calleth the brother of Jesus Christ, how he was put to death at Jerusalem, saying, that all good men were sorely troubled at it; and clearly expresseth himself dissatisfied in it, writing, that Ananus, who commanded the Murder to be done, did ill, and this he saith not only because the Judicial power was taken away from the Jews, as is evident from the course of his words.

23. It is hence clear enough, that Josephus was not in the number of those whom Herod Agrippa could have pleaded in the killing of the other James, the brother

P P P P P 2

The miraculous Eclipse at our Saviour's death.

Recorded by the Heathen.

The testimony of Josephus concerning Christ.

Defended to
be true and
not feigned by
Christians.

brother of John; and truly amongst the Jews, such as were not extremely malicious against Christ, were something inclining to him, if we consider the temper of that People. It cannot therefore be said, that Josephus was so inveterately despightful against Christ and Christians, that, as some have thought, he utterly puffed over the story of Christ upon that account. This Principle would have induced him to rail rather than to be silent to bespatter the Christian generation, rather than to say nothing, or especially to seem displeased at their sufferings. It's true, he was with the younger Agrippa, but almost a Christian, and therefore we rather follow the translation of Jerome, which rendereth his words *credebatur esse Christum*, than to take them as Eusebius and Rufinus have them, and as they are found in the present copies, *ὁ χριστός ἦν*, *Christus hic erat*. But some there were amongst the learnerd sort of Jews, who knew not really what to blame as to Christ, may they believed in him, only they desired still to keep the Law, such was their tenaciousness as to it. It's true, they stumbled at the meanness of his outward condition, and expected a Messiah to reign at Jerusalem. But Josephus lived to see Jerusalem utterly destroyed, and thereby an occasion for such an advantage taken away; and affliction maketh men more seriously to consider things; so that he might be favourable enough towards Christ himself though as to the Law he might still be pertinacious, as many of them were. Eusebius writeth, that the Verbes of Sibylla were accounted by some as feigned by the Ecclesiasticks, but not a word of this matter.

24. The Jews had great expectations of the Coming of the Messiah, at that very time when the Lord Jesus was upon Earth. They knew that the Prophecies of old respected that season: they understood well enough the words of Daniel, and that the Scepter was departed from Judah, when they had no Judiciary Power as to life and death left amongst them. This expectation was so great, that it possessed the whole Eastern part of the Empire, though it was understood in the same sense only, as by the carnal sort of Jews; amongst whom how many counterfeits do we read of, which at that time presumed upon it? Hereupon, though Christ came in an humble way, yet his Miracles caused a reverence and esteem of his Person, nay they durst not but think well of him as the Messiah in (how long dost thou make us to doubt?) till confounded by the spiritualness of his Preaching, offended at his opposition of their Traditions, and Pharisaical Tenets (as contrary to their Law, which they thought must necessarily endure forever) and especially moved (the greatest of them) by their corrupt interests of profit and applause (which made them deny him, though they knew the Resurrection, and to sin against their own Consciences, and the Holy Ghost) they rejected, and put him to death. That Saying amongst the Talmudists, and ascribed to the house of Elias (whom some will have to be John Baptist) is commonly known, viz. that the World should continue six thousand years, whereof two thousand belong to Tobin or Isaac (that is the void space of time betwixt the Creation and the Law) two thousand to the Law, and two thousand to the Messiah; that then it should be destroyed. Now as the first division lighteth well, if the Tobin be taken as ending at the birth of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful (or those in Covenant with God) so the second endeth much about the Birth of our Saviour (reckoning as to both those accounts the years of the Patriarchs, according to the Hebrew Text) and pertaineth out the time of the Messiah. Suidas mentioned out of Theodotus a noble Jew, that before Christ did rebuke the Scribes, they marveling at his wise answers and questions made him one of the Priests, and entred his name, *Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱοῦ Μαρίας*, Jesus the Son of God and of Mary, otherwise he being of the Tribe of Judah could not have been suffered to Preach at Nazareth and Capernaum as he did.

25. But (that we may improve those things as to Josephus) it doth appear, that not only before Christ gave them offence, and that before he died, some had honourable thoughts of him, but also after his death they accounted him the very Messiah, though they would not part with their old way of worship. Their *Tal* *sabbatum*, like to Asseus his Stable, is full of filth, amongst which but a few Granes of Corn do appear. It was not finished in less time than a hundred years, being written with this design, to contain all the Sayings of their Elders which were not expressed in Scripture, and was completed (such a Fardel as it is) about five hundred years after Christ. Yet speaking of that place of Zechariah (Chap. 12. ver. 10.) And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, after it hath reprehended a certain exposition of it, addeth, Peace be to him who hath said that these things are to

Mat. 15.
Gal. 1. 23.

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be understood of Messiah the son of Joseph, who is slain. There is nothing in the whole Talmud more worthy of observation. For so we have him whom both the Blessed Virgin herself, and Nathaniel calleth the Son of Joseph, and whom the Jews put to death, to be the true Messiah, and to have been born about the 4000 year of the World.

26. There are not wanting Testimonies concerning the truth of Christ and his Doctrine, from the Heathen. Rhodiginus and Volateran deliver it as a matter of credit, that there was an Altar in Egypt Dedicated unto a Virgin that should bring forth a Child: and Pothellus, that there was another intitled *Primogenito Dei*, to the first begotten of God. Upon the Star which appeared at his Birth (which some think the same mentioned by Pliny, and called *Stella criminis* sine crine) many meditating turned to the truth, as Chærenon amongst the Stoicks, and Chaldinus amongst the Platonists, who thereupon went into Judea, and became Jews. It is also reported that the Romans called their Temple which they had built to Bacchus for Victory, *Templum pacis æternum*, the everlasting Temple of Peace, because the Oracle at Delphi told them it should stand *dum peperit virgo*, till a Virgin brought forth a Child; but as soon as Christ was born it fell. The Oracles generally fell in the reign of Tiberius, when the time of Christ his Preaching was come, who was the eternal Word of his Father. Plutarch of this Subject wrote a Treatise, searching much, as a Philosopher, what the cause of this strange change should be. After his acute search after sundry causes, and accurate Philosophical disputes, he refers it partly to the absence of the Demoniack spirits, which he thinks might die, or remove from place to place, either banished by others more potent, or upon some dislike, and partly unto the alteration of the soil wherein Oracles were seated, which yielded not exhalations of such Divine temper as in former times it had done; for, without a certain temperature of exhalations, or breathing of the earth, he thought that spirits could not give their Oracles, more than a Musician can play without an Instrument. Accordingly he expected, that Oracles should either come in Use again in Greece, or else burst out in some convenient soil. But where have they thus burst out? Christianity chased them away wherever it came, and put those spirits to silence, which were afraid of the Christians in the Primitive times, so, as those Holy Men could make them confess they were Devils, and chase them out of such Bodies as they had possessed; for the truth whereof Tertullian in his Apology appealeth to the Consciences of the Heathen themselves, and therefore he would not in fo publish a Defence produce an untruth, which must have been notoriously known. Therefore the silence of the Oracles was not from any of those causes (which to one that hath opportunity are in themselves easie to be confuted); the truth was, the time was come wherein the strong man's house was to be entred, his goods spoiled, and himself bound; Now the Prince of this world was to be cast out: Satan fell like lightning from Heaven upon the approach of that true light which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.

27. That notable story which Plutarch bringeth for confirmation of his Opinion, concerning the Mortality of those Demoniack spirits, maketh exceeding much for our purpose; if we consider the time thereof. Thamus the Egyptian Master, as he failed, was requested by an uncouth voice uttered three times from Land, to proclaim the news of Great Pan's death as he passed by Palodes. Thamus, whose name was unknown to his Passengers, till he answered to it at the third Call, was resolved to have let all pass as a fancy or idle message, if the wind and tide should grant him passage by the place appointed: but, the wind falling him on a sudden, at his coming thither, he thought it but a little loss of breath to cry out aloud unto the shoar, as he had been requested, *Great Pan is dead*. The words, as Plutarch relateth, were scarce out of his mouth, before they were answered with a huge noise, as it had been of a multitude, sighing, and groaning at this wonderment. Now, if these Spirits had been by nature Mortal, as the Philosopher thought they were, the death of their Chief Captain could not have seemed so strange: but that a far greater than the greatest of them, by whose power the first of them had his being, should die to redeem his Enemies from their thralldom, might well seem a matter of astonishment, and deep sorrow unto them. The circumstance of the time will not permit us to doubt, but that under the known name of Pan was intimated the great Shepherd of our Souls, who had then laid down his life for his flock; not the feigned Son of Mercury and Penelope, as the Wise-men foolishly resolved Tiberius, who having had the truth of the Story confirmed

Testimonies
from the Hea-
then.

The Oracles
silenced.

Lib. de deificis
Oraculis.

The great
Pan that died,
was Christ
the true He-
braid.

Cap. 5. fol. 52.
Vide in Jo.
Capitulum
12. in Tit.
Sicut et
ad A. M. 3670.

31. To omit what might be (and by others hath been) produced out of *Heathen Writers concerning the blessed Trinity (for we may easily admit, that God, who was ever the God of the whole World, and designed to do the *Gentiles* good also in the knowledge of himself, might give to them such Hints of the truth, as afterwards might be improved for their welfare) we shall come to the last testimony concerning Christ, and that such an one, as will reduce us to the course of our design. After that Christ was risen from the dead, and had sent his Disciples about to preach and work miracles for the conversion of the World, Pilate who then governed in Judæa, reported his Passion and Resurrection to Tiberius and the Senate, with the miracles done by him, or by them in his name; and how the multitude of believers daily increasing, he was accounted a God. Tiberius hereupon reported the matter to the Senate, with his favourable suffrage, that Christ might be accounted a God. But the Senate, because they were displeased that they had not first moved it, refused to canonize him, and by an Edict commanded that Christians should be banished the City; especially by reason that Sejanus, the great Minister of State, most obstinately contradicted this Religion. But Tiberius by another Edict threatened death to the accusers of Christians. These things thus related by (a) Orosius, are also witnessed by (b) Eusebius, Tertullian, and Justin Martyr, whereof, the testimonies of the two later are incontestable; for in their Apologies they durst not mention such things, and cite such testimonies as they must needs know would be easily confuted.

32. (a) Tertullian writeth, that Tiberius referred it to the Senate, with the prerogative of his own suffrage, but they having not approved the thing, refused it. Caesar notwithstanding remained firm in his resolution, and threatened such as should accuse the Christians. This he openly asserteth in his Apology to the Pagans, writing also in another (b) place of the same excellent Work, that Pilate, who in his heart believed in Christ, at the same time wrote all the History of him to the Emperor Tiberius, whereupon the Caesars themselves had worshipped our Master, if their Government in so doing had been consistent with the men of this World, and Christians permitted to have been saluted Caesars. He giveth another reason, why Christ was not at first worshipped as a God. There was an ancient Law that forbade introducing new Ceremonies into Religion, as worshipping strange Deities, unless approved by the Senate; and this was an inviolable and unalterable Law, to which the Prince himself was subject. He instanceth, that Marcus Æmilius would have had divine honours rendered to his Idol, called the god Alburnus, but could not obtain it. As for Justin Martyr, he maketh it more evident, telling plainly in the Pagans in his second Apology, that they may know these things thus to have been, in the Acts which were written under Pontius Pilate; and again, that they might know, that Christ wrought such miracles, from the Acts (or Acts) made under Pontius Pilate. Now the word *Acta* signifieth sometimes the Journal-Book of the Senate, then called *Acta Senatus*, and otherwhiles the Records of the People, or of the Publick, then named *Acta Publica*, *Diurna*, and *Zibana*. In the former sort was contained whatsoever was done or said by the Fathers. In the latter, things concerning the People, as Publick Judgments, Punishments, Assemblies, Buildings, Nativities, the Death of Eminent Persons, Marriages, and Divorces. These afforded matter for Historians to digest and adorn. Now Justin Martyr either meaneth those *Acta Publica*, wherein might be recorded what notable things happened in the Provinces; and fell under the administration of the several Deputies or Governors; or rather those *Acta* which Pilate himself composed in his Province. For we cannot but imagine, that care would be taken for the Recording of things memorable, as well in other places, as in the City it self. The Provinces had their *Subceps* or their Tables. And the Presidents and Deputies not only certified by Letters occasionally what happened, but, as we may easily apprehend, did refer in *Acta* all memorable things; which were sent to Rome, and there, it's probable, either transcribed into, or laid up with, the *Acta Publica*. But, thus much of the testimonies of Jews and Heathens concerning Christ.

33. The Lord Jesus having risen the third day from the dead, and after his Resurrection given Commission and Instructions to his Disciples, whom he ordained his Ambassadors to the whole World; forty days after, he arose, ascended into Heaven, and sent down the Holy Ghost upon his Disciples, according to his Promise, for the Furnishing of them to the Work, ten days after his ascension. Many being converted to the Faith, the Church increased, and living in Love and Unity together, they had all things common, none calling any thing his own which he possessed.

Pilate made report unto Tiberius of the Perion and Works of Christ.

(a) Orosius, l. 7. c. 23. (b) Euseb. Hist. l. 2. c. 2.

(c) Apolog. c. 5.

(d) Cap. 21.

De Actis consilii senatus Tiberius Justin Lippian in Constit. ad Taciti Annal. lib. 5.

The Ascension of Christ.

The seven Deacons made.

Jesus the first Bishop of Jerusalem.

Saul converted. Pilate making a slaughter of the Samaritans.

He sent to Rome to give an account of it.

The Jews banished Rome.

Philip the Tetrarch dieth.

The Parthian King revileth and despiseth Tiberius.

possessed. About the end of the year, as is rationally computed, the Greeks or Hellenists (Jews which living out of Judæa spake Greek in a peculiar dialect, which is called *Hellenistick*, and used the Scriptures in their Synagogues in that language) murmured against the Hebrews (or those who both read and spake Hebrew) for that their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations. Hereupon the Apostles committed it to the number of the faithful, to chuse seven men who should take care of what was gathered for the poor, and these Ecclesiastical Writers call *Deacons*. About this time James the Apostle the Son of Alphaeus (who is also called the brother of the Lord, and was surnamed *Just*) was created the first Bishop of Jerusalem. For thus Clemens wrote in the sixth Book of his Hypotyposicon, as he is cited by Eusebius. Peter, and James, and John, though they were preferred, after the ascension of the Lord, contended not amongst themselves for glory and honour; but with one consent appointed James the Just Bishop of Jerusalem. The same Clemens in his first Book, distinguished thus concerning the two which bore the name of James. There were two James, the one termed Just, who was thrown down headlong from the pinnacle, and brained with a Fuller's club, the other beheaded. Of him that was called Just, Paul made mention, saying, I saw none of the Apostles save James the brother of the Lord. In the year following Christ's resurrection, a great Persecution was raised by the Jews against the Church, wherein Stephanus one of the seven Deacons and the Protomartyr was stoned to Death, by the procurement especially of Saul a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia. But in this same year as this Saul was journeying to Damascus to make havock of the Church, he was converted, and called to the Apostleship, after which he went from Damascus into Arabia, as he himself testifieth in his Epistle to the Galatians. Eusebius in his *Chronicon* placeth the conversion of Saul (afterwards called Paul) in the nineteenth year of Tiberius.

86. About this time it happened, that a certain man who fought by all means the favour of the multitude, drew the Samaritans to Mount Gerizim (which they justly esteem accounted holy above all other Mountains) promising to them therein there the holy Vessels buried in a certain place by Moses. Many had gathered themselves to the foot of the Hill, where staying for more company that they might ascend all together, Pilate prevented them, and killing some, took many, dispersed the rest, and put to death the chief of those he had taken. Hereof the Senate of Samaria complained to Vitellius President of Syria, who sent Marcellus his friend to take charge of Judæa, and commanded Pilate to go to Rome, there to answer before Caesar what should be laid to his charge. Hereupon he departed, after he had governed Judæa ten years, but ere he reached Rome, Tiberius was dead. About the same time that these things happened in Samaria, the Jews were banished Rome by the Emperor upon this occasion: A certain Jew flying his Native Country for breaking of the Laws, came to the City, where he professed himself an expounder of them, and drew to him two or three no less reprobate than himself. They made a Prosefelyte Fulvia the wife of Saturninus an Honorable Person, and persuading her to send some Purple and Gold to the Temple of Jerusalem, converted it to their own Use. Saturninus complaining of this to Tiberius, he thereupon commanded all Jews to depart Rome. Of these the Consuls chose out and lifted four thousand men, whom they sent into Sardinia, and punished many that refused to bear Arms, upon no other account, than because they would not transgress the Ordinances of their Country.

87. About two years after the death of Christ, died Philip the Tetrarch, Son to Herod the Great, a man of a modest and quiet disposition, whose Principality was for that he died without issue, Tiberius laid unto the Province of Syria. By this time Artabanus King of Parthia prospering against his neighbours, was much puffed up, and despising the old age of Tiberius, when his Son Artamas was dead made his other Son Arsaces King of Armenia in his stead. He also reviled Tiberius by Satires in Verse, Letters, objecting parricide, murders, laziness, and luxury to him, and wished him by a voluntary death to satisfy the most just hatred of his subjects, as soon as possible. But many Noble men of Parthia, to escape his cruelty came to Rome, and desired a King from Tiberius, who thereupon gladly named Phraates the Son of Phraates, that had been of a long time Hostage at Rome, and he dying in Syria, he commended to them Tiridates. Mitridates Brother to Phraates King of the Iberi was also ordered to get Armenia, who breaking into it joyned the Albanians to him, and procured the death of Arsaces; for the Parthians were easily overthrown, being discouraged by a false rumour of the death of Orodes their Captain;

A. D. 33. O. 20. A. N. C. 727.

l. 18. c. 5.

Idem ibid. c. 6.

l. 6. c. 31.

lib. 6. c. 60.

Captain, another of *Artabanus* his Sons. *Artabanus* having before this attempted *Cappadocia*, sent also to demand the Treasure which *Phonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and that had been seized by *Tiberius*, * who with great perfidiousness * *Idem in Tit.* killed the owner at *Antioch*; and he further demanded the ancient Borders of the *Perfians* and *Macedonians*, bragging that he would invade whatsoever had been possessed by *Cyrus* and *Alexander*. But *Vitellius* the President of *Syria* having drawn many of his subjects from their Trust, his mind so changed, that he fled away cowardly with a few to the confines of *Scythia*. *Vitellius* taking the opportunity carried *Tiridates* into the Kingdom, but he by delaying to seize on the chiefest places, and hastening his Coronation, gave occasion to some of the great ones again to fly unto *Artabanus*, who coming on, the other fled as fast back into *Syria*; so that he recovered his Kingdom, with *Armenia*, and resolved to set up on *Syria*.

88. *Tiberius* hereupon wrote to *Vitellius* to make a peace with him. *Vitellius* about this time was come to *Jerusalem* after the expulsion of *Pilate*, where he celebrated the *Passover*, remitted to the Citizens the Impost upon such fruits as were sold, and deposed *Joseph*, surnamed *Caiphas*, from the High-Priesthood, to which he promoted *Jonathan* the Son of *Annas*. He met with *Artabanus* upon a Bridge built over the River *Euphrates*, where they concluded a Peace, and afterwards they were feasted by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*. *Darius* the Son of *Artabanus* was sent an Hostage to *Rome* with many presents. But *Tiberius* died before, (*March 16*) having since the death of *Sejanus* cruelly raged against many, and lived dissolutely from his retirement to the Island *Capreae*, whence he never returned to the City, though he was twice on his way. The people ran up and down overcome with joy upon the report of his death. Some would have had his body cast into *Tiber*, and others prayed that no other place might be assigned him now dead than amongst the wicked. He reigned twenty two years, seven months and odd days, and died in the seventy eighth year of his age, and the 790 of the City, *Cn. Acerronius Proculus*, and *C. Pontius Nigrinus* being Consuls.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of *Tiberius* to that of *Nero*, the last Emperour of *Cæsar's* Family, containing the space of Twenty years.

1. *TIBERIUS* left behind him a Grand-son of his own name by his Son *Drusus*, yet he preferred before him *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus*, either for some reason fetched (a) from Astrology to which he was much given, (b) *Josephus Antiq.* l. 18. or through the means (b) of *Macro* his Freed-man, and greatest favourite, who being a loose and vile person, *Caius* insinuated himself into his favour by the procurement of his Wife. With her *Caius* was wantonly familiar, and promised her Marriage by an Oath, and under his hand, if he could compass the Empire, where *Macro* was well pleased, if so be he could but therewith purchase greater Preference. 'Tis reported that he helped his Master forward by stifling him in the bed-cloths. Others have thought (c) that a slow-working poison was given him by *Caius*; some that meat was denied him, and others that when he demanded his Ring which they had pulled off from his finger, they choked him with the Pillow. However it came to pass, *Caius* succeeded him, and some (d) judged him willing (e) that so it should be, because he would prove a very bad man, and hoped that there by the faults of his own reign might be something covered. He was received with great applause by all men. By the Army, for that he had been brought up continually amongst them. Some say he was born in the Camp; 'tis certain that the surname of *Caligula* he had for that reason, because he was wont (f) to wear that habit of the ordinary Soldiers. By the people he was gladly entertained out of their affection to *Germanicus*, and commiseration of his family so grossly abused by *Tiberius*, whose cruelty he escaped merely by his great dissimulation, and taking

in good part every thing; so as it was said truly of him, That never was there a better Servant, nor a worse Master than *Caligula*.

2. *Caius*, within a few days after the sumptuous Funeral of *Tiberius*, made *Agrippa* King of that Country whereof *Philip* had been *Tetrarch*. This *Agrippa* was the Grand son of *Herod* the Great by his Son *Archibulus*, whom he put to death, being begotten of *Berenice* the Daughter of *Salome*. Having run through many straits for want of Money by reason of his great profuseness, he became at length very dear to *Caius*, who restored him to liberty (being imprisoned by *Tiberius* for wishing his death, that *Caligula* might succeed him) and then set the Diadem on his head. He had a Sister named *Herodias*, married to *Philip Antipater* (not *Philip the Tetrarch*) his and her Uncle, and Brother to *Philip Antipater* on the Father's side, his Mother being Daughter to *Simon the High-Priest*. This Woman *Herod Antipater* was so taken with, that though he had already to Wife the Daughter of *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petraea*, yet he Divorced this, and Married her, upon which account *Aretas* made War upon him, and defeated his Forces, which * was taken by the People as a Judgment of God upon him for putting to Death *John Baptist*. Now *Herodias* envying exceedingly the promotion of her Brother *Agrippa*, importuned her Husband to go to *Rome* and beg, or buy the title of *King*. *Agrippa* smelling out their Design before-hand, wrote to *Caius*, and accused him of having heretofore been of *Sejanus* his Conspiracy, and of favouring at present the Party of *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, whereof he said his Magazines could testify, being furnished with Provisions for seventy thousand men of War. This he could not deny, and therefore *Caius* Banished him to *Lugdunum* (now *Lyons*) in *Gall* (whither *Herodias* would needs accompany him) and gave his Principality and Estate unto *Agrippa*. Thus were these two Punished for the Death of *John Baptist*; and so was *Pilate* for that of *Christ*. For, being also Banished by *Caius* to *Piemont*, two years after, he killed himself (whereof the *Græcians* are witnesses, saith *Eusebius*, who commit to memory in their Histories the *Olympiads* of times) and so became the revenger of his wickedness upon himself, as he who betrayed *Christ* into his hands had been before.

3. Though the disposition of *Caligula* was from his Childhood tending to intemperance and cruelty, yet at his first coming to the Government he used much Moderation and Equity, as well towards publick as private Persons. He would not hear any Accusations, though said to be for his own safety, permitted free and ancient Jurisdiction to Magistrates, attempted to bring in again the *Comitia*, and restore the Privilege of Suffrages to the People, payed the Legacies given by *Tiberius*, though his Will was null, and those given by *Livia* also, though her Son would never discharge them: he remitted part of the Taxes to *Italy*, relieved the necessities of such as received losses by fire, and to such Kings as he restored, he gave the Tributes collected in their absence. At first he appeared a great Patron of virtue, but degenerated into a Monster, so that as far as a man could go in luxury and cruelty, he seemed to proceed, which made *Seneca* say, that nature seemed to have brought him forth to shew what the greatest viciousness backed with the greatest power could be able to do. We may be more favourable to this opinion, if we consider that the greatness of his Estate made him so far surpass the limits of all modesty, as, challenging to himself the title of Divinity, he governed all things in contempt of God.

4. He thought at first to have taken a Diadem, and changed his Principality into a Kingdom, till by his Flatterers he was told, that he was above all such titles. At length he began to take to himself Divine honour. For he caused the images of their Gods to be brought to *Rome*, whereof the heads being taken off, that of his own was placed upon each in their stead. He would offer himself to be adored amongst his brother gods as he called them, and ordained Temples and Priests with Sacrifice of no commoner things than Peacocks, Turkeys, and Pheasants, which were to be offered every day; and he invited the Moon to his Embraces. He could not endure to be accounted the off-spring of *Agrippa*, because of his ignobility; but gave out that his Mother was conceived of the incest of *Augustus* with his Daughter *Julia*. He himself committed incest with all his Sisters, and spared not the chastity of either Sex. So imperious he was, that he would make Persons of greatest Rank run by his Chariot, and stand gilt with Towels when he was at meat. So cruel, that he killed his Grand-mother *Anonia* by unkindness, he murdered his Brother *Tiberius*, though he had adopted him, with all his Kindred except his Uncle *Claudius*, whom he preferred for a

laughing stock; and he forced *Macro* and *Ennia* to kill themselves. As for others, he made havock of them, causing some to be knocked in the head with Clubs, if he were but disturbed in the shows. He would cast old men, or infirm, to wild Beasts, and shutting up the Barns and Store-houses proclaim a Famine. Many of Quality being first Stigmatized, he condemned to the Mines, or to repairing of High-ways, thut them up like Beasts in a Den, or fawed them asunder; and that for no greater Matters than if they had not high thoughts of his gifts and shows, or had not sworn by his Genius.

5. He forced Parents to be present at the Death of their Children. To one that executed himself by Sickles, he sent a Litter to carry him. ^{idem ibid. cap. 17, 28.} A certain Knight whom he cast to wild Beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he caused to be taken out, and his Tongue to be cut out of his Head, after this to be cast in again. Demanding of one whom he had recalled out of Banishment *what he did all that time?* upon answer that he *prayed for the death of Tiberius, and that He might succeed him*, supposing that all whom he had Banished prayed also for his Death, he gave command that they should all be killed. He would suffer none to be put to Death but by degrees, that so as he said *they might feel themselves die*. He forely afflicted the order of *Knights*, and being incensed against the multitude for favouring a Party against him, he wished that the *People of Rome had but one neck*. He was wont openly to complain of the condition of his time, because not signalized by any publick Calamity, and how by the Serenity thereof he should be buried in oblivion (his being herein contrary to the disposition of *Phalaris*) in so much as he would with for some overthrow of the Armies, some Famine, Pestilence, Fire, or Earth-quake. He purposed utterly to destroy the works of *Virgil* and *Livy*, and take away the Law. He took away honour from Families, and when he met with any beautiful person, made them as deformed as he could. He was so Prodigal that he would drink most precious Pearls dissolved in Vinegar, and invent all sorts of delicacies, by which course he spent infinite Sums in the space of three years, which *Tiberius* had hoarded up; and to recruit his Coffers raised unheard-of Tributes. Amongst other means for increasing his Revenue he let up Stews in his Palace, and some were sent about to invite all sorts of men to them, such as came being commended for increasing *Cæsar's* Revenues. He purposed to depart to *Antium* and thence to *Alexandria*, but first to kill all the chief both of the *Senatorial* and *Equestrian* rank; and answerably hereto were there found after his death two Books, whereof the title of one was *Gladius*, or *Sword*; and the other *Pugio*, or *Dagger*, wherein were written the names of such as he intended to murder. A great chest also was found full of divers Poisons, which being by *Claudius* his appointment cast into the Sea, the water is reported to have been so infected, that the fish was therewith killed, and was cast up by the tide upon the shoar. These things are reported by *Suetonius*, concerning which Author yet it is observed by some, that he wrote the *lives of the Emperours with as great liberty as they lived them*.

6. Many desired to have an hand in removing him, yet durst not attempt any thing. But *Calpurnius* *Chæreas* the Captain of his Guard being grievously affronted by him (for ever when *Caius* gave him the watch-word, it should be some effeminate or obscene name, and he continually charged him with Cowardice) fully resolved to kill him, and broke the business to others, whom he thought to have the same desire with himself. They killed him as he returned from the Games of the Palace to refresh himself, *Chæreas* giving him the first wound. His guard of *Germans* (which loved him exceedingly, because of the profit they reaped from the execution of his cruel commands) in a great rage flew all they could meet in the Palace, and with much ado were kept from putting thousands to death, that were now assembled in the Theatre. Nay the common People allured by his shows and largesses, endeavoured to find out the Authors of his death, to whom *Valerius Aflaticus* (who had been *Consul*) coming forth whilst they were in an uproar, and every one inquired who had done the deed, O, said he, *I wish I had done it*. Being once advised to beware of a *Calpurnius*, he suspected *Calpurnius Longinus* the *Proconsul of Asia* (of the same Family with *Caius* one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæsar*) and sending for him, put him to death, never thinking that *Chæreas* had also that name. Having reigned three years, ten months and eight days, and lived twenty nine, he thus died, on the ninth before the *Calends of February*, in the 794 year of the City, and the 42 after the Birth of Christ, he himself the fourth time, and *C. Sextius Saturninus* being *Consuls*.

7. The

7. The Senate now, as *Josephus* telleth us, thought of refusing the ancient form of Government, though it was utterly impracticable, *Saturninus* the *Consul* especially sticking for it. But the Soldiers rightly judging, that such an Empire could not be ruled in a Popular way, and especially looking at their own advantage, relolved the contrary. *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*, Brother to *Germanicus Cæsar*, and Son to *Drusus* (by *Antonia* the younger, the Daughter of *Antony the Triumvir* and of *Octavia* the Sister of *Augustus*) was yet living. Him they judging most fit to succeed his Nephew, pulled him out of an hole where he had hid himself to save his life, and straight-way declared him *Emperor*. He was at first discharged by the messages of the Senate, but again took heart, at the Counsel and directions of King *Agrippa*, so that the Senators despairing of Success, gave over their Enterprize, but not without (some of them) seeking the Sovereignty for themselves, which would have produced as great Slaughters and Desolations as ever, had any of them obtained liberty to prosecute their desires. The People were for *Claudius* his preferment, envying the Senate its ancient Power, and making account by the Sovereignty of one to be sheltered from its avarice. Hereby also they thought to avoid such Civil Wars as fell out amongst the great ones in the time of *Pompey*. The wiser sort knew that it was impossible the Commonwealth should subsist but under Monarchy: some one they were sure would establish himself, and that through Desolations, Confusions, and Slaughters, they must come to it at last. Self-preservation therefore, and publick interest easily led them to the next heir, who by his Birth could challenge an interest. For hereditary Monarchies, by preserving due Reverence, excluding Emulations and Contentions amongst equals, by preventing numerous pretensions, and the extravagant grandeur of divers Families, can only secure the Peace and Prosperity of their Subjects.

8. *Claudius* promised the Soldiers a Donative upon their taking an Oath to defend his Person and Authority. Then put he to death *Chæreas* and others that killed *Caius*, as a means to secure his own Person; but in reference to the Senate buried all things in oblivion, and behaved himself moderately and civilly. He confirmed *Agrippa* in his Kingdom, and enlarged his Dominions by an addition of *Judea* and *Samaris*, which heretofore belonged to his Grand-Father: And he further bestowed on him *Abila*, and the Principality of *Libanus*, which had belonged to *Lysanias*; moreover upon his desire he granted to his Brother *Herod* the Kingdom of *Chalcis*, and at the request of both, published favourable Edicts in behalf of the Jews, who groaned under the persecution of *Caius*. This *Agrippa* (called also *Herod* by *St. Luke*) labouring all manner of ways to gratify the Jews, killed *James* the Brother of *John*, and shut up *Peter* in Prison, intending to bring him forth to the People after the *Passover*, but he was miraculously delivered by an Angel. A just punishment from God overtook *Agrippa* not long after: For, having begun to build the Walls of *Jerusalem*, when upon complaint of *Marcus Prefect* of *Syria*, he was forbidden by *Claudius*, he descended to *Cæsarea*, there to celebrate Games in honour of *Cæsar*. Being clothed with a Robe of Silver, which glittered exceedingly by the reflection of the Sunbeams, he rejected not the flatteries of those who ascribed to him divine honours, and was presently seized by a pain in his Guts, and being eaten with Worms, gave up the Ghost within Five Days, after he had Reigned Seven Years in all, and Three over *Judea*. His Kingdom was not committed to his Son, by reason of his Youth, (for he was but Seventeen Years Old) and therefore *Cassius* *Paullus* was sent to Govern it.

9. *Claudius* restored also *Mithridates* the *Iberian* to his Kingdom, whom *Caius* had imprisoned. On another *Mithridates* (descended from *Mithridates* the Great King of *Pontus*) he bestowed the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* (giving one part of *Ciliciato Polemo* in requital) and another part of this Country to *Antiochus* with *Commagena*; for he had also been deprived of this his Kingdom by *Caius*. But the *Lycians* and *Rhodiens* he deprived of their liberty. The former, for that they had raised a Sedition, wherein some *Romans* had been slain, and the later, because they had Crucified some of them. About this time the *Britains* were very tumultuous, for the reducing of whom to obedience, he sent *A. Plautius* in his Second Year, with an Army out of *Gall*.

10. Since the time of *Julius Cæsar*, the *Romans* had attempted nothing upon *Britain*. *Augustus* seemeth of purpose to have neglected it, counting it policy to keep the *Roman Empire* within its bounds; to wit, the *Ocean*, the *Rivers* *After* *nam* and

Claudius his
luck succeed-
eth him.

Putteth to
death *Chæreas*.

Enlargeth the
Dominions of
Agrippa.

Whom ven-
geance over-
taketh for the
death of
James.

Claudius resto-
reth several
Princes.

The *Britains*
tumultuous.

He is slain by
Calpurnius Chæreas
the Captain of
his Guard.

Vide Joseph.
cap. 1. 19. c. 2.
Sueton in *clau-*
d. c. 10.

Josephus at *lib*
1. c. 45.

Ant. 124

A. D. 45.
1. c. 797.

A. D. 49.
Pl. 205. c. 1.
1. c. 794.

and *Euphrates*, limits set by nature, to the end it might be a State *Adamantine* (for so he himself speaketh in *Julian*) or *invincible*, and not milicary through its too great bulk and burthen. *Strabo* is of opinion, that he despised it, seeing no cause to fear, nor hope of much profit from the *Britains*; and yet it seemed that no small danger would be presented from other Nations lying about the Island. But at length he departed from *Rome* with a purpose to transfer the War into *Britain*; but when he was come into *Gall*, the *Britains* pacified him by Ambassadors, and having obtained his amity, dedicated Presents and Oblations in the Capitol. They brought the Island now familiar to the *Romans*, and endured Taxes and Imposts, which saith *Strabo*, are now nothing grievous to them, being raised out of such Merchandise and Commodities as are shipped to and fro out of *Gall* and *Britain*: those be Ivory Works, Bits and Bridles, Chains and Wreaths, Vessels of Electrum and Glass, with other bafe and common Wares of like sort. And therefore there needs no Garrison for that Island. For it would require one Legion at least, and some Horsemen, if Tributes were to be Levied from thence, and the said Tributes would but countervail the Charges of maintaining a Garrison there, for of necessity, by imposing a Tribute, the Revenues coming by Tollage and Poundage, and such like Imposts, would be less: and if any violent course were used, some Peril or other must be expected. The Year following also, *Augustus* intended a second Expedition into *Britain*, because there was some variance about the Covenants: but by occasion of some insurrections made in *Spain* by the *Cantabri* and others, that Journey was stayed.

11. *Tiberius* nothing transported with an inordinate desire of enlarging the Empire, seemeth to have rested in that counsel of *Augustus*; For he produced a Book written with *Augustus* his own hand, wherein was contained the whole Wealth and Estate of the Commonwealth, what number as well of Roman Citizens as Allies were in Arms, how many Navies, Kingdoms, and Provinces, what Tributes and Imposts belonged to the State, with a resolution annexed thereto of containing the Empire within the same bounds. Which advice and resolution of *Augustus* contented him to well, that, as *Tacitus* reporteth, he would attempt nothing in *Britain*, nor maintain any Garrison or Deputies here. For, whereas *Tacitus* reckoneth up the number of Legions, and what Coasts and Countries they defended at that time, he maketh no mention at all of *Britain*. And yet it seemeth, that the *Britains* entertained amity with the *Romans*. For when as at the same time *Germanicus* sailed the Ocean, some of his Company being by force of Tempest driven to this Island, were by the Princes thereof sent back again. That *Caius Caesar* cast in his mind to enter this Island is certain: but by his little brain, sudden repentance, and wonderful Attempts against *Germany* it came to nothing. For to the end that he might terrifie *Britain* and *Germany* (over which he hovered) with the fame of some mighty piece of work, he made a Bridge between *Baie* and the *Piles of Puteoli*, three Miles and Six Hundred Paces in length. But having achieved no greater exploit, than received to grace *Adrianus* the Son of *Cynobellinus* King of the *Britains* (who being by his Father Banished, had fled over Sea with a small Power and Train about him) he sent magnificent and glorious Letters to *Rome*, as if the whole Isle had been yielded up into his hands, warning and willing the Poets to ride forward directly into the *Forum* and *Curia*, and in no wife to deliver the said missives unto the *Consuls*, but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent Assembly of the Senate.

12. After this, to the Ocean he marched, as if he minded to translate the War over into *Britain*. There upon the shoar he embattled his Soldiers: he himself took Sea in a *Gally*, and having lanchted forth a little from the Land, returned again. Then mounting an high Scaffold, he fate him down, and gave his Soldiers the Sign for Battel, and commanding the Trumpets to sound, on a sudden charged them to gather Cockles, Muskles, and other small Shel-fishes: Having gotten these spoils he waxed proud, as if he had Conquered the Ocean: and having rewarded his Soldiers, he brought some of these Shel-fishes to *Rome*, to shew the booty he had gotten. In token and memorial of this great achievement, he caused to be built a brave high Turret, out of which as from a Watch-Tower, there might blaze all night long, Lights, and Fires, for the better direction of Sea-men. The ruins hereof are some times seen at a low-water on the shoar of *Holland*, by the People inhabiting thereabouts, called *Britenhuiss*; that is, the *British house*, who also find oftentimes stones ingraven with letters of

of which one had these Characters, C. C. P. R. which they expound thus, *Caius Caligula Pharus Fecit*, that is, *Caius Caligula made this Pharos* (or Watch-Tower) so called, I suppose, from that notable one, and one of the Worlds wonders, built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* in the Island *Pharus*, from which a some would have the ancient Kings of *Agypt* called *Pharaohs*. It is probable, that this Watch-tower afterward being repaired by *Septimius Severus*, became a Granary for reception of Corn, which was brought out of *Britain*, whence it might take its name of *Britenhuiss*. For *Zozimus* writeth, saith *Cambden*, that Corn was wont to be brought out of *Britain* by Ships to this place, and thence with Barges and Boats haled up the *Rhene* against the stream, to serve the *Roman* Garrisons: seeing that *Julian* the Emperor built Garrisons, as *Marcellinus* saith, wherein might be inned and kept the Corn, that the *Britains* usually transported thither.

13. But, afterwards the inland parts of *Britain* wafted, rather with Civil Wars and Factions than by the force of the *Romans*, came by little and little subjected to them. Some making choice of their protection swore allegiance to them, and practised by all means to subject their Native Countrey unto their Government. The principal of these Fugitives was one *Bericus*, who moved, and periwaded *Claudius* to give the Attempt upon *Britain*, which none assayed to do since the time of *Julius Caesar*, and which then was up in a broil and commotion, for that the said Fugitives were not rendered again unto them. *Claudius* therefore in his Second Year Ordered *A. Plautius* the *Prætor* to pass over out of *Gall*, who having by the means of *Narvisius* quieted the Soldiers that refused to make War without the compais the World, overthrew several times the Sons of *Cynobellinus*. His Lieutenant was *Flavius Vespasian*, who behaved himself very gallantly in the Service. But *Claudius* in his fourth Year being very ambitious of a Triumph (as not contenting himself with Triumphal Enigens decreed to him by the Senate) without a just cause pitched upon *Britain* as yet Seditious, because their Fugitives were not restored, Sailing from *Osia*, he was twice in danger of Shipwreck, once near *Liguria*, and again near the Islands *Stechades* (four or five in the French Sea near *Languedoc* and *Provence*) where from *Maffia* (now *Marsilis* in *Provence*) he went by Land as far as *Gessoriacum* (now *Bologne*) and thence passing into the Island subdued part of it, and amongst other Towns *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon*) the Regal Seat of *Cynobellinus*, with the *Oreades*: *Dio* writeth, that at his first Landing he defeated the *Barbarians* in Battel. But *Suetonius* saith, he performed these Acts without a Battel, and the loss of one drop of Blood. Having been divers times saluted Imperator (as *Sutton* at *fr. p. 17.*) and thing directly saith *Dio* against the *Roman* Custom; for lawful it is not in one War to assume that Title other than once) he disarmed the *Britains*, and committing as well the Government of these, as the War with the other (not yet subdued) to *Plautius*, he hasted to *Rome* in the sixth Month, finding before him *Pompey* and *Silanus* his Sons-in-Law with Tidings of the Victory.

14. So great a matter it was, and of such consequence to have Conquered even to small a parcel of *Britain*, that the Senate thereupon decreed in honour of *Claudius*, Yearly Games with Triumphal Arches, both at *Rome*, and also *Gessoriacum* in *Gall*, and a most honourable and stately Triumph. To the beholding hereof Governours of Provinces, and some banished Persons also were permitted to come to the City: a Naval Crown was fixed on the Loober of the Palace, as the Ensign of the *British* Sea subdued by him: the Provinces brought in Crowns of Gold, and *Gallia Comata* one above the rest weighing nine pounds: and the hither part of *Spain*, another of seven pound weight. He mounted up into the Capitol by the stairs on his knees, supported, and heaved up by his Sons-in-Law on either side. He entered in Triumphing wife the *Adriatick* Sea, embarked in a Vessel more like mole exceeding great House than a Ship. Unto his Wife *Messalina* was allowed the highest place to sit in, as also to ride in a Car-roach or hanging Coach. After this he set forth Triumphal Plays and Games, being made Consul for that purpose. The Solemnities were exhibited at once in two Theatres, and many times when he was gone aside from the fight, others had the charge hereof. Horle-races for the Prize he promised as many as those days would admit. Howbeit, above Ten there were not; for between every courle of Horles Bears were killed, Champions performed their duties, and choice Boys sent for out of *Aps*, danced the Warlike dance in Armour. Upon *Valerius Asiaticus*, *Julius Silanus*, *Sidius Geta*, and others, in regard of this Conquest,

This Island from *Julius Caesar* his Expansions, uncouched by the *Britains*.

Augustus was diverted from it.

Tiberius neglected it.

Caius his rare exploits.

And great achievement.

Britenhuiss.

Claudius sent *A. Plautius* into *Britain*.

Passing thither himself subdued part of it.

Extraordinary expressions of joy at *Rome*.

† *Vires in Ang. de civit. Dis 1. 10. c. ult.*

Conquest, he heaped Triumphal Ornaments. He suffered *Licinus Crassus Frugi* to follow after himself in his Triumph, mounted upon a trapped Courier with a rich Caparison, and arrayed in a Robe of Date-tree work. Upon *Fofidius* the Eunuch he bestowed a Spear-staff without a head: upon *C. Gavins* Chains, Bracelets, Horfe-trappings, and a Coronet of Gold; as is to be seen in an ancient Marble at *Taurinum*.

15. In the mean time *Aulus Plantius* went on with the remainders of the War in Britain, and sped so well, that *Claudius* passed a Decree That he should enter *Rome* in *Ovant Triumph*: and when he was entered into the City, he himself went to meet him, giving him the right hand all the way. *Vespasian*, partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plantius*, fought Thirty Battels with the Enemy, subdued all two most mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Vetis* or *Wight*. For those exploits he received triumphal Ornaments, and within a short space two Sacredotal Dignities, with a *Consulship* which he bore the two last Months of the Year. *Titus* also served in quality of a *Tribune* under his Father with exceeding commendations for his industry and valour (for he valiantly delivered his Father when besieged) and no less Repute of his modest carriage (for he, as appeareth by a number of his Images and Titles to them annexed, throughout the *Provinces* of *Germany* and *Britain*. About this time a new Island appeared in the *Aegean* Sea named *This* near to *Hiera*, which One Hundred and Ten Years before it first appeared up: And both of them lay betwixt *Thera* and *Therapsa*, which in like manner One Hundred and Thirty Years before the Original of *Hiera* were first seen amongst the Cyclades.

16. Two or three Years after this, *Claudius* being certified that his Wife *Messalina* (the most unchast of all Women) had openly Married *C. Silius*, he animadverted upon her and her Minions. About the same time *Herod* the King of *Chalcedia* dying, he bestowed that Kingdom upon *Herod's* Nephew *Agrippa* the younger, for *Judea* his Fathers Kingdom was still governed by Deputies. *Tiberius Alexander*, who succeeded *Fadus*, gave place to *Comanus*, under whom the *Jews*, being affronted at the *Passover* by impudent and fawcy Soldiers, mutined, but now, as ever, came by the worst: and not long after their Country-men who dwelt at *Rome* were expelled thence by *Claudius*, and under their name, as many think, the *Christians* also. In the Nineteenth Year of his Reign he Married *Agrippina* his own Niece by his Brother *Germanicus* through the persuasion of *Pallas* his *Freedman*, which Woman presently as soon as he perceived her strength procured his Daughter *Octavia* to be given in Marriage to *Domitius Nero* her Son by her former Husband *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*. The Maid was formerly contracted to *L. Silanus*, an eminent young man, but he accused by *Vitellius* was put out of his *Pratorship*, and the match was broken betwixt him and the Princess, whereupon he shortly after killed himself. And a Year after was *Claudius* persuaded by *Pallas* to adopt *Nero* his Wife's Son, though he had a Son of his own, by name *Britannicus*, but two Years younger. *Pallas* was so high flown in favour, that he procured his Brother *Felix* to be sent Governour into *Samaris*, and afterwards got his power extended to *Judea*, *Gallilee*, and *Perea*, where he acted the part of a Tyrant, and having married several great Ladies, obtained also *Drusilla* Sister to *Agrippa*. The *Parthians* now again at variance amongst themselves, and wearied with the Tyranny of *Gotarzes*, asked a Prince from *Rome*. *Claudius* sent them *Meherdates* the Son of *Vonones*, and Grandson of *Phraates*, but he was presently betrayed into the hands of *Gotarzes*. At this time also the *Britains* rebelled.

17. Now was *P. Ostorius* Proprietor here, upon whose first coming the *Britains* grew confident, as contemning him for his want of experience. The Winter being begun they made excursions into the Territories of the *Alles* of *Rome*. He knowing that the first event would either encourage or daunt them; set upon, and scattered them, then went about to disarm all such as he had reason to suspect; but the *Iceni* (inhabiting those parts now called *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Huntingtonshire*) a strong Nation, refusing to submit, drew others in to them, and pitching upon a very convenient ground gave Battle to the *Romans*, who by reason that they despaired of Pardon, had much ado to overcome them. By this foil of the *Iceni*, others before unfettered were contained in obedience, and *Ostorius* led his Army against the *Cangi* (a People living towards the *Irish* Sea) and waisting their grounds had passed on well nigh to the

the *Irish* Sea, when he was recalled by the discord of the *Brigantes* (people inhabiting the North part of this now called *England*) the Ring-leaders of whom when he had taken off the Rebellion was extinguished. But the *Silures* (inhabiting *Southern* Wales) would by no means be either allured or discouraged from waging War, trusting to the strength of *Caratacus* the greatest Prince amongst the *Britains*, who excelling as well in policy as the knowledge of the Country, transferred the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices* (now *Northwales*) as more convenient for him by reason of the Mountains and Rocks. Here he made a speech to his Officers, putting them in mind how their Ancestors had repelled *Caesar* the Dictator, and willing them to behave themselves at this time, as the beginning of their liberty or eternal slavery. Till they came to strokes the *Romans* had the worst of it; but afterwards breaking into the Ramps they easily routed the *Britains*, and got a great Victory, wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caratacus* being taken, his Brethren yielded themselves.

18. *Caratacus* committing himself into the hands of *Carisgunda*, Queen of *Icenia*, the *Brigantes*, was treacherously bound, and delivered up to the Conquerors in the Ninth Year of the War, wherein he had got himself an exceeding great name. Being carried to *Rome*, the people was called together as to some famous show, and the *Pratorian* bands were placed along for the reception of him. The Prayers of the rest were by reason of fear, bafe, and nothing favouring of Nobility: but *Caratacus*, neither hanging down his head, nor craving any mercy, when he stood before the Emperor's Tribunal, spake to this purpose: If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive: neither would you have disdained to receive me with Covenants of Peace, being a Prince descended of Noble Progenitors, and a Commander over many Nations. My present state is, as to me dishonourable, so to you Magnificent. Have had Horfes, Men, Armour, and Wealth: What marvel if again my will I have lost them all? For if you will rule over all men, it followeth that all men must abide Servitude. If presently I had yielded, and been delivered into your hands, neither had my Fortune nor your Glory been very remarkable: and oblivion would have followed my punishment. But if you save me alive, I shall be an example of your Clemency for ever.

19. Upon those words *Caesar* pardoned him, his Wife and Brethren. And they being all unbound did their reverence likewise unto *Agrippina* (who sat aloft not far off in an high seat to be seen) giving her the like praises, and in the same degrees of style as they did the Emperor himself. Surely a strange precedent without any example, saith the Historian, that a Woman should sit and command the *Roman* Ensigns. But she carried her self as a fellow and associate in the Empire gotten by her Progenitors. After this the Senate was called together, and the Fathers made long and glorious discourses, as touching the Captivity of *Caratacus*. Neither was this less honourable, as they affirmed, than when *Pub. Scipio* shewed *Siphas*, *L. Paulus*, *Perfes*, or whoever else exhibited Conquered Kings to the view of the People. As for *Ostorius*, it was Decreed that he should be honoured with triumphal Ornaments. But his Fortune soon changed, either for that he grew secure upon the Captivity of so considerable a man, or the Enemy was highly moved to revenge it. For a Party left to awe the *Silures* was incompanied by the *Britains*, and if help had not presently come in from the adjoining Villages and Fortresses, had been utterly cut off, besides, that the Commander in Chief with Eight Centurions, and many others was slain. Not long after such as went to gather Forrage, and several Companies sent in to their aid, were also routed, and the Enemy was hardly restrained at length by the help of the Legions. After this happened many Skirmishes, as they met by chance, or were desirous of Booty, and two Auxiliary Cohorts were intercepted, with the Spoils of which other Nations were drawn to revolt, and not long after *Ostorius* spent with care and peniveness died. To his place *Claudius* preferred *A. Didius*, who found things but in a bad condition, through the boldness of the *Silures*. But the *Britains* falling out amongst themselves were several times overthrown, and then kept under.

20. *Claudius*, the Twelfth Year of his Reign ending, bestowed on *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as also that of *Lysania*, taking *Chalcis* from him after he had Governed it Four Years. After this he reformed the *Rhodians* to their former liberty upon their repentance, and eased the Inhabitants of *Ilium* of all *Chalcis* and Tributes, as being the Authors of the *Roman* Race. *Nero* pleaded the

Claudius poisoned by Agrippina his Wife.

His Charge.

Ecclesiastical matters in his Reign.

causes of both Cities, whose Mother *Agrippina* now began to be discovered to her Husband. He chanced in his drink to lay that it was *Fatal* to him first to endure, and then to punish the wickedness of his Wives, and he repented of his folly in preferring her Son before his own. She bethinking her self how to escape the danger, first gave him Poison in Mithrooms his beloved meat, but it passing through him, the used the skill of *Xenophon* the Physician, who as it were to A.D. 55. P.C. 807. help him to Vomit, put something down his Throat dipped in a moist violent Poison, and so he died, who within a small time upon a very small account had put to death Thirty Five Senators, and Three Hundred Equites. He was a man that before his coming to the Government was despised by his Relations as some imperfect thing, and afterwards was but counted blockish, and despicable by others, yet sometimes he would judge very wisely and circumpectly, and so far profited in liberal studies (which he very much plied) that he wrote divers things, and amongst the rest a learned defence of *Cicero* in answer to the Books of *Asinius Pollio*. He was fearful above measure, so that (amongst other demonstrations) when *Camillus*, who attempted a Rebellion, sent him a reproachful, and menacing Letter, willing him to lay down the Government, he was in doubt and seriously consulted whether he should not do it: and this made him put many to death upon idle and malicious accusations. He was the very Slave of his Freedmen (whereof *Narcissus* and *Pallas* were chief) who rather Reigned than he, for, they managed all things according to their Pleasure or Lust, bestowing favours upon whom they pleased, and killing any, though never so worthy, or nearly allied to him. He excused his anger and peevishness by a publick Declaration. He was so forgetful that he would several times ask for such as he had put to death. He would eat and drink at any time, or in any place: he was a great player at Dice, of which Art he set forth a Book. He died on the third before the Ides of October, in the 64 Year of his Age, when he had Reigned Thirteen Years, Eight Months, and Twenty Days, in the 807 Year of the City, the 55 after the birth of Christ, *M. Asinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being Consuls.

21. Now that we may note briefly such Ecclesiastical matters, as fell out in the Reign of *Claudius*. In his First Year *James* the Brother of *John* was, as we said, put to death by *Agrippa*, and *Peter* being cast by him into Prison was delivered by an Angel. In his Second, *Paul* returned out of *Arabia*, to *Damascus*, whence he came to *Jerusalem* to see *Peter*. Hence he went to *Tarsus*, and not long after to *Antioch*, being called by *Barnabas*, who had been sent thither by the Apostles. In his Third, *Paul* Preached for a whole Year at *Antioch*, together with *Barnabas*. In his Fourth, *Paul* carried the Almshouse of the faithful from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem*, because of the Famine foretold by *Agabus*. Thence returning to *Antioch*, he was sent with *Barnabas* to Preach the Gospel in *Asia*. In his Fourth then, and the Fifth Year of *Claudius* he Preached Christ in *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Pisidia*, *Iconium*, *Lystra*, and *Derbe*, and returned to *Antioch*. In the Sixth he was sent from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem* to the Council with *Barnabas*, whence returning to *Antioch* he reprehended *Peter*, who came thither a little after him, for his dissembling, and not long after went with *Silas* into *Asia*, to confirm the Churches he had Founded. In the Seventh of *Claudius* he Preached Christ in *Crete*, and through *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Phrygia*, visited the Churches, and converted the *Galatians* to the Faith. In the Eighth he came to *Troas*, and thence into *Macedonia*, where at *Philippi*, as also at *Thessalonica*, at *Beraa*, and then at *Athens* he Preached the Gospel. About the end of the Ninth Year he came to *Corinth*, where he found *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with whom he stayed half a Year Preaching the Gospel, and thence wrote both his Epistles to the *Thessalonians*. In the Eleventh Year he came from *Corinth* to *Ephesus* with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, whom there leaving, he went to *Jerusalem* to the Feast. Thence he returned to *Antioch* and *Ephesus* through *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, and the higher parts of *Asia*. Being at *Ephesus* in the Twelfth Year, there he continued Two Years, till the Tumult raised by *Demetrius*. Hence he wrote his Epistle to the *Galatians*; the former also to the *Corinthians*, and to *Titus*, but about the end of the following Year; as also the first to *Timothy*. About the end also of the Thirteenth Year, or the beginning of the following, he came into *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, to receive the Collections to be carried to *Jerusalem*. And hence (from *Corinth*) being to pass into *Asia*, he wrote his Epistle to the *Romans* about the end of the following Year. About the end also of the Fourteenth Year he was imprisoned at *Jerusalem*. And being carried to *Caesarea* was there kept Prisoner by *Felix* for two Years. Concerning the Chronology

logy of these accounts, *Ludovicus Cappellus* is by Students to be consulted, in his *Historia Apostolica Illustrata*.

22. St. *Peter* the Apostle is reported in the second Year of *Claudius* to have come to *Rome*, having been formerly Bishop of *Antioch*, in which See he was succeeded by *Evodius* one of the Seventy Disciples, of whom also *Paul* maketh mention: some say that he continued Bishop at *Rome* Twenty five Years, viz. Twelve under *Claudius*, and Thirteen under *Nero*. Perhaps he might come to *Rome* at this time, but that he stayed there Twenty five Years is but to be taken for a Fable. For we read that *Claudius* Banished all Jews from *Rome*, and he being a Jew, must needs give place, or abide the danger. We do not find he had any trouble, and this was by reason of his absence. It is probable that he went away when *Aquila* and *Priscilla* departed *Rome*, and met St. *Paul* at *Corinth*. *Enchiridion* indeed often mentioneth his being at *Rome*, and writeth, that he suffered Martyrdom together with *Paul* under *Nero*. This might be at his second return unto *Rome*, so that we may count Twenty five Years from his first Coming under *Claudius* unto the end of his Martyrdom under *Nero*; it being, to say truth, better thus to reconcile Writers, than flatly to deny all, or to say, he never was at *Rome*. Here he met with *Simon Magus* again, and confounded him, as it is reported. This man being a Samaritan, of the Village *Gittos*, was Baptized by *Philip* the Deacon in *Samaria*. He would have bought of *Peter* the gift of the Holy Ghost; and thence of him arose the word *Simony*. He came to *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*, where calling himself a God, he was honoured with an Image, having this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. He had to his yoke-mate one *Helene*, by *Irenaeus* called *Selen*, a Witch and a common Harlot, whom he called the *Principal understanding*. He said unto the Samaritans that he was the Father, unto the Jews, that he was the Son descended from Heaven, and unto the Gentiles, that he was the Holy Ghost. *Peter* foiled him in *Samaria*, whence for shame he fled; and leaving *Samaria* and *Judea*, he sailed from *East* to *West*, and came to *Rome*, under *Claudius*, where *Peter* met him. *Peter* it is said had much to do with him in the presence of *Nero*. Some write that he had three Conflicts with him; and in the end *Simon* seeing himself foiled, and his Witchcraft not at all to prevail, told them he would leave their City, and flee up into the Heavens whence he came. Whereupon at a certain day appointed, he climbed up into the high Capitol, whence he took his flight by the means of Witchcraft, and the Spirits that bore him up in the Air. The People at the sight hereof was amazed. But *Peter* fell down and prayed God that his Witchcraft might be revealed to the World. He had no sooner spoke, but down came *Simon Magus*, and was broken to pieces, so that he there miserably died. Now again to the course of our History.

23. The death of *Claudius* was kept private by *Agrippina*, till such time as the Empire could be secured to *Nero* her Son, who then, at noon time of the day, the doors of the Palace being opened suddenly, accompanied with *Burrhus* Captain of the Guard, went to the Watch, by which at the instance of the Captain, he was received with lucky Acclamations. Being put into a Litter, he was thence carried to the Camp, where speaking at the time required, and promising a Donative to the Soldiers, after the example of his Predecessors, he was saluted Emperour, and presently owned by the Senate, and in the Provinces. *Claudius* his Testament he never published, left the People should be moved by the injury offered to *Britannicus*, to whom his Father was so Superlatively unnatural, as to prefer his Wives Son before him. Indeed some of the Soldiers at first paused, and looking back, asked for *Britannicus*; but finding no body to stir in his behalf, joined themselves to the multitude. *Nero* came to the Government, being Seventeen Years Old, Six Years after he had been adopted by *Claudius*.

24. *Nero* at first carried it exceedingly well towards People and Magistrates, Governing according to the Pattern of *Augustus*, whose precept he professed he would observe. He omitted no occasion of shewing liberality, clemency, and mildness, inasmuch that *Trajan* himself admiring his first Five Years, averred, that All Princes came short of them. Heavy Tributes he either took off or lessened, distributed money to the People, gave Annual Stipends to impoverished Senators, and to the *Praetorian bands* Corn every Month freely. Being desired to subscribe to the execution of a condemned Person, *Otho* said he, I wish I knew no letters. But this good beginning is rather to be attributed to *Burrhus*.

Of St. Peter his being at Rome.

Acts 8. Ephes. 1. 2. c. 1.

Idem c. 12, 13; Irenaeus l. 1. c. 10. Epiphanius l. 2. tom. 2. heresi. 21.

Tacitus Annal. l. 2. c. 11.

Suetonius de Nerone c. 7. Idem c. 10.

Nero succeeded Claudius.

All Princes came short of them.

Burrhus and *Seneca* (the latter of whom, after his Adoption, was his School-master) who being in power, mutually helped each other. *Agrippina* thought by virtue of his name to rule indeed, and at the beginning Poisoned *Silanus* Tacitus Annal. l. 13. c. 1, &c. Proconsul of *Asia*, and made away *Narcissus*; without his knowledge the former, and the latter without his consent; and had gone further, but that *Burrhus* and *Seneca* interposed. Not long after, jealousies arose betwixt them, for he falling in love with *Acte* a Freed-woman, and distasting such as he leaned upon, removed *Pallas* her Minion from publick inspection, which so far exasperated her, that she upbraided him with *Britannicus*, as most fit to enjoy his Father's Seat. This *Seat* she told her Son he now enjoyed by her means, and not sparing to lay open all the evils, as she said, of their unhappy Family, her own Marriage and Sorcery; she took it as happy for the gods and her, that *Britannicus* was living, and protested she would go with him to the Camp.

His Mother and he fall at odds.

25. This, together with *Britannicus* his frowardness (who being Fourteen idem ibid. l. 15. Years old, began to be sensible of his condition, and to move compassion towards himself) made *Nero* resolve to dispatch him out of the way, and for that he could not do it openly to his Brother, he procured Poison to be given him, which working downwards first without any great incommodity, he caused to be boiled to that height, that it instantly killed him the second time, whilst he himself sat at a Supper with him, as knowing nothing. He made him be buried the same, though a very rainy Night, his mean Funeral being provided beforehand. *Agrippina* very much troubled that her refuge was gone, was shortly after accused to her Son, as intending by a Marriage with *Rubellius Plautus* (who was as near to *Augustus* as *Nero* himself) to invade the Sovereignty. Being something gone in drink when he heard of it, he would have had her killed out of hand, but being hindered by *Burrhus*, the next day she stoutly denied any such Design, and the wound of jealousy for the time was skinned over. After two Years, *Nero* began to discover what his Nature prompted him to. Disgusting himself in a servile habit, he ran about the City by Night to Taverns and Stews, accompanied with such as himself, where taking away things by force, as also cutting and slashing such as they met, he himself came into danger of life.

He poisons Britannicus.

Beginning to discover himself.

26. A little before those things, he sent *Porcius Festus* into *Judaea* to succeed *Felix*, who being out of his Office, was accused at *Rome* by such *Jews* as dwelt at *Cesarea*. *Nero* pardoned him through the intercession of his Brother *Pallas*, who was as yet in favour. About the same time happened a great dissension betwixt the *Jews* of *Cesarea* and the *Syrians*, which there inhabited with them, about the Right and privilege of the City. They pretended that *Herod* the founder of it was a *Jew*, and thence answered, that ere he named it *Cesarea*, it was called the *Tower of Straton*, at what time none of the *Jews* inhabited it: and the *Syrians* by a great Sum of Money procured *Beryllus* (who had been *Nero*'s School-Master) to get them the Emperours Letters, whereby was abrogated that Privilege which the *Jews* had formerly enjoyed with the *Syrians*. Herewith the *Jews* incensed, were still seditious till the beginning of the War. Great motions at this time fell out in the *East*. The *Parthians* had set upon *Armenia*, having driven away *Rhadamistus* Nephew to *Mithridates*, whom *Claudian* had set over that Kingdom, and who was killed by the other, that he might succeed him. *Nero* sent to preserve that Country *Domitian Corbulo*, who for two or three Years had little to do, because the *Parthians* deferred the War. But now *Tiridates* Brother to *Pologesus* the *Parthian* being resolved to fight for the Diadem, the *Armenians* also inclining to him, *Corbulo* took several Forts, and besieged *Araxata* the Metropolis, which, though the Inhabitants opened the Gates, and for this were spared, yet because it could not be held for the greatness of it, was burnt and razed. *Nero* for these things was saluted *Imperator*, very great Honours were Decreed to him, and a far greater stir was made by the flattering *Fathers* than was convenient.

Felix succeeds Felix.

Corbulo professeth in the East.

27. The same Year that these things were done by *Corbulo*, being the Fifth of his Reign, *Nero* fell in love with *Poppaea Sabina*, the Daughter of *P. Ollius*, though he named her self after her Grand-Father by the Mother's side, became more eminent. He came first acquainted with her by the commendations of *Otho* her Husband, who also had been too familiar with her in the days of her first Husband *Rufus Crispinus*: She incited him more against his Mother, because she feared, that as long as she lived, he would not dismiss *Octavia* and marry

Now fallen in love with Poppaea, which incenseth him against his Mother.

marry her self. Sometimes she laid at him by divers Criminations, and otherwhiles jeered him as a Pupil, who not only wanted Command and Authority, but also Liberty. Some have suspected, that *Agrippina* sought to commit Incest with her Son. How true soever this was, he now began to be absolutely weary of her, to shun her company, and within a while resolved to make her away, though solicitous how to do it. At length *Anicetus* his Freed-man and General of the Fleet at *Misenum*, acquainted him that a Ship might be so framed, as to break into peices and let her fall into the Sea. This Ship was thus made, and she brought into it by her Son, under colour of doing her honour, but the upper part of the Ship falling, chanced to mislead her, though it killed one of her attendants. One of her Maids knowing nothing of the design, cried out, that she was *Agrippina*, hoping thereby to save her self, and was thereupon killed by the Oars; but the her self being silent, escaped them, and swam to Land. Her Elcage struck *Nero* with great consternation, who called upon *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to give their advice. Whether they knew of the thing before or no is uncertain. Some say, *Seneca* asking *Burrhus* whether the Soldiers should nor be commanded to kill her, he answered, they would do no such thing to the Daughter of *Germanicus*, and that *Anicetus* rather should perform his Promise of dispatching her. This he readily undertaking, accompanied her Head with a Club, another drawing his Sword, he stretched out her Belly and bad him strike there, and so died of many wounds. Some report, that *Nero* viewed her dead Body exactly, and passed his Judgment upon every part. She had been a very leud and ambitious Woman, and now reaped the fruit thereof, according to her own desire. For consulting on a time about the Fortune of this her Son, the *Chaldeans* told her, that he should Reign, but kill his Mother, to which she answered, *Occidam modo imperatorem: Let him kill me, for he but Reigns*. After this wicked Fact he was continually tormented in his Conscience, confessing often, that he was haunted by the Furies, which did beat him with Fire-brands.

Tacitus Annal. l. 14. c. 1, 2, &c. Sueton in Nero. c. 34.

A. D. 60. P. c. 12.

He causeth his Mother to be made away.

The Senate and People flatter him.

His enormities.

Corbulo professeth in Armenia.

28. He excused himself to the Senate, laying great loads of heavy accusations upon her. But the *Fathers* not only excused but commended the deed; nay to such lordships of Spirit was the Senate and People degenerated, that returning to the City, they met him with great Pomp, as if he had come from some notable Victory; for the several Tribes, and the Senate received him; their Wives and Children being placed according to their Sex and Age. Hereupon he grew excessive Proud, as Lord over so many Slaves, and presently unmasking himself, without any care of his actions, fell into such disorders, as he appeared rather a Devil incarnate than a man. He became a Stage-player, learning that Art, and exercising himself therein in publick continually. He ordained Games to be solemnized at *Rome* every Fifth Year, in imitation of the *Greeks*, and called them *Veronica*; persons of all sorts, and degrees, being constrained to be Actors. These being continued Night and Day, most horrid things were committed, *Prince, Senate, and People*, either through affliction or fear, not only giving way, but compelling to such filthiness. *Corbulo* at this time prospering in *Armenia* had *Tigranocerta* yielded to him, and then placed in that Kingdom *Tigranes*, Grand-son to *Archebius* King of *Cappadocia*, with whom having left a Guard, and settled matters, he departed into *Syria* to succeed *Vitellius* the Governour. The Year following, being the 814 of the City, wherein *Celsinus Petus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* were *Consuls*, the *Romans* received a sad Defeat in *Britain*.

Suetonius in Britain following the Statute.

29. Of late the Lieutenants of this Province had made but small progress in their Conquests; *A. Didius Arvianus* the Successor of *Plautius* contenting himself with what was done before, and *Varenianus*, who followed him, making only some excursions upon the *Silures*; for he was prevented by death from any further service. But now *Paulinus Suetonius* the Emulator of *Corbulo* for Military glory, had the chief Command, and fought to equal the Acts of the other in *Armenia*, by chastizing and taming the *Britannic*. He set upon the *Mona* (now called *Anglesey*) Peopled with strong Inhabitants, and the receptacle of all Fugitives, where he was received with multitudes of men on the shore, and with Women running about like Furies with Fire-brands in their hands, having their hair spread about their shoulders; the *Druides* also, the ancient Seat of whom that Island was; pouring out plenty of Curses. The Soldiers

Consul Tacitus in Agricola. c. 29. 30. 31. & Xiphilinus in Xiphilinus. l. 12. c. 12.

His Province
revolted.

diers something terrified at first, being exhorted by their General, easily broke through, and dissipated this furious Company: then placed he a Garrison in the Island, and cut down the Groves where they were wont to offer man's blood, and consult their Gods by the entral of some Captive. But whilst these things were afoot, news came to *Suetonius* of the Revolt of his Province. For, *Prasagus* King of the *Aceni*, that his Kingdom and Family might be freed from molestation, left *Cesar* his Heir, together with his two Daughters. But it happened far otherwise, his Kingdom being wasted by *Centurions*, and his House by Slaves: his Wife *Boadicia* (otherwise called *Boadicea*, *Boudica*, *Voudica*, and *Baudica*) was whipped, his Daughters deflowered, his chiefest Subjects spoiled of their Goods and Lands, and his Kindred counted no better than Bond-men. Provoked by these things, and Fear of worse, when they should be reduced into the form of a Province, the *Aceni* took Arms, stirring up the *Trinobantes* to Rebellion. Others also with joined them, having heretofore combined to recover their liberty out of hatred to the old superannuated Soldiers, who being planted as a Colony at *Camulodunum*, committed grievous outrages against them, and these were rather cherished by the Army than otherwise, in hope of the like liberty for the time to come. But this Colony not being fenced by any Fortifications, for the Founders rather looked at the pleasantness of the situation than commodiousness of the ground; the *Britains* accounted it no great matter to destroy it.

Camulodunum
the Colony
destroyed.And Verulamium
ruined.

30. The *Camulodunians* being terrified by several Prodigies, desired Aid of *Cassius* the Governour in *Suetonius* his absence. He sent them but 200 men, and those but meanly Armed, and they neglected still to raise any Fortifications, their Councils being confounded by such as were engaged in the Plot. Being then beset round by the Natives, all things were burnt and destroyed, and *Patellus Cerealis* coming to their relief with the Ninth Legion was utterly defeated, all the Foot being cut in pieces, and the Horse with himself glad to run away to the Camp; whereupon *Cassius* passed over into *Gall*, having by his aversion been the great cause of this defection. The same Defeat was given to *Verulamium* (out of the ruins of which arose *St. Albans*) a Town free of the City of *Rome*; for the *Britains* passing by Castles and places of defence, set upon such as were most obnoxious to their fury. At both places were Massacred 70000 persons, none being taken or sold after the custom of War, but either put to the Sword, Hanged, Burnt, or Crucified as Malefactors. *Suetonius* passed through the midst of his Enemies to *Londinum* (now *London*) a Town not then notable in respect of a Colony, but for multitude of Merchants, and plenty of Traffick very famous. Perceiving it but badly provided of Soldiers, although he once thought to make it the Seat of the War, he left it, being not prevailed with to stay either by the Prayers or Tears of the Inhabitants. For, resolving with the loss of one Town to preserve the rest, he took all along with him that could go; and all others, whom either Sex or Age, or the pleasantness of the place detained, were destroyed by the Enemy. Having got together an Army of 10000 men, he resolved to venture a Battle with all expedition; and for that purpose made his choice of convenient ground. *Boadicia* carrying her two Daughters in the Chariot with her about to the Companies, told them it had been usual before for the *Britains* to fight under the conduct of Women, but she was now in another capacity than her Ancestors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the ordinary sort to revenge her lost liberty, her own stripes, and the violence offered to her Daughters. As for her self she said she was resolved to win the Field, or die; as for men, they might live if they pleased, and be Slaves. *Suetonius* on the other side considering the weight of the Enterprize, was not silent.

Suetonius de-
feated the
Britains in
Batle.

31. The *Romans*, though far inferior in number, yet in Military knowledge and Discipline far exceeding the *Britains*, put them to the worst, and made them great slaughter by reason of the difficulty of flight; for those having brought their Wives to behold the Battle, and be Eye-witnesses of their Valour, they had placed them in Waggon's about the Army. Some reported that scarcely fewer than 80000 of the Conquered were slain, and of the Conquerors about 400, and *Boadicia* ended her life by Poison. Afterwards, the Army being increased by a great Supply sent over by *Cesar*, wasted the Country with Fire and Sword, which was sorely oppressed by Famine; for being intent upon the War, the *Britains* had neglected the Sowing of Corn, hoping also to enjoy the Provisions

A. D. 62.
Of 210. ann. 11.
P. C. 814.Tarpilius
succeeding
him is both
full.Albius suc-
ceedeth Tar-
pius.James the Just
killed by the
procurement
of Ananus the
High-Priest.

Barburs dieth.

Nero marries
Poppaea.The fires in
Armenia re-
newed.

Provisions of the Enemy. For all this they were not forward to ask Peace, being encouraged by *Julius Cassilianus*, who being sent to succeed *Cassius*, disagreed so far with *Suetonius*, and so ill to him to those at *Rome*, that he wrote they must not expect an end of the War till some one was sent to succeed him, attributing all mishaps to his unfitness, and all success to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth. To view then the condition of *Britain*, was *Polyclusus* the Freedman of *Nero* sent over, who coming in with a great Train seemed terrible to the *Roman* Soldiers, but ridiculous to the *Britains*, who burning with affection to liberty, and as yet ignorant of the power of such, wondered that the General and Army (which had put an end to such a War) would obey Slaves. *Suetonius* was commanded to deliver up his Army to *Tarpilius*, who was even now out of the Consulship, and neither provoking nor being provoked coveted slothful idleness, as *Tacitus* telleth us, with the specious, and comely name of Peace.

32. The Year after was *Albius* sent into *Judea* to succeed *Festus*, who died in his Government. About the same time *Agrippa* (who had power after his Uncle of *Chalcis* to bestow the High-Priesthood on whomsoever he pleased) gave it to *Ananus* Son of that *Anas* or *Ananias*, who beyond example having himself enjoyed the Office, had five Sons, who every one of them executed the same. This young *Ananus* being a *Sadducee*, as also very bold and cruel, conceiving he had got a convenient opportunity (*Festus* being dead, and *Albius* not yet arrived) called a Council, and condemned *James the Brother of Jesus Christ*, as *Josephus* writeth, with some others, as guilty of impiety, to be stoned. This act displeased, saith the Historian, all good men, and especially such as were most studious of the Law, who desired of *Agrippa* that he would command *Ananus* to forbear the like for the time to come: some going also to meet *Albius*, told him that the High-Priest had no authority to call a Council, whereupon he wrote to him very angrily, and threatened him, upon which account *Agrippa* the King removed him from his Office after the Third Month. At this time *Agrippa* *Burrhus* at *Rome*, not without suspicion of Poison, and *Seneca's* power was weakened by the loss of that conjunction, whereby they had mutually strengthened the heads of each other. *Seneca* was now backbited, and by *Nero* slighted, of whom he desired leave to withdraw himself, having been with him Fourteen Years, and he offered to give up his great Estate into his hands (for that had brought him so far into envy,) but *Nero* having learnt, and practised Disimulation, under colour of respect denied his Petition. Now did *Nero* marry *Poppaea*, whom all this while he had kept as his Concubine, and dismissed *Octavia* loaded with Accusations of Barrenness and greater Crimes; and when the people troubled at it grew seditious, he caused her to be put to death in that fatal Island *Pandateria*. The same Year also as 'tis believed he poisoned the Chief of the *Liberti* or Freed-men, *Periphorus*, because he was against his marrying *Poppaea*, and *Pallas*, for that living very long, he had scraped together a vast Sum of Money.

33. At this time were the Stirrs renewed in *Armenia*. For *Vologeses* seeing his Brother beaten off, and *Zigartanes* set up in his stead, had invaded the Country to revenge the injury offered to the line of the *Artaxides*. *Corbulo*, though very warily, yet resisted and repelled him, when *Cesennius Petus* was sent to defend that Country, who by his ignorance in Military matters, and rashness, undid all. Being besieged, he was glad to Covenant for his preservation to quit *Armenia*, and remove the Garrisons thence, which done, *Nero* was to be content. Yet so ridiculous and degenerate were they at *Rome*, as to erect Trophies over the *Parthians*, though they knew nothing of the success, either one way or other. The *Parthian* Ambassadors came to *Rome* to desire that (as they hinted) which had been gotten by force, but without effect, for *Nero* was decreed against them to be managed by *Corbulo*; yet were they dismissed with gifts, so as there might be hope, that, if *Triades* himself would intertreat for the Diadem, it should not be in vain. *Corbulo* again invaded *Armenia*, as which the *Parthians* affrighted came to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed that *Triades* laying down his Diadem at the feet of *Nero's* Statue should not receive it without his leave. *Nero* now growing worse and worse, broke out into most horrid impieties, well nigh beyond all belief.

34. The next Year being the 817 of the City, the 65th after the birth of *Iulius Cæsar*, and of his own Reign the 10th. *C. Laccianus Bassus*, and *M. Licinius Crassus*

Josephus Anti-
quit. lib. 20.
cap. 8.A. D. 62.
Of 210. ann. 11.
P. C. 815.Tacitus Annal.
lib. 15. cap. 51.
52. 53.Tacitus Annal.
lib. 15. cap. 15.
2. 3. 6.

Crassus being *Consul*, acting the common Stage-player, and giving up himself to all Luxury, and unheard-of Pollutions, amongst the rest he married himself as a Woman to one of his filthy crue, called *Pythagoras*, all things being provided and celebrated as at a Marriage. He made himself also the Husband of *Sporus*, from whom he took as much of the Male as possible, and ordered him to be brought to him in a Veil as a Bride. Being offended at the deformity of the old Buildings, and the narrowness of the Streets, or else to feed his cruel Eye with so sad a spectacle as he had read to have happened at the Siege of *Troy*, he caused the City to be set on Fire, which burning Six Days and Seven Nights, of the Fourteen Divisions Four only remained whole, the other being wasted, or defaced, with the fury of the Flame. He beheld the Fire from the Tower of *Maenas*, and very merry at the beauty of it, as he termed it, in a Player's habit (sing the destruction of *Ilium*). This calamity being generally attributed to him as the cause, he accused the *Christians* thereof, and raised the *First Persecution* torturing them with most exquisite kinds of punishment. About this time he sent *Gellius Florus* into *Judaea* to succeed *Albinus*, who desiring to gratify them of *Jerusalem*, for all the mischief he had done, ere his departure, brought out all the Prisoners, whereof those that were Committed for any Capital Offence he put to death, but the rest he Fined only and dismissed; whereby all the Gaols being thus emptied, the Countrey was filled with Thieves more than before. The Year following a Conspiracy was discovered against *Nero*, which gave him occasion further to indulge his cruel humour.

35. Who was the Author of it is uncertain, as also upon what particular grounds it was hatched, though all the Persons bore him malice, as they thought they had reason. But *Lucan* the Poet (who wrote the Civil Wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and was Nephew to *Seneca* by his Brother *Anneus Mela*) was aggrieved that *Nero* envied him the glory he had got by his Verses; and several others joined with them out of love to *Cn. Piso* the head of the party. It was discovered by *Milichus* the Freed-man of *Señinus*, who had commanded him to scour his Dagger, and provide necessaries for wounds; whereupon some would have had *Piso* to have gone to the *Rostra*, and laid open the Tyrant to the People, to obtain their help; but he refused. The next after that he was put to death was *Anneus Seneca* the Philosopher, and *Nero's* School-master, not being convinced of any Treason, though accused by one *Natalis*, as it's thought, to please *Cæsar*, such an earnest desire his Scholar had to dispatch him, having formerly without effect attempted it by Poison. Being commanded to die, he did it very cheerfully, though he was forced to seek for death several ways. For, he had so starved himself with abstinence, that he could not bleed, and Poison would not work upon him; but at length entering into a Bath he was sufficed with the fume of it, having all this while discoursed, even to his last, according to his wonted Elegancy, such excellent things, as being then taken from his mouth, came afterwards abroad. Such was the end of this excellent Philosopher, concerning the character of whom, Students are rather to trust to *Cornelius Tacitus* than to *Dio*, if *Iustus Lipsius* be a competent Judge. *Dio* accuseth him of Extortion, Adultery with *Agrippina*, and what not? He maketh him a *Sodomite*, and to have taught his Scholar that wickedness, as also the cause and procuring of the death of *Agrippina*, and a Car-load of other Calumnies, faith ** *Quam infamem Lipsius, both the idle man heap upon him, contrary to the belief and mind of all it in Comment. ad Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. 14. & 15. I am not at 145.*

36. *Pompeia Paulina* the Wife of *Seneca* (*Dio* calleth her a most noble Woman, perhaps the Daughter of *Pompeius Paulinus*, to whom *Tacitus* giveth the Title of *Consularis*, and who was set over the publick customs or imports) out also her veins, that she might die with him, but *Nero* bearing her no malice as it happened, sent some to stop the bleeding, and recover her. *Seneca* had another

ther brother besides the father of *Lucan*, who was also put to death. This was *Anneus Novatus*, otherwise called *Junius Gallio* from his adoptive Father, being also mentioned in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, and then Governour of *Achaia*. Their Father was *M. Anneus Seneca* a *Rhetorician* of *Coruba* in *Spain*, whose *Suavities* and *Contriveries* are yet extant, joynd to his sons Works. *Nero* proceeded in his madness and cruelties. Acting the Stage-player still he was reviled at his Return home by *Poppæa* his wife, for which he kicked her great with child, and thereupon the miscarried. Then rag'd he against many of greatest note, amongst whom was *Mela* the father of *Lucan* (who had formerly perished for the conspiracy) and this allayed the grief which was conceived for the death of many others, by the Pestilence that now rag'd, because they seem'd thereby well delivered from the fury and rage of the Prince, who now neither used choice nor measure in his slaughters. Being puffed up with the success of his cruelty, he said, that *None* of his *Predecessors* knew their power, hinting also, that he meant to deftroy the remnant of the *Senators*. It was believed he had a great desire to deliver up quick men to be devoured of an *Egyptian*, a monstrous eater of raw flesh, or any other thing that was given him.

37. Neither was there wanting to him luxury and effeminateness, suitable to his cruelty, nor any other vice, whereby the truth of that saying of *Domitius* his father might appear, who hearing of his birth, said, That From himself and *A. Vid. Senec. lib. 1. 14. & 15.* the grippina could proceed nothing but accursed, detestable, and to the damage of the Commonwealth. For in him seem'd to meet and be conjoined not only all the vices of his own family (which of late had been too pregnant of them) but all the corruption of his Countrey, from the beginning to his very time. He lengthened his feasts from Noon to Midnight, accounting no Use of riches but in the Abuse of them. Such he thought to be fordid and base, as took account of their expences, and he extolled and admired his Uncle *Caius*, for spending in so short a time so vast sums, as had been hoarded up by *Tiberius*. To *Tiridates* that came to *Rome* to take a Diadem from his hands, he allowed an incredible sum for his daily expences, and as profusely gratified him at his departure. He put on no garment twice, paid for vast sums at dice, filhed with a golden net, when he journeyed any whither, he never had less than a thousand Caroches in his train, and he caused his Mules to be shod with Silver. But his house exceeded all belief, he having built it out of the ruins of the City. For length, for pleasantness of groves and fish-ponds it was admirable, garnished also with Gold and precious stones. To the madness of this expence he was encouraged by one that made him fair promises of discovering a vast treasure in *Africk*, which *Dido* the Queen flying out of *Tyre* should thence bring with her. But being deceived, as was likely, with so foolish a project, he took such courses as became *Nero* to recruit his Coffers.

38. When *Tiridates* was departed into *Armenia*, he went into *Greece*, there to act *Tragedies*, to sing, and run races in the Chariot. Running in the *Olympick Games* although he fell from his Chariot, yet he was rewarded with a Crown as Victor. He took from *Apollis* the *Cyrrhean* Territory, and defaced the place where they were wont to receive Oracles, killing men at the hole whence the blast came. He attempted to cut through the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*, digging first himself, and carrying out the first basket of Earth upon his shoulders: but with the same success as others had before him. When he was in *Achaia* news came from *Cestius Gallus* President of *Syria*, concerning the Rebellion of the Jews. Being long vexed with the injuries of the *Deputies* and *Governours*, they could no longer contain themselves. Christ's blood lying heavy upon them, and crying for vengeance, they themselves executed part of it. For such robberies in the Countrey, such and so many murders in the City were committed, and such delusions by false Prophets prevailed amongst them, as after a wonderful manner turned their estate upside down, drew upon them the malice of their enemies, and demonstrated the high displeasure of Almighty God. The particular occasion of their rebellion was taken from *Florus* their Governour, who through the insinuations of his wife into *Poppæa* having procured that Office, carried himself as worthy of such a Master. He flew to that height of impudence and wickedness, as by a publick Crier to give free leave to rob and steal through the whole Countrey, on condition that he might have part of the booty. It was his design to provoke them to rebel, that his impieties might thereby be covered. After he and the Townsmen of *Caesarea* had grievously abused such Jews as there lived, he came to *Jerusalem* with an Army, rifled the *Forum*, plundered the houses, killed the Inhabitants, whipped

and hung up several, who, though *Jews* born, were made *Equites of Rome*, and all under pretence that some had reviled him for cruelty. Not content herewith, he perwaded the People of *Jerusalem* to go out to meet, in a courteous manner, certain Soldiers that were coming thither, to whom he sent, that they should not return their civility, that so they might be offended, and give out words, which advantage he commanded them to take, and fall upon them. This was performed, and many perished, whom the *Chief-Priests* and others with lamentable intreaties had perwaded to go forth, hoping thereby to please the Tyrant, and prevent mischief. From this violence sprang the War, in the Twelfth Year of *Nero's* Reign, the Seventeenth of *Agrippa*, the Second of *Florus* his Government, the 819 of the City, and 67 after the birth of *Christ*, *C. Suetonius Paulinus* and *L. Pontius Pilatus* being *Consuls*.

39. Some of those that were most eager after Rebellion, assaulted a Castle called *Masada*, killed the *Romans*, and placed therein a Garrison of their own. And in the Temple *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananias* the High-Priest Captain of the Guard and a forward young man, perwaded the People no more to offer the Sacrifices which were wont to be offered for the good of the *Romans*. The *Chief-Priest* and Nobility diswaded them all they could from Rebellion, but proving nothing, belought *Agrippa* and *Florus* to come and suppress the Seditious betimes. *Florus* glad to hear such news, gave no answer. *Agrippa* sent 3000 Horse, which being received into the upper part of the City, the Rebels took the lower part with the Temple, and after some ado brake also into the upper Quarters, burnt divers Palaces and publick Houses, and then besieged the Tower of *Antony*, which having taken within two days, they put the Garrison to the Sword. After this they laid siege to the *Kings Palace*, whither *Agrippa's* Soldiers being retired, upon their desire they were dismissed. But the *Romans* yielding upon the Faith of *Eleazar*, were all cut in pieces contrary to his word, except *Mitrius* their Captain, who begging hard for his life, promised to be Circumcized and turn Jew: and this was done on the Sabbath-day, in September. On the same day were all the *Jews* of *Cæsarea* Massacred by the *Infidants*, to the number of above 200000, not one being left alive; for those that escaped were taken by *Florus*, and brought out bound to the People. Throughout all *Syria* the slaughters of the *Jews* were renewed. At *Alexandria* also a ledition being raised, 50000 *Jews* were slain in one day by two *Roman* Legions.

40. *Cestius Gallus* as soon as he heard of these motions, came with an Army into *Judea*, wherein taking some Towns he fate down before *Jerusalem*, at the Feast of *Tabernacles*. But though he might easily with a little patience have taken the City, yet raised he his Siege, having neglected many opportunities. He departed to *Antipatris*, losing many of his men by the way, that were cut off by the *Jews* who followed him close in the rear. With this success the *Jews* being elevated, created two Commanders to govern the City, viz. *Joseph* the Son of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Priest: and they sent several Captains and Governours into the Country, amongst whom was *Joseph*, who wrote the History of this War. He fortified the several Towns of *Galilee*, and indured as great a conflict as to his own Person, with divers, both there and at *Jerusalem*, (who envying him the honour of his Command, would have had him turned out) as he did afterwards with the *Romans*. But *Cestius* sent to *Nero* then in *Achaia*, as we said, to let him understand the state of affairs, laying all the blame of the Rebellion upon *Florus*.

41. *Nero* deliberating what Captain he should send into *Judea*, wanted *Corbulo* whom he had killed. At length he pitched on *Vespasian*, who having been trained up in Martial matters all his Youth, he thought him only capable of such a Charge, though a little before he was grievously offended at him, for that he little regarded his singing (either departing from off the stage, or sleeping if there) so that he forbade him not only his presence, but also publickly to salute him. Hereupon he withdrew himself, and lurked out of the way in fear of his life, but *Nero* having now need of him, and not fearing him, because of the meanness of his birth and name, gave him this employment. *Vespasian* dispatched away his Son *Titus* to *Alexandria*, thence to bring Forces into *Judea*, and he himself passing the *Hellepont* into *Syria* gathered together the *Roman* Soldiers with supplies from the *Princes*, and came to *Ptolemais*, where *Titus* reached him sooner than was expected for the Winter-season. *Nero* returning towards *Rome* in Triumphant manner,

Great slaughters of them in several places.

They chose themselves Captains.

Vespasian sent against them.

Vindex and Galba conspire against Nero.

manner, after he had been two Years in *Greece*, *C. Julius Vindex* a *Gall* by birth, but of *Senatorial* degree amongst the *Romans*, incensed his Country-men against him, for that they groaned under his intolerable exactions, yet striving not for the Principality himself, he offered it to *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* an old Soldier, and now Governour of the *Tarraconian Province* in *Spain*, who, as well for his own safety, as to gratify ambition, accepted it. *Nero* being come to *Naples* heard of the conspiracy on that day he had killed his Mother, and was then little moved at it; but seemed rather to rejoice for the occasion that was thence offered to spoil the rich Provinces of *Gall*. For though the *Mathematicians* had told him that he should be forsaken, yet he interpreted it of the losses sustained in *Britain* and *Armenia*; and some also promised him, though in this condition, the Empire of the East, and some by name the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*; but most affirmed that things would go well at this time. He took nothing to ill in all the opprobrious speeches of *Vindex*, as to be called an *unskilful Musician*, and, after the name of his Family, *Senobarbus*; yet at length terrified by many messages he returned to *Rome*. Now had he most horrid projects in his head, as of killing the Captains and Governours of *Provinces*, with all the Exiles, and all of *Gallish* Original at *Rome*; of poisoning the whole Senate in Feasting, burning the City, and letting loose wild Beasts upon the People, thereby to hinder the quenching of the Flames. From these things he was thought to be terrified more by despair of accomplishing them, than out of any repentance concerning his purpose. In preparing for his expedition his special care was for the choice of carriages, wherein to convey his Concubines and instruments for the stage.

42. When he heard of the revolt of the rest of the Armies, in a great rage taking some poison with him in a Golden Box, he left his House, and sending certain of his trustiest Servants to *Olbia* to make ready some Ships, moved the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* of his Guard about flying with him, but some flaggering at it and hanging backwards, others flatly refused it. Then he considered whether he should not fly to the *Partians*, or in an humble manner to *Galba*, or whether going to the *Rossra* in a mourning habit, he should not there ask pardon in as doleful manner as he could for what was past? but he was fearful to be pulled in pieces ere he could reach the publick meeting-place; and put off those thoughts till the next day. At night finding his Guards withdrawn, he started out of his Bed, and sending his Friends about to their Lodgings, went also himself; but none would answer, so that he returned to his Chamber, whence his Attendants also were now fled, having taken away the furniture, and removed out of the way the Box of Poison. Then desired he that some one would kill him, but none attempting it, Then, said he, I have neither Friend nor Enemy, and ran down as to throw himself into *Tiber*. But stopping ere he came there, he desired some lurking hole wherein he might recover his Spirits, and *Phoon* his Freedman offering him his assistance, he went with him to a Village four Miles distant in a disguise, hearing as he passed the Prayers of the People for his destruction. Here being called on to rid himself out of the way, and prevent the abuses which else would fall upon him, he ordered things to be prepared for his dead Body, weeping, and adding, *Quis Artifex peccato? How excellent an Artificer do I die?* Understanding at length that he was declared an Enemy by the Senate, and how he was sought for to be punished more majorum, or after the custom of their Ancestors; and upon his enquiry hearing that this kind of death was, to be Stripped, and having his neck made fast in a Pillory to be whipped to death, he called for two Daggers, the points of which he only felt, and put them up again, pretending that his fatal hour was not yet come: He had *Porus* lament and weep, and wished that some would help him by their own example to kill himself, chiding also himself for his backwardness. Certain Horse-men now drawing near to fetch him alive, he at length effected it, by the help of *Epaphroditus* his Freed-man, on the fourth of the Ides of *June*, having Reigned 13 Years, 7 Months, and 28 Days, in the 32 of his Age, and the 821 of the City, Anno Dom. 68. *C. Silus Italicus*, and *M. Valerius Trachalus* being *Consuls*. *Vespasian* asked *Apollonius* what was *Nero's* overthrow? He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well (noting his excessive delight in that Instrument) But in Government sometimes he used to wind the Pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low. The unequal, and untimely Entercchange of power Pressed too far, and Relaxed too much, destroyed Authority above all things.*

He killed himself.

S f f f f z

43. About

A. D. 68.
O. J. C. 821.
P. C. 821.

Enthusiastic
regards in his
time.

43. About the latter end of *Nero's* Second Year *St. Paul* was sent bound to *Rome* by *Festus*, where he continued in durance two Years. In his Third living at *Rome* in free custody, he wrote to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. About the end of the Fourth he seemeth to have been let at *Caesarea* in *Liberty*, and thence to have returned into *Greece* and *Asia*, where for five or six Years he Established the Churches he had Founded. In the Eleventh Year of *Nero* *Ecclij. Hist.* he is said to have suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*. For, *Nero* having let the City on fire, accused the *Christians*, as *Tacitus* writeth; and exposed them to ignominious deaths. Some he caused to be covered with the skins of wild Beasts, that they might be devoured of Dogs, others to be Crucified, and others burnt alive, and that in the night, that they might give light to passengers. He offered his own Gardens for this show, and celebrated the Circensian Games amongst the common sort in the habit of a Chariot driver, who could not have raged against Christianity as *Tertullian* observeth, but that some excellency was in it. In this First Persecution, besides *Paul*, who was beheaded, and many others, *Peter* also was Crowned with Martyrdom; being Crucified as his reported with his head downward, which kind of death he himself desired, because he would die in a more dishonourable sort than his Lord and Master. But some will have *St. Paul* and *Peter* to have suffered Martyrdom in the last Year of *Nero's* Reign, and that on *June* the Twenty-ninth, inasmuch that *Chrysostome* saith, that the day of *Paul's* death was more known than that of *Alexander*.

44. After the Martyrdom of *James* surnamed *Just* the First Bishop of *Jerusalem* (whom *Eusebius* (a) from *Clemens* reporteth to have been thrown down from a Pinnacle of the Temple, and beheaded with a Fuller's Club) who governed that See Thirty Years, *Simon* (b) *Cleopas* the Lord's Cousin German, one of the 70 Disciples, and who saw *Christ* with his eyes, was chosen into this place by the Apostles, and Disciples themselves, being gathered together for this purpose. After the Martyrdom of *Peter*, (c) *Linus* one of the 70 Disciples, of whom *Paul* makes mention, succeeded him in the See of *Rome*, where he continued Bishop Twelve Years, though some place his Martyrdom also in the last Year of *Nero*, and the Ninth before the Calends of *October*. *Eusebius* one of the 70 Disciples, whom *St. Paul* remembered in his Epistles, was Bishop of *Antioch*, being by *Eusebius* said to be the first known to govern that Church. Him succeeded *Ignatius* (d) the Disciple of *John*, who wrote as they say to *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*, and *Mary* unto him again. He wrote unto *John* the *Evangelist*, and to *Polycarpus* his Disciple. Besides, he wrote sundry other notable Epistles, yet extant, and in the Eleventh Year of *Trajan* was brought to *Rome*, and torn in pieces of wild Beasts, as will be shewn. *Eusebius* writeth that he was the Second Bishop by Succession after *Peter* in the Church of *Antioch*. *Lib. 2. c. 22.* When *Nero* had Reigned the space of Eight Years, saith the Historian, first after Mark the *Evangelist*, *Anianus* took the Government of the Church of *Alexandria*, a man both virtuous, and renowned in all respects.

CHAP. IV.

From the Death of *Nero* to that of *Domitian*, the last of the Family of *Vespasian*, the space of 27 Years.

G. 12. a. succeed- eth. 12. a. **C**ALPURNIA after the Death of *Nero* obtained the Principality, yet not long; *Tacitus* Hist. *Lib. 1. c. 1.* or being *Emperour*, he maintained not the opinion which had been conceived of him whilst a private man; for he gave way to a cruel and covetous humour, acting all things according to the Will and Lust of three men whom the People thence called his *School-masters*. But his severity towards the Soldiers, especially that speech *Legi a se militum non emi*, procured his ruin, who upon the revolt of the Armies in upper *Germany* betrayed him to *M. Salvius Otho*, notwithstanding he had adopted *Piso*. He was murdered by them in the Forum

Is murdered
by his Sol-
diers.

Otho is slain
on the Em-
pire.

Being opposed
by *Vitellius*.

He kills
himself.

Vitellius own-
ed as Empe-
rour.

Is very vic-
ious.

Forum near the place where *Curtius* rode into the hole, and his head being cut off, for some time was carried up and down on a Spear, till his Enemies had with the fight fatished their flouting appetite, and then it was buried with the Body. He died on the 17th. of the Calends of *February*, in the 73. Year of his Age, having Reigned Seven Months.

2. *Otho* seized on the Empire by the help of his Soldiers, having resolved it after he saw *Piso* preferred before him. He was *Nero's* great companion, and now refused not to be called by his very name, suffered his Images and Statues to be rejoiced, as also his Officers and Freed-men to their several places, and the first thing he subscribed to was for Money to finish his golden House. But *A. Vitellius* was shortly after saluted *Emperour* in *Germany* by the Army there, being Son to *L. Vitellius*, who Governed *Syria*. Being sent into *Germany* by *Galba*, he denied nothing to the Soldiers, but granted them their wills, with impunity in all things, and for that was rewarded with this Election. Hereupon *Otho* desired the Senate that they would lend him, to acquaint him with his Election, and to persuade him to be quiet; but he himself by Letters offered to be only Partner with him in the Sovereignty, and to be his Son-in-law. The Enemy drawing near, the *Prætorian* bands stood very faithfully to him, even so far, that with much ado, and with the slaughter of some of their Officers, were they kept from destroying the Senate, which they suspected to be false to him. His interest was to draw out the War in length, having the Enemy at advantage, who was straightened both for necessities, and by reason of the narrowness of the passage: but he rashly and imprudently resolved on a Battle, either for that *Vitellius* was not yet come, or urged by the earnestness of the Soldiers. They had four Engagements; whereof in the first three he had the better, but in the last at *Bedriacum* (a Village in *Italy* betwixt *Cremona* and *Verona*, now called *Labermein*) was worsted; yet so as he might without difficulty have recovered himself, though taken at unawares, and deceived by pretence of a parley. But being ashamed to seek his own establishment with the hazard of so many mens lives, rather than out of any desperation, he killed himself. He was much extolled for his generous death (as it was accounted) which rendered him so much more desirable than his life had done, that many thought him to have killed *Galba*, not so much out of the desire to rule, as to restore liberty (so called) to the Common-wealth. He died on the 12th. before the Calends of *May*, in the 8th. Year of his Age, and the 95th. day of his Empire.

3. *Otho* being dead, though *Vitellius* was detested by those at *Rome*, yet when they heard how things went they began to flatter, and gave him the Title of *Emperour*. The Army of upper *Germany* which first mutined against *Galba*, turning to him, he gladly received the surname of *Germanicus*, but deferred the Title of *Augustus*, and utterly refused that of *Caesar*. When yet in *Gall* he heard of the event of the Battle at *Bedriacum*, he presently cashiered the *Prætorian* bands, as giving a bad example of revolt, and 120 which had demanded a reward of *Otho* for killing *Galba*, he commanded to be fought, and put to death. Hereby he much commended himself to the People, and gave hopes of an excellent Prince; but carrying on all things afterwards according to his natural inclination and former course of life, he deserved to be ranked amongst the worst of Governours.

4. He returned to *Rome* in a triumphant manner, and gave up himself to Luxury and Excess, wherein he also tolerated his Family and Soldiers, as in all manner of wickedness. Coming through the Fields where the Armies fought, when many loathed the noisomeness of the Carkeises, he stuck not to say, *Optime olere occisum hostem, & melius vivere: that I stain Enemy smells well, but sweeter a Citizen*. He drunk much Wine in the place before them all, to prevent any hurt that might proceed from the stench, and caused this Liqueur to be distributed to the Soldiers, with the like vanity and insolence. Entering the City as into a Field with Trumpets sounding to the charge, with Colours flying, and in his Coat-armour, he fell more and more into the neglect of all Laws, divine and humane. He made himself *Perpetual Consul*, and that it might be seen after whole Pattern he meant to Govern, in the *Campus Martius* attended by a number of Priests he Sacrificed for the Soul of *Nero*; and at a solemn Feast commanding a Musician to sing something of *Domitian*, he leaped up and applauded the beginning of *Nero's* Songs. He Governed State-matters at the will and discretion of the vilest Player and Chariot-driver, especially of *Asinius his Freed-man*.

man. He gave himself over to such Luxury as he had been accustomed to in the days of *Caius* and *Nero*; especially to Gluttony, the abominable excess whereof turned him into a very Monster. For, he would eat four or five Meals a day, which that he might be able to bear, he used frequent vomiting, and inviting himself to the Houles of his friends, he would, as *Nero* did, put them to incredible expences. At his coming to *Rome* his Brother made him a Feast, wherein were served up 2000 several Dishes of Fish, the daintiest that could be found, and 7000 sorts of Fowl. But he far exceeded this preparation at the Dedication of the Great Platter, which he called *Minerva's Target*, in which were mixed together the Livers of Quilt-heads, Brains of Pheasants and Peacocks, with the Tongues of Phenicopters, and the small Guts of Sea-Lampries fetched as far as the *Carpathian* Sea and the Straights of *Gibraltar*. He would also eat meat taken from the Hearth in time of Sacrifice, and fetched from Victuallling Houles, either smoking, made ready the day before, or half eaten.

And cruel.

5. He was prone to the killing of any person, and for any cause whatsoever: Noble-men, his School-fellows and contemporaries, he deceitfully made away by degrees. To one in a Fever, desiring a draught of cold Water, he gave Poison in it with his own hands. He scarcely ever spared any of his Creditors or others that asked him the Money he ought. One of them saluting him, he sent away to be put to death, and presently again calling him back (for which the by-standers commended his clemency) he caused him to be killed before his eyes, saying, that he would satiate his eyes with the slaughter of him; and another that interceded for him, he put to death with his two Sons. A certain Knight whom he commanded to be slain, to save his life, told him he had made him his Heir, whereupon he commanded his Will to be produced, in which finding that the man's Freedman was made coheir with him, he caused them both to be put to death. He was cruel to Mathematicians, because they foretold his Reign should be but short. And to compleat all, he was suspected to have killed his Mother. These Vices only seemed to put him in mind of his condition, for else so great a stupidity had seized on him, that if others had not known him to be the Prince, he himself would quickly have forgot it. He accounted all sharp that was wholesome, liking of nothing but what was pleasant; and fortifying himself only with mirth and sottishness against all dangers, he forgot all things past, and regarded nothing present or to come: not a word of War proceeded from him, the rumour and talk of which was forbidden in the City. But he was within a short time roused by the coming of the Forces of *Vespasian*, who was by others put upon seeking the Empire, being then in *Judea*.

Vespasian put upon seeking the Empire. His acts in Judea.

6. *Vespasian* (that we may now prosecute the History of his actions in that Country) after *Titus* had brought the Army to *Ptolemais* out of *Egypt*, with his Forces united set upon *Galilee*, and at the first onset took *Gedara*, which was burnt and destroyed. Thence removing to *Totapata*, on the 21 day of May he took it by storm after 40 days, though stoutly defended by *Joseph* the Historian. *Joseph* was taken and kept to be sent Prisoner to *Nero*; but desiring to speak with *Vespasian*, foretold him that he should dismiss him out of Captivity, but as *Emperour*. After this, bestowing his Army at *Cesarea* and *Scythopolis*, to refresh the Legions, he himself went to *Cesarea Philippi*, where he was entertained by *Agrippa* the King for twenty days. Then went he about to subdue *Tiberias* and *Arichaea*, whereof the former yielded, and was spared at the request of the King, but the latter was taken by force and destroyed. After this were *Gadara*, *Gisgala*, and the Hill *Itaburium* taken; and all *Galilee* being reduced, *Vespasian*, *Agrippa*, and *Titus* returned to *Cesarea*.

The Jews fell out amongst themselves.

7. The Jews were now imbroiled in civil dissensions, whilst some desired Peace, and others would not hear a word of it. Parties were made and fought in every City, and rash young men prevailed every where against grave and elder sort, who forelaw the calamity. At first they robbed one another singly; but at length turned Thieves in whole Troops, committing such Cruelties, as equalled the misfortune received from the Romans. At last the Thieves loaded with plunder brake into *Jerusalem*, where they not only consumed the provisions of the People, but filled the City with Slaughters, Rapines, and Dissentions. They cast the principal Citizens into Prison, and then put them to death unheard, pretending they intended to betray the City to the Romans; yet for all this wickedness they boasted of Zeal for the Law of God, and Customs of their

Horrid outrages committed by the Zealots.

their Country, and thereupon were called *Zealots*. The People being about to rise against them, they betook themselves to the Temple, where they made one *Phanias* an ignorant fellow *High-Priest*, though he was not of the Order of *Priests*; but they were opposed by *Ananus*, who procured the People to rise against them, and beat them into the inner part. Hereupon they sent to the *Idumeans*, accusing *Ananus* of an intention to betray their Country, and forasmuch as they fought for the liberty thereof, and now were besieged, they implored their assistance. Twenty Thousand came, and being let into the City, together with the *Zealots*, committed horrid outrages against the Inhabitants. They slew 8000 the first Night, and afterwards other 1200 of the chiefest, (amongst whom was *Ananus*) besides an infinite number of the common sort: then at length the *Idumeans* perceiving the wickedness of the *Zealots*, and that they had falsely accused the Nobility, set at liberty 2000 which they had imprisoned, and returned home. After their departure the *Zealots* renewed their slaughters, and raged more cruelly than ever, especially against such as they had found attempting to flee to the Romans.

8. But they presently after fell out amongst themselves by reason of one *John*, who with a seditious party holding *Gisgala*, pretended to receive the conditions given him by *Titus*, and stole away to *Jerusalem*. There becoming the great Incendiary, he now affected sovereign power; but he was withstood by such as before this had been equal to him. Though they thus disagreed, yet herein they conspired, to spoil the People, and *Jerusalem* being thus filled with Tumults, those that were without the City had liberty to rob and spoil, and those whose Towns were hereby destroyed, assembled together in the Wilderness, and uniting, brake into other Places and Towns, so that there was no place in *Judea*, which did not languish in an unheard-of manner together with the Mother City. *Vespasian* excited by the seditious, and irritated by the Fugitives to save their Country, prepared for the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and that he might not leave an Enemy at his back, took in *Gadara* (where 13000 were put to the Sword) and all other places beyond the River, except the Castle of *Macheron*. He built Castles at *Fericho* and *Adida*, and made all things ready for the Siege, but hearing of *Nero's* death, and the succession of *Galba*, he deferred the Expedition, and sent *Titus* to know *Galba's* pleasure. But as *Titus* sailed by *Achia* he heard of his end, and *Orho's* advancement, whereupon he returned to his Father. Uncertain what would ensue, and who should be Emperour, they neglected the War against the Jews, for they feared their own Country, and therefore thought it an unfit time to assault strangers. Yet he drew out his Army from *Cesarea*, and subdued all the Forts of *Judea* save three Castles, *Herodium*, *Masfada*, and *Macheron*, which were kept by the Thieves. Besides these *Jerusalem* only remained to be Conquered.

All Judea languished in an unheard-of manner.

Vespasian subdued all, except three Castles and Jerusalem.

9. *Vespasian* hearing of *Orho's* death, and having compassion on the State, thought of freeing the Commonwealth from the Tyranny of *Vitellius*; but for that it was now Winter, and he was at a great distance from *Rome*, he strove to conceal that indignation which he had conceived. But *Mucianus* President of *Syria* perceived him to it very earnestly: certain Soldiers also who were removed out of *Syria* into *Messa*, giving him large commendations, the three Legions which proceeded as far as *Aquileia* to help *Orho*, resolved to proceed, notwithstanding his death, and put *Vespasian's* name into their Colours. First of all others, *Tiberius Alexander* Governour of *Egypt*, on the first of July swore the Legions to him, and two days after the Army in *Judea*, compelling him with Threats to take the Government upon him, took the Oath. The Armies then in several Provinces declaring for him, he sent *Mucianus* with Forces into *Italy*, and went himself to *Aquileia*, to make sure of *Egypt*. The *Messa* Legions hearing of *Mucianus's* coming, chose *Antonius Primus* an excellent Soldier (who had been banished by *Nero*, and restored by *Galba*) for their Captain, and halted for *Italy*, that they might have the plunder of the Country. *Cervus* (otherwise called *Allienus*) the General of *Vitellius*, made halt and got to *Cremona* before them; but considering the effeminateness of his Army, he hearkened to the friendly advice sent him by *Antonius*, and persuaded his Soldiers, by laying before them the weakness of *Vitellius*, and the force of his adversary, to revolt. They accordingly swore fealty to *Vespasian*, but presently repenting, cast bonds upon their General as a Traytor, and exhorted even *Antonius* to embrace the quarrel of *Vitellius*; then coming to blows, though

The Armies the East declare for Vespasian.

they

they wanted a Leader, maintained a most sharp fight, both parties being possessed with such fury, that Night it self could not sever them. They knew and talked to one another, may intermitting the fight for some time, gave Victuals one to another, and yet after their repasts fell to it again. But in a morning the Soldiers of the Third Legion saluting according to the fashion, the rising Sun, *Vitellius* his men thought *Macianus* was arrived, and thereupon betook themselves to *Cremona*, where looting *Cecina*, they procured him to make their Peace, and the *Maſian* Army entering the Town made great disorder.

10. *Vitellius* hearing of this was amazed, and not knowing what to do, became ridiculous unto all men, for his affairs went down the wind in all places. He covenanted then with the heirs of the *Palace*, before many Soldiers, professed he would give up the Empire, which he had unwillingly taken upon him. But the Soldiers crying out against it, he deferred the thing, and in the morning went to the *Rosſra* in a mourning habit, where with many tears out of a paper he uttered the same words he had before spoken to the Soldiers, who again interrupting him, the People had him be of good cheer, and promised him their assistance. Taking courage hereat, he forced *Sabinus* (who was Governour of the City) with others into the *Capitol*, which letting on fire he suppressed them; *Sabinus* being put to death, whose Nephew *Domitian* (afterwards Emperor) was hid by the Priest of *Jupiter's* Temple and escaped. Then would he have had the Senate lend Ambassadors to the Enemy with the *Vestal Virgins* to beg Peace, or at least to much time to consider what was to be done. But *Vespasian's* Soldiers enraged at the report of the besieging of the *Capitol*, made haste. *Petilius Cerealis* being sent before with a Thousand Horse set upon the City, but was forced to retreat.

Antonius Primus coming on with the rest of the Army, many skirmishes happened, till such time as the Guards being beaten from off the Bridge *Vespasian's* men entered the City with great fury, wherein they committed grievous outrages. *Vitellius* was pulled out of an hole in the Palace where he lurked, at first unknown; but being discovered, he desired he might be kept in Prison, for that he had something to reveal, which concerned the safety of *Vespasian*. But his hands being tied behind him, and an Halter cast about his neck, he was dragged half naked into the Forum, and being abused in the way, both by many words and deeds, was killed with many blows, and cast after the fashion of Traitors into *Tiber*. This happened in the 57th Year of his Age, after he had held the Government Eight Months, and Five Days. The day following *Mucianus* entered the City, and the Soldiers being hindered from any further slaughters, the Empire was by the Senate decreed to *Vespasian*, who hearing these things at *Alexandria*, receiving congratulatory Embassies from all quarters, and having settled affairs in *Egypt* ere he set forward for *Rome*, ordered his Son *Titus* to fall upon *Jerusalem*, and finish the War in *Judea*.

11. Whilst *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* were yet disputing the controversy, great commotions happened in *Germany*, the *Barbarians* (now Inhabitants of *Holland*)^{4th} in the Low Countries) rebelling first at the instigation of *Claudius Civilis*, the most eminent amongst them, who having been sent Prisoner in Chains unto *Nero*, and dismissed by *Galba*, came into danger again under *Vitellius*, the Army requiring that he should be put to death. He drew into the Conspiracy, besides the *Caninefates* (a more inconsiderable people inhabiting the same Island) by secret messages the Auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Barbarian* Cohorts, which then quartered at *Mogoniacum*, now *Mentz*. They cast out, or destroyed the *Roman* Garrisons, overthrew *Aquilus* Captain of the Vanguard, and after him *Mamius Lupercus* the Lieutenant. *Herennius Gallus* also, endeavouring to hinder the march of the *Barbarian* Cohorts, was worsted by them. *Civilis* after the coming of the Cohorts, to colour the matter, swore his Soldiers to *Vespasian*, and besieged such as refused in the old Camp. After this the *Romans* mutining against *Hordinius*, the command was given to *Vocula*, and *Herennius Gallus* was made his Lieutenant. *Vocula* in his first engagement with *Civilis* had the worst, but at length by good hap overthrew him, the Vizard of his friendship to *Vespasian* being drawn off.

12. The report of *Vitellius* his death through *Germany* and *Gall* doubled the War. For now *Civilis*, without any pretence of friendship to *Vespasian*, carried himself as an Enemy to the *Romans*, and *Vitellius* his Soldiers rather wished for external

external servitude than his Government: the *Gallies* also took heart, interpreting the burning of the *Capitol* to preface the destruction of the Empire. The *Treviri* therefore (now Inhabitants of *Triers*) and the *Lingones* (now of *Langres*) revolted, when all *Gall* was in a tottering condition, and what was worse, and unheard of, the Legions proved unfaithful, and were corrupted. For *Vocula* being slain, they took an Oath for the Empire of *Gall*, and to them other Legions in several places joined themselves, some being besieged upon necessity, and afterwards cut in pieces by *Civilis* as they had deserved. In the mean time *Julius Sabinus* one of the revolvers taking on him the name of *Cesar*, led a great and disorderly Company against the *Segunni* (inhabiting the Country now called *La Franche Comté*) who not refusing Battle routed the multitude, and put him to flight. These things being reported at *Rome* rather with improvement, all things seemed there to be lost, whereupon *Domitian* the Son of *Vespasian*, and *Mucianus*, addressed themselves to the War, and four Legions were presently dispatched away towards *Germany*.

13. By this time the *Gallies*, by the means especially of *Julius Vindex*, began to consider of the power of the *Romans*, and at length approved rather of a servile Peace than a dangerous War; *Petilius Cerealis* also gave the *Treviri* a great Overthrow, and most of the revolvers returned to obedience. After this he accepted of Battle from *Civilis* and *Classius* his companion, in the beginning whereof he had the worst, for the Legions began to be broken, the Horse was put to flight, and the Bridge over the River *Moselle* gained by the Enemy; but though he had now lost even all for want of heed, yet he restored all by his diligence, so as, on the same day he took and destroyed the Enemy's Camp. *Domitian* and *Mucianus* heard of the success ere they came to the *Alpes*, and *Mucianus* persuaded *Domitian* against marching further, knowing his ambitious and haughty humour, which he had already betrayed whilst at *Rome*; but his advice succeeding not, he went with him out of complacence to *Lyons*, whence, as 'tis said, *Domitian* wrote privately to *Cerealis* to deliver up the Army to him, that he might therewith seize on the Empire. But perceiving he was despised for his Youth, he betook himself to such courses whereby he thought that his designs might best be covered. During these Stirs *Vespasian* was yet at *Alexandria*. Afterwards both *Civilis* recruited his Forces through *Germany*, and *Cerealis* also doubled his strength, whereupon followed several fights, the effect of which was a Peace. For the *Barbarians* were so chastized, as glad they were to accept of it, as *Civilis* of pardon, both of which were offered by the *Roman* General.

14. With the aforesaid revolt of the *Germans*, at the same time, saith * Josephus, agreed the boldness of the *Scythians*. For those that are called *Sarmatæ*, in great multitudes having privily passed over *Ister*, being violent, and most cruel, through the suddenness of their invasion killed many of the *Romans* whom they found in Garrisons, with *Fonteus Agrilla* the Lieutenant (who valiantly resisted them) and waited all the adjacent Countreys with Fire and Sword. *Vespasian* hearing of this, and the waiting of *Messa*, sent *Rabirius Gallus* to chastize them, by whom many being slain, such as escaped returned home in great fear. The War being thus ended, the General taking more care for the future, fortified the places with strong Garrisons, that the passage might be utterly impassable to the *Barbarians*. These first eruptions of the *Barbarous* Northern Nations are therefore more to be noted, because at length they over-ran and destroyed the *Roman* Empire. Now return we to the affairs of the Jews, and the War managed by *Titus*.

15. During the former transactions in the *West*, a faction was raised against the *Zealots* by one *Simon* the Son of *Giōra*, who getting together a company of Thieves, Robbers, and Murderers that were assembled on the Hilly Countrey, fell upon many Villages and Cities, brought all *Judea* into his power, wasted *Judea*, pitched his Camp against *Jerusalem* it self, and became a great terror to the poor Inhabitants, who were most cruelly oppressed by the *Zealots* within. In the mean time such *Judeans* as had of late fled into the City, and were become of *John's* party (whom the *Zealots* had now chosen their Captain) fell at odds with him, detesting his cruelty, and killing many of his men, forced the Tyrant out of his Palace into the Temple; but Citizens fearing that by night he might fall out upon the City, let in *Simon*, and then let upon the Temple, but in vain. After this *Eleazar*, who once had been Chief amongst the *Zealots*, envying *John* his power withdrew some Soldiers from him, and kept the inward part of the Temple;

T t t t t

Temple;

Vitellius is to
be killed.

is killed.

Vespasian ere
his departure
from *Egypt*
ordered his
Son *Titus* to
besiege *Jeru-
salem*.

Commotions
in *Germany*.

Composed by
Petilius Cerealis.

A. D. 70.
Ol. 1172. ab. 1.
V. C. 822.

The invasion
of the *Sarmatæ*.

The *Zealots*
fall out &
amongst them-
selves.

* Josephus de
Judeis lib. 7.
cap. 23.

*Josephus de
Judeis lib. 5. cap. 9.
¶ 1. & c. 1.*

Temple, whereby *John* was forced to fight, both against *Simon* and him. Hereby all things about the Temple were burnt up, and Provisions destroyed, which might have served them a long time, and for want whereof they were oppressed with Famine in the Siege.

Titus besieged the City.

15. But *Titus* in prosecution of his Fathers Orders came from *Alexandria* to *idem* *idem*. *Cesarea*, where gathering together some Forces with Aids from the Neighbouring Kings, he appointed the rest to follow him, and marched towards *Jerusalem*, accompanied with *Tiberius Alexander*, (who now began to be in principal favour) and *Joseph the Jew*, he being for the truth of his prediction now released out of bonds. He sat down within six or seven furlongs of the City, a little before the *Fest of the Passover*, and therein shut up an infinite multitude, which according to the custom flocked to that solemnity; and hereby all Provisions were consumed in a short time. The three Factions upon sight of his great Army agreed to oppose it, and issuing out, made great disorder, forcing the *Romans* to forsake their Camp, and flee to the Mountains, but they were repelled by the great care and industry of *Titus*. But on the day of unleavened bread (*April the 14.*) *Elezazar*, who kept the inward part of the Temple, opening the Gates to the people, which was desirous to Sacrifice, *John* sent many of his party in amongst the rest with Swords hid under their Cloaths, who killing *Elezazar*, and many of his faction, seized also on that part of the Temple, and thereby the number of the factions was reduced to that of two. That under *John* confisted of 8400. and the other under *Simon* of 10000 fighting men, besides 5000 *Idumeans*. Notwithstanding the Enemy was at the Walls, and to oppose him, they a little joined together: yet did they break out the one upon the other, and the poor people miserably suffered under both.

16. The City being fortified with three Walls on every side, but where it was fenced with deep Vallies, *Titus* having with much opposition placed his Engines, battered the uttermost of them, and breaking, on the third of *May*, and the City, possessed all the North part as far as the *Tower of Antonia*, into the *Vallies of Cedron*. Five days after, he brake within the second Wall, though the besieged made divers Sallies. They beat him out again, but the fourth day after he recovered the place, and prepared for the Battery of the third Wall. Yet he sent *Joseph the Historian* to them, who exhorting them with many words to yield, was entertained only with Scoffs and Reproaches. The people thinking to escape out of the City, *John* and *Simon* stopped up all passages, yet the Famine increasing many came out, whom being taken *Titus* caused to be Crucified to such a vast number, that room was wanting for Crosses, and Crosses for Persons. On the 12th of *May* he began four Mounts whereon to place his Battering Rams: two near to the *Castle Antonia*, where he hoped he might take the Temple, and other two near the *Monument of John* the High-Priest, where he thought he should with most ease break into the upper part of the City. But *John*, whose part it was to oppose the *Romans* in the former place, cast down, and burnt two of them, and two days after *Simon* did as much by the other, though seventeen days had been spent in making them all. He destroyed also many Rams and Engines, and brake into the very Camp of the *Romans*; but was repelled by *Titus* from *Antonia*, who in a Council of Officers resolved now to compass the whole City with a Trench, which with incredible diligence and celerity was finished in three days, with thirteen Forts to hinder the flight of the besieged, and hinder the conveyance of relief into the City.

17. The seditious were nothing herewith moved, though the Famine not only raged amongst the common sort, but themselves also were pressed by it. A certain Noble-woman fed her Child to eat it, and such a mortality ensued, that from the fourteenth of *April* to the first of *July* were carried out to be buried at the publick charge One Hundred and Fifteen Thousand and Eighty Carkeises of the poorer sort, as *Titus* was told by one *Mannans*, who was appointed to pay the Money. Divers Noble-men that fled to him, certified him also that Six Hundred Thousand of the ordinary sort were cast dead out of the Gates, and others that were dead besides, were innumerable; for because they could not carry all out, they laid them up in Houses. A Bushel of Corn was sold for a Talent, finks and holes were raked to find old dung of Oxen to eat, which moved the *Romans* to compassion, but the seditious were hereby nothing changed. For *Simon* not abstaining from Murders and Rapines, notwithstanding this lamentable condition, killed *Matthias the High-Priest*, by whom he had been let into the City,

City, with his three Sons, and sixteen others, pretending that they purposed to flee to the Enemy. *Judas* one of his own Officers hereupon weary of his cruelty, attempted to betray a certain Tower, whereof he had the charge, to the *Romans*; but being discovered, was put to death with ten others of his complices. *John* also being driven by necessity, converted the Golden Vessels of the Temple with the Sacred Money to prophane uses, and was constrained to divide the Wine and Oil, ordained for Sacrifices, to his Soldiers.

18. *Titus* cut down all the Groves within a great distance of the City, and causing more Mounts or Scaffolds to be Erected within Twenty-one Days, on the first of *July* began to batter the Wall of *Antonia*, *John* that opposed him being beaten back, and on the fifth day broke into the Cattle. At this time many false Prophets suborned by the Seditious, told the multitude they must expect assistance from God, and therefore though *Titus* often exhorted them to yield, they flatly refused, boasting that they would rather endure all miseries. The contest was earnest about the Temple. The Wall of the inward part thereof was too strong for the battering Rams, and the Defendants valiantly resisted at the top: the foundation of the Gates could not be undermined, and therefore *Titus* was constrained to set them on fire. Yet was it his intention to save the Temple, but on the Tenth of *August*, a certain Soldier without any command, (nay against the command of his General) moved as by an instinct from above, cast fire into the buildings on the North side, which catching the flame imparted it to the Temple itself, notwithstanding all that *Titus* could do to quench it, on the same day of the same Month that it was formerly set on fire by the command of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Temple thus burning, *Titus* was saluted *Imperator* by his Soldiers, and the *Tyrants* with their Companions fled into the City. They now desired a parly with the General himself, who checked them much for their obstinacy, but promised them life if they would yield. But refusing to commit themselves to his fidelity, they required to depart the City with their Wives and Children, wherewith being greatly vexed, he commanded it to be proclaimed by a Crier, *That they should not look any longer for Mercy*.

19. He permitted his Soldiers to plunder and burn the City, but the seditious wretches rose to the King's House, where many had deposited their wealth, and thence repelled the *Romans*. They also killed of their own Country People to the number of Six Thousand and Four Hundred, and rifling the money got them into the upper and strongest part of the City, called *Sion*, where for all this danger they still most cruelly Tyrannized. *Titus* having considered the strength of the place, provided Engines to batter the Walls, and began so to do it on the Seventh day of *September*. Part of the Wall being broken down, the *Tyrants* were seized with great fear and amazement, not knowing what to do. Some said the East part of it was broken down, others that the *Romans* were entred, and that they saw them out of the Towers; so that the power of God appeared in the overthrow of these wretches; for they forsook the Towers which were their only strength, and in vain seeking to escape, hid themselves in Caves and Privies. The *Romans* entering, put all to the Sword, and burnt the Houses with all that fled to them for safeguard. *Titus* commanded both the Temple and City to be utterly razed by a plow brought over them, according to the custom; only the West part of the Wall with three Towers for their strength and beauty he preserved, to bear testimony of the flatelinsy of the City to posterity. They would have crowned him as a Conqueror for this work, but he refused the honour, denying that he was the Author of it; for that he only served God herein, who by it demonstrated his wrath against the *Jews*. To such an end came this famous City, on the Eighth day of *September*, in the Second Year of *Vespasian*, he and *Titus* his Son being *Consuls*. Thirty Eight Years after the death of *Christ*, the Blood of whom now fell heavy upon them. It had been taken in all six times; by *Asochus* or *Shishack* King of *Egypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Antiochus* *Epiphanes*, *Pompey*, *Herod* and *Sosius*, and now by *Titus*; but twice only was it destroyed, viz. by *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus*. It was first built, saith *Josephus*, by *Melchisedeck* King of *Salem*, and afterwards enlarged by *David*. It was burnt by the *Babylonians*. One Thousand Four Hundred Sixty Eight Years and Six Months after the Founding of it, and Four Hundred Seventy Seven Years and Six Months after it had been taken by *David* from the *Canaanites*. By *Titus Vespasian* it was destroyed One Thousand One Hundred Seventy Nine Years after *David* took it, but from its first Founding to its last Destruction intervened Two Thousand One Hundred Seventy Seven Years.

Yet the deluded defendants refuse to yield.

The Temple burnt.

Titus commanded the Temple and City to be utterly razed.

Breaking into it.

Famine rased.

20. John and Simon having hid themselves were taken, and the former being condemned to perpetual Prison, the other was reserved for a Triumph. The rest of the Thieves and Seditious were discovered, one telling of another, and were all slain. Of those which during the whole War were taken Captives the number amounted to 97000, and of those that Perished in the Siege to 110000. So heavy was the guilt which lay on them for the death of Christ, and such were the horrid Enormities committed by them, that we have reason to agree with Josephus, who thought, that if the Romans had delayed to come against them, the City would either have been swallowed up of the Earth, or have perished by some Deluge, or else by Thunderbolts and Lightning have undergone the punishments of Sodom, whose Inhabitants they exceeded in wickedness. A Year after was Lucilius Bassus sent Lieutenant into Judaea, who having the Army of Cerealis Vitellianus, took the Castle of Herodian and of Macharun beyond Jordan. Not long after Vespasian wrote to Liberius Maximus the Governour, to sell all the Land of the Jews, upon whom wheresoever they lived he imposed a Yearly Tribute to be paid into the Capitol, it being that they were wont to pay into the Temple at Jerusalem. About a Year after Publius Sylva succeeded Bassus then dead, and finished the War, taking the strong Castle of Massada from Eleazar, who held it with 960 Hacktles, such as upon his motion set fire to the Castle and all their Goods, and then killed themselves. Many like them flying out of the Country came to Alexandria in Egypt, where they solicited the Jews to revolt, but were by them delivered up to the Romans, and those of them that then escaped were afterwards taken. Vespasian hearing of their attempt, gave order to Lupus Governour of Alexandria, to demolish the Temple of the Jews, (built in Egypt in times past by Onias Brother to the High Priest) which he neglected to do, only spoiled it of some consecrated things, and shut it up. But Paulinus his Successor utterly bereaved it of all, and so shut it up, that he made it inaccessible, and without any shew of Religion, 343 Years after it was first built by Onias.

21. But the Jews of Cyrene were also infected with a distemper of madness. There one Jonathan a Weaver led many of the simple sort into the Wilderness, promising to shew them signs and wonders; but by the chiefest of the Jews the matter being discovered to Catullus Governour of those parts, he sent Soldiers who slew most of them, and not long after Jonathan himself was taken. Catullus a covetous man procured him and others to accuse many unjustly, whom having slain and seized on their Estates, he carried him to Rome, where following the same Trade, Joseph the Historian was also accused; but Vespasian having found out the deceit, caused Jonathan first to be whipped, and then burnt alive. Catullus at present escaped through the mildness of the Emperor, but not long after fell into grievous anguish of mind, imagining he saw the Ghosts of those he had slain, and his bowels rotted away from him, that he died miserably. Thus far hath Josephus communicated to us the affairs of the Jews, who being kindly entertained by Vespasian, was honoured with a Statue, and his Books were thought worthy of the publick Library. For the truth of his History concerning the Wars, he had the testimony of the Emperours, King Agrippa, and others. Titus would have the certain knowledge of these Wars delivered unto Josephus contra the World by his Books only, commanding them to be published with the privilege of his own hand. And King Agrippa wrote 62 Epistles, wherein he testified of the true History delivered by him. But his Jewish Antiquities he finished not till the Thirteenth of Domitian, when he himself was 56 Years old, as he testifieth at the end of that Work.

22. To Vespasian was renewed the Lex Regia, and the same power that Augustus, Tiberius, and the rest enjoyed, was confirmed to him as Hereditary. A fragment of this Law (which evinceth that absolute power we formerly proved to have been in the Emperours) is yet extant after this manner. *Let it be lawful for him to make a League with whom he pleaseth, as it was lawful to Divus Augustus, Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, &c. As also to hold the Senate, make report, & dispense, and make Senatus Consulta by reporting and separation, as it was lawful to Divus Augustus, Tib. Julius Caesar Augustus, Tib. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Moreover, when as by his Will, Authority, Command, or Mandate, or by being present, the Senate shall be assembled, it shall be effectual to all ends and purposes, as if the Senate had been assembled or held by Law. Moreover, whatsoever*

Ex tabula enim in basilica Antoniana alia palmarum, lecta 5. digitis. transla in scriptis. Grævis pte 242.

he

he shall command to the Roman Senate and People that stand for any Magistracy, power, command, or charge, or to whomsoever he shall give or promise his Suffrage, let it be considered beyond the usual form in the Comitia. As also it may be lawful for him to enlarge the Pomarium if he think it convenient for the Commonwealth, so it was lawful for Tib. Claudius Caesar Germanicus. Moreover, whatsoever he shall think useful for the Commonwealth, or agreeable to the Majesty of all things divine or humane, publick or private, let him have right and authority to act and do, so as it was lawful for Divus Augustus, and Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus. Moreover, from what Laws and Plebiscita it was ordained, that Divus Augustus, Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus should be loosed, from those Laws and Plebiscita, let the Emperor Caesar Vespasian be loosed. And what things sever, by what Law or asking, sever Divus Augustus, Tib. Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus ought to do, let it be lawful for the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus to do them all. Moreover, what things sever before the asking of this Law were acted, done, decreed, or commanded by the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, or by any other, by virtue of his Command or Mandate, let them be held as just and valid, as if they had been done by command of the People.

The Sanction.

If any one by virtue of this Law hath done or shall do any thing against the Laws, asking of Laws (rogationes) Plebiscita or Senatusconsulta, or shall not do what he ought to have done according to any Law, asking, Plebiscitum or Senatusconsultum, and that by virtue of this Law, let no damage thence light upon him; neither let him owe any thing to the People for this matter, neither, let any have an action against him, neither let any one judge him, nor permit the matter to be debated before him.

23. In the fourth year of Vespasian, Caspianus Paterus President of Syria, accused Antiochus King of Comagena and Epiphane his Son, as holding correspondence with the Parthians, whereupon order was given him to prevent what might ensue. Paterus then invaded Comagena, which Antiochus quitted, being loth to fight, and fled into Cilicia. His Sons also, after they had made some opposition, went to Vologesus unto Parthia. But Paterus procured Antiochus to be slain and sent to him bound towards Rome, yet Vespasian caused him to be loosed, and lay at Lacedæmon, where he allowed him a revenue to live like himself, and he afterwards sent for both him and his Sons to the City, where they were magnificently entertained. About this time the Alani, who being Scythians inhabited about Tannus and the Lake Maeotis, consulted with the King of the Hyrcanians who was Master of the Straights to invade Media, which they entered and sacked at their pleasure. Pacorus the King being forced up into a strong Hold, and glad to redeem his Wife and Concubines with an Hundred Talents. From Media they passed into Armenia, and wasted the Country. Tiberiades the King opposed them, but was near being taken alive in battle, for with his Sword he cut in pieces the Rope that was cast about his neck, as they were therewith drawing him amongst his Enemies, and escaped. But they enraged at his opposition wasted the Kingdom, and carrying great booty out of both Countreys returned home.

24. Vespasian took away liberty from Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samus, reducing them into Provinces, as also Thracia, Cilicia, and Comagena, the King whereof he sent for to Rome, as we said before. Cappadocia now began to be over-run with barbarous Nations, to restrain whom he added Legions, and placed one of Consular dignity over it in room of an Eques. At length all Wars and Tumults being suppressed both at home and abroad, he shut the Temple of Janus the sixth time from the foundation of the City. It was his principal care first to settle and establish the afflicted and tottering condition of the Empire, and then to adorn it. Whereas the City was very deloried by reason of the burning of it, he permitted any to build upon old Plots, if the owners would relinquish them: He also re-edified the Capitol. As to his personal quality, he was of much temper and clemency, easily passing by and forgetting injuries. The means of his former condition he sought not to hide, but sometimes would profess it openly: He took not the Imperial power, nor

title

The War finished by Sylva.

The Temple of the Jews in Egypt destroyed.

A Seditious of the Jews in Cyrene.

The end of Josephus his History.

The Lex Regia renewed in behalf of Vespasian.

The Lex Regia renewed to Vespasian.

Paterus gained Comagena.

The Alani invade Media, and Armenia.

Several acts of Vespasian.

His Character.

Et ex Antiq. Polygrammatum libro apud Theophrastum l. de Legibus Romanis.

Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. c. 27.

Sutton in Vespasiano.

Orsius l. 7. c. 2.

tle of *Father of his Country* for some time. If any innocent person were punished, it was solely against his will, and for want of knowledge. He passed by the Treason of many that had plotted his Destruction, saying, *They were fools, and knew not what a weight and trouble the Empire was*: he wept and grieved at the punishment of an offender. To *Vologeses* King of *Parthia* who wrote to him thus: *Artases King of Kings to Fl. Vespasian*, without any reproach he directed his answer thus, *Fl. Vespasian to Artases King of Kings*. The only vice reproached in him was covetousness, and yet to that seeking earnestly for Money, he was constrained through the necessities of the State. "Tis certain he used it well however gotten, being very liberal in feasting, relieving impoverished Senators, and others of desert. He encouraged Learning, and gave the first stipends out of the Exchequer to the Professors thereof. He was *Consul* eight times (besides once before he was Emperor) and in his last *Consulship* died a flux, in the Sixty ninth year of his Age, the Tenth of his reign being completed; in the 832 of the City, A. D. 79, he himself the ninth time, and *Titus Caesar* the seventh being *Consuls*. He was the first Emperor whose Successor was his own Son. In his time flourished *Pliny* the Elder and Writer of the Natural History. Who also the same year that he died, whilst he went to see what might be the cause of the burning of the Hill *Vesuvius*, was stifled with the smoke thereof, and died, as *Pliny Junior* his Nephew writes in his Epistle * to *Trajan*. Now also *Quintilian* and other Learned Men * *L. b. 6. p. 16.*

His death,

That of his

Successor

25. *Titus* his eldest Son succeeded him (by whom *Jerusalem* had been taken, and destroyed) on the eighth of the *Calends of June*. He was born that year wherein *Catus* was slain, and brought up with *Britannicus* the Son of *Claudius*. *Sueton in Tit. c. 1. p. 7.* being instructed in the same things by the same Masters: he was thought also to have drunk some of the poison which *Nero* gave to that Prince, and that this was the cause of his want of health some conjectured. He performed the Office of Tribune both in the Wars of *Germany* and *Britain* with great Commendations, and after that, being *Questor*, came to have the command of a Legion in *Judaea*. *Sueton in Tit. c. 1. p. 7.* After his Father came to the Government he was suspected by some, when he was yet in *Egypt*, as intending to establish himself, whereupon he halted to *Rome* to cut off all jealousies. Taking then part with his Father in the Publick Cares, he triumphed with him over *Judaea*, executed with him the *Consulship*, *Tribunship*, and seven *Consulships*; nay, taking as it were all upon him, he dictated Letters in his Father's Name, published Edicts, spake in the Senate, and that in the room of the *Questor*, and took on him the Government of the *Palace*, which never had formerly been discharged but by some *Roman Knight*; and this Office he executed with such rigor, that he contracted much envy, and was accounted cruel. He was suspected of Luxury, for feasting with voluptuous persons till midnight; of Incontinency also, being (amongst other Arguments) too familiar with *Berenice* the Sister of King *Agrippa*, to which Lady he is also said to have promised Marriage, but performed it not, because of the distaste of the People. Moreover rapacity was laid to his charge. He was both accounted and openly talked of as another *Nero*, and scarcely did any ever come with more fear or less favour to the Government.

His admirable

Virtues.

26. But so contrarily to expectation did he behave himself, that his former carriage did but set him off with the greater lustre; and so free was he from all Vice, and adorned with so many Virtues, that he became the *Love and Delight of Mankind*, and by an happy exchange was so called. His temperance he showed in the moderation of his Diet, the choice of his Companions, and putting away *Berenice*: His moderation by abstaining utterly from other mens Goods, and refusing often ordinary Benevolences, although no man ever exceeded him in Munificence. He was the *Mirror of Courtesie*, being wont to say, That no man should go sorrowful from the presence of the Prince; and on a day having done no courtesy for any man, he said, *Amici diem perdidit, My friends I have lost a day*. Several sad Accidents hapned in his little time; so great a Pestilence as seldom had been known. So great a fire there was in *Rome*, and kindled from Heaven, that it burnt three days together. *Vesuvius* also the Hill in *Campania* burst forth with great flames, and destroyed all round about it; all which miseries he lessened as much as he could, neither sparing cost nor pains to relieve the distressed. At the same time another War arose in

Several calamities in his time.

Britain,

Britain, wherein *Cn. Julius Agricola* harassed all the Country of the Enemies, and first of all the *Romans*, that we know of, faith *Dio* *, knew that *Britain* was compassed about by the Sea. For certain Soldiers in a Sedition having killed their *Centurions* and *Tribunes* fled to their Ships, and launching out, failed about that part of *Britain* which lieth toward the West, being carried by waves and wind: when they had done this, and by chance light upon the other Camp of the *Romans* on the other side, *Agricola* sent out others to hold the same course, from whom he also knew that it was an Island. These things being done in *Britain*. *Titus* was saluted *Imperator* the fifteenth time. *Agricola* passed the rest of his life in Ignominy and Poverty, because he had done greater things than were suitable to a *Praetor*; and for that cause he was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, though by the permission of *Titus* he had triumphed. But concerning these things *Tacitus* is rather to be consulted in the life of *Agricola*.

27. *Titus* put down Informers, usually tolerated before. His mercy was too great; for he vowed he had rather perish than destroy another, as according to the judgment of some it came to pass. Amongst others that plotted his destruction, he not only spared his Brother *Domitian*, but had him in the same respect as from the beginning, and owned him as his Partner and Successor; only betwixt them two he bestowed him with tears at length to relent to Love and Unity. He was a man of excellent parts, both outward and inward accomplishments; and to the great loss of Man-kind, was presently taken away, whether by the treachery of his Brother or no, is uncertain. In the beginning of his Sickness he is said to have look'd up to Heaven, as taking it ill he should dye so soon, being not conscious to himself of any Sin, save one, which as he did not express, so it is altogether unknown. He was with good reason sadly lamented throughout the *Provinces*. He died in the same Village his Father had ended his days, near the Country of the *Sabiner*, in the forty second year of his Age, when he had reigned two years, as many months, and twenty days; in the 834 year of the City, A. D. 81. *M. Plautius Silvanus*, and *M. Annius Vetus* being *Consuls*.

He died.

Domitian his Brother succeeded him.

28. *Domitian* (so called from *Domitilla* their Mother) succeeded *Titus*, being more like to *Nero*, *Caligula*, or *Tiberius*, than either Father or Brother. His youth *Sueton in Dom. c. 1. p. 7.* he passed disgracefully enough. Doubting upon the death of his Father, whether he should not give a double donative to the Soldiers to obtain their good-will, he never feared to boast that he was left Partner in the Empire by his Father, but that his testament was corrupted. He never ceased to plot against his Brother *A. D. 81.* secretly or openly, and ere he was quite dead, commanded him to be carried out as such. In the beginning of his reign he restrained himself; for his cruelty was then employed upon flies, which privately in a room he was wont to catch and prick with a Bodkin, so that one asking whether any body was within with *Caesar*? it was not unfriendly answered by *Vibius Crispus*, *No not so much as a fly*. But though at present he strove to allay the fury of his vices by some forced virtue, yet within a while he let fall also this vizard, and became in appearance what inwardly his indisposition inclined him to be.

At his beginning different his Vices.

Great difficulties in his time.

29. He undertook several Expeditions, as against the *Catti* and *Sarmatians* (People inhabiting the Northern parts of *Europe*) who had cut off a whole Legion. *Sueton in Dom. c. 1. p. 7.* The *Dacians* also put him to much trouble, and grievously afflicted the *Roman* State, under conduct of *Diurpaneus* their King; for they overthrew first *Oppidius* *Sabinus* a man of *Consular* dignity, and next *Cornelius Fuscus* Captain of the Guards, in several fore and bloody Battels, in such that the Historians of those times, have thought fittest to pass over in silence the number of the slain; Yet at length he triumphed over them all. He was also struck at by a Civil War raised by *L. Antonius* President of upper *Germany*, whom he had incensed by the odiousness of his vices, and especially by uncivil language. This he finished though absent with admirable felicity; for, that very hour the Fight was to be, the *Rhine* swelled so high, that it hindered the Auxiliaries which were sent to *Antonius*, from joining with him. In the second year of his reign *Agricola* defeated the *Ordovices* in *Britain*, and took the life *Mona* about Autumn, and that upon his first coming into the Island. So that the years of the Expeditions which *Tacitus* afterwards relateth, are rather to be reckoned from the *Kalends of January* of the former year, as *Jacobus Cappelus* hinteth. Though *Dion Cassius*, as appeareth from *Xiphilinus*, referred the discovery of *Britain* being an Island to the reign of *Titus*: Yet others unto the time of *Domitian*, who at length envying *Agricola* that great glory he had got in reducing *Britain*, recalled him

Which yet he overcometh.

Tacitus is called Agricola.

under pretence of sending him into *Asia*; and he died two years after, on the tenth of the *Calends of September*, in the fifty sixth year of his age, *Pompeius Collega* and *Cornelius Priscus* being *Consuls*. Whether he died of poison or not, though there wanted not suspicions, *Tacitus* his Son-in-law dareth not affirm.

His cruelty.

30. *Domitian* having suppressed the Rebellion of *Antonius*, grew extraordinarily cruel, putting men to death upon small and trivial accounts. Those of any note that were of his party he tortured to death by ways unheard of, and confounded the cause of the innocent with that of the guilty, raging against the Christians with a second persecution. He arrived at that horrid arrogance, that he ticked not to say in the Senate, *That he gave the Empire to his Father and Brother*, who did but restore it to him; and (what was worse than this) he would be called our *Lord and God*. Being hereby rendered terrible and hateful unto all, he wrought his own destruction, which fearing, and being foretold it by the *Chaldeans*, he grew timorous out of measure, and was moved with the least suspicion. Hence did he cause the place where he was wont to abide, to be beset with the stone *Phengires*, that he might fee if any one came behind him; and though he was sufficiently ambitious, yet did he refuse an extraordinary honour offered him by the Senate, viz. *that when he bore the Consulship, Equites should go before him with spears amongst the Sergeants*. Hence also he put *Euphratus* his Secretary to death, because it was believed that he had helped *Nero* in dispatching himself; and he killed *Flavius* his Uncle, though he had openly owned his two Sons as his Successors, whereof the one he called *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*; which heightened his destruction. Eight months after he was slain by his own servants, of whom *Parthenius* the chief of his Chamber was principal. *Domitia* his Wife being drawn in to the Conspiracy, for that she feared to be poisoned for her kindness to *Paris*. *Longinus Proculus* then in *Germany* is said to have foretold the very day of his death, and *Apollonius Tyaneus* a famous Magician (who being converted before him vanished out of his sight) spoke of it that very hour, exhorting *Stephanus* as it were to strike him home. The people took his death indifferently, the Soldiers heavily, which they shortly after revenged upon the Murderers; but the Senate as it were triumphed, and ordered the memory of him to be abolished. The best thing we find concerning him is, that though he was no Scholar himself, he took care for repairing of Libraries. He was murdered on the fourteenth before the *Calends of October*, in the forty fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign, in the 849 year of the City: A.D. 96. *T. Fulvius Valens*, and *C. Antistius Petus* being *Consuls*. In his time flourished *Statius Papinius*, who beginneth the fourth book of his *Sylvae* with the celebration of his seventeenth Consulship, which fell in with the fourteenth of his reign. *Juvenal* and *Martial* also flourished at this time; whereof the latter was of *Equestrian Rank*, though ever poor, as * he himself witnesseth.

A. D. 96.
P. C. 849.
Domitiani 15.

* Sam. Sattler;
in quoque fuit
de caliditate pau-
peris non defici-
ra nec male
vixit quies.

Ecclesiastical matters in his time.

31. Now must we give a short account of Ecclesiastical affairs, according to the course of time and matter. (a) *Dionysius the Areopagite* being by *St. Paul*, (c) *Epiph.* 1. 5. in the time of *Nero* and afterwards. There are extant several works under his name, but suspected; and sundry Epistles, whereof one to *John the Evangelist* then in the Isle *Patmos*, and another unto *Polycarpus*. *Linus* the Bishop of *Rome*, being Crowned with Martyrdom on the ninth of the *Calends of October*, in the last year of *Nero*, according to *Damasius*, *Cletus* or *Anacletus* succeeded him in that See. Some next unto *Linus* do place *Clemens*, then *Cletus*, and then *Anacletus*. But *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, and *Epiphanius* rank them thus: *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, for he whom *Irenaeus* and *Eusebius* call *Anacletus*, is by *Epiphanius* and *Damasius* called *Cletus*. This *Cletus* according to *Damasius* died in the second year of *Domitian*, on the sixth before the *Calends of May* and was succeeded by *Anacletus*. But (b) *Eusebius* maketh *Anacletus* to have been Bishop twelve years, and in the twelfth of *Domitian* to have been succeeded by *Clemens*, whom *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, calleth his fellow-labourer. In the fourth year of the reign of *Domitian* (c) *Arianus* the first Bishop of *Alexandria* (d) *idem* *ibid.* (having continued there thirty two years) died, to whom succeeded *Ahilus*. As for (e) the Bishops of *Byzantium* afterwards called *Constantinople*, we have them in this order from (d) *Nicephorus* the Patriarch. The first was *Andrew* the Apostle, who having preached the Word at *Byzantium*, and built an Oratory in *Argyropolis* ordained *Stachys* to be Bishop, of whom (e) *St. Paul* maketh mention.

Stachys

(c) *Lib. 2. c. 14.*

(d) *idem* *ibid.*

(e) *Vide Jo-*

hann. Scilicet

Epiphanius

lib. 2. c. 14.

(f) *idem* *ibid.*

(g) *idem* *ibid.*

(h) *idem* *ibid.*

(i) *idem* *ibid.*

Stachys governed sixteen years, after him succeeded in the year of our Lord 55 *Oncimus*, who governed fourteen; then *Polycarpus* ruled seventeen, and *Eusebius* seven, who came to the Chair A. D. 85. in the second of *Domitian*.

32. *Domitian* having raised the second Persecution against the Christian faith, *St. John the Apostle*, who having continued at *Ephesus* twenty seven years, was in the ninth of his Reign Banished unto the Island (a) *Patmos*, one of the *Cyclades*, where he wrote his *Revelation*. In this work he sheweth both *Christs* and his own hatred of the Doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*; for several Heresies had by this time sprung up, as *St. Paul* had forewarned. (b) *Eusebius* maketh *Simon Magus* (c) *Lib. 1. c. 13.* the first Author of Heresies, concerning whom we have already spoken; but, as to his Heresies particularly: 1. He affirmed that he himself was Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that he was worshipped of all people by divers names. 2. That Christ did suffer no hurt from the Jews; for he was Christ. 3. That any man might lye with any woman, for this was no sin. 4. That the World was made by Angels, and that an Angel redeemed Mankind. 5. He denied the Resurrection. 6. He thought that the gifts of the Holy Ghost might be bought with Money, and therefore that Sin of him is called *Simony*. (c) *Nicholas* the Patron (c) *Clemens* of the *Nicolaitans* was one of the seven first Deacons. He having a fair wife, and being accused of Jealousie, permitted any to Marry her, at which Fact others (d) *Lib. 2. c. 13.* taking occasion, thought it lawful for any man to have the company of any woman whom they themselves could like. (d) *Epiphanius* writeth, that they taught (d) *Lib. 2. c. 13.* Venerie to be so necessary, that those men who used it not every week on Friday, could not be saved. Besides these Heretics, about the year 69 sprung up the Heresie of the *Cerinthians*. (e) *Cerinthus* was a Jew by Birth. He taught that (e) *Irenaeus* the World was made by Angels. 2. That *Jesus* our Saviour had for his Parents (e) *Epiphanius* *Epiph. 1. c. 28.* indeed *Joseph* and *Mary*, and that at his Baptism Christ descended on him, who (f) *Lib. 1. c. 14.* (aith he) is called the Holy Ghost, by whom he did all his Miracles; when *Jesus* *Philadelphus* was to be crucified of the Jews, then Christ left him, and returned into Heaven. 3. That Christ's Kingdom after the Resurrection should be an earthly Kingdom, and men then should live in all fleshly lusts and pleasures together for a Thousand years. 4. He denied the Divine Nature of Christ, and said, that he had only an Humane Nature; and that he was not yet risen from the dead, but should rise hereafter. 5. He affirmed that the old Law, and all the old Commandments and Precepts belonging to it were to be kept, together with the new Law or Gospel, and that therefore Circumcision was necessary for every one that would be saved. *Epiphanius* writeth, that certain Heretics called *Alogi*, affirmed *Cerinthus* to have been the Author of the *Revelation*.

33. About the beginning of *Domitian* arose also the Heresie of *Menander* a *Sa- Epiph. 1. c. 25.* maritan, and the Scholar of *Simon Magus*. He taught first, that the World was made by Angels, and that these Angels could be overcome by no means but by Art Magic. 2. He denied Christ to be true man. 3. He affirmed himself the Saviour of the World, and that he came from Heaven to save Mankind, and that all who would be saved must be baptized in his name. Out of his Doctrine (that we may speak of these Heretics briefly) budded that of *Saturninus* of *Antioch*, who not long after in like manner taught, 1. That the World was made by seven Angels, without the knowledge of God the Father. 2. That Christ was but the shadow of a man, for he had neither the true Body nor soul of a man, and thus he fulfilled the myserie of our Redemption. 3. He said moreover, that Marriage and Procreation was of the Devil. *Basilides*, of whom were named the *Basilidians*, agreed in several points with *Simon*, *Menander*, and *Saturninus*. He taught, that Christ did not suffer, but *Simon* of *Cyrene*; that Christ taking the form of *Simon* laughed them to scorn. 2. He turned men away from Martyrdom, affirming that it was no Sin to deny Christ in time of Persecution. 3. That the Angels (d) *Epiph. 1. c. 25.* made Three hundred sixty five Heavens, and that these Heavens made the World. He wrote Twenty four Books upon the Gospel, and feigned to himself Prophets, whom he called *Barabas* and *Barceph*. He commanded silence to his Scholars for the space of five years, after the manner of *Pythagoras*.

34. *Irenaeus* writeth, that in the time of these two *Carpocrates* lived, the father of the Heresie held by the *Gnosticks*, who thought good not to make known the Sorcery of *Simon* privily, but openly, glorying of charmed love-drinks, of Devilish, and drunken dreams, of assistant and associate spirits, with other like illusions. They taught further, that who so would attain to the perfection of their mysteries, must work such facts though never so filthy, otherwise could they

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not

not overcome (as they termed them) the secular Potentates, unless every one played his part after the same secret operation. These were the most vile Heretics in filthiness of all others. They held 1. That the Soul was made of the substance of God, and that brute beasts have reason as man hath. 2. That there are two Gods, a good and an evil one, and that this evil God was the Creator of all things. *Carpocrates* also taught 1. That Christ was a meer man born of *Joseph*, and not of the blessed Virgin, that he was a good man, and therefore after he was Crucified, his Soul went up into Heaven, but his body is still in the Grave. 2. That the World was made by Angels. 3. That there is no resurrection. 4. He rejected the *Old Testament* as not Canonical. Besides these, at this time arose the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, so called from *Ebion*. He taught, that Christ was but a meer man. 2. That when *Jesus* was 30 years old there descended on him, and dwelt in him another person called *Christ*, and thus *Jesus* and *Christ* dwelt, and were united together. 3. He agreed with *Cerinthus* in the rest of the Heresies, touching Circumcision, and keeping all the Law of *Moses*. He denied the *Epistles of Paul*, accusing him that he fell from the Law. The Jewish Sabbath, and other Ceremonies he observed together with the Jews, only the Sunday he celebrated as we do in remembrance of the Resurrection. 'Tis reported that *St. John* hearing *Ebion* was in the Bath refrained his company, and having seen and allowed the three Gospels published by the other *Evangelists*, wrote his own to confute the Heresies of him, *Cerinthus* and *Menander*.

Ehionites.

Epistles. He-
ro. 50.
Eph. 1.3. c.21.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Domitian to that of Pertinax, and the exposing of the Empire to public sale by the Soldiers, the space of 97 years.

1. IT is reported of *Domitian*, that not long before his death he dreamed, that *Satan* in a golden neck and head was grown up on his shoulders, and that he was fully assured, that after him were thereby portended golden days to the Commonwealth. This truly came to pass through the abstinence, moderation, and excellent government of the six succeeding Princes, during the Reign of whom the Roman Empire (for temporal respects) enjoyed more happiness, than ever before or after, Strangers affording that, which the Natives of Italy would not contribute to their own Country. *Cocceius Nerva*, an old man, and born in *Crete* (say some, though others make him a Native of *Narnia* in Italy) after the death of *Domitian* had the Empire put upon him, by the Legions which then quartered amongst the *Sequani* in *Gall*. After his assuming the Government, a strong rumour went abroad, that *Domitian* was yet living, which somewhat perplexed him, till by *Parthenius*, and *Petronius*, Captains of the Guards, he was put out of doubt; and afterwards his election was confirmed by the Senate.

Golden days
after Domitian.Nerva suc-
ceedeth him.Aurelian Vi-
der.

2. Most of the Golden and Silver Statues of *Domitian*, who was hated by all men, he caused to be taken down, of which was raised a great Sum of Money. The Triumphal Arches, of which many had been erected to him, were also demolished. He absolved them who were held guilty of Impiety, and restored the Exiles. Slaves and Freedmen, who had been treacherous to their Lords, he commanded to be put to Death, taking care that they accused their Masters of no Crime; neither did he suffer any to be accused of Impiety, or the Jewish rites; for many had by Calumnies been condemned, and amongst the rest *Seras* the Philosopher, which caused a great Tumult; (for all accused all) So that *Fronto* the Consul was reported to say, That *It was a very bad thing to have an Emperor, under whom it was not lawful to do any thing; but much worse when every one might do what he pleased*. *Nerva* was old, and had a weak Stomach, which caused him to Vomit what he took. Statues both of Gold and Silver he forbade to be erected to him, and he restored the Goods as were found in the Palace, to such Owners as *Domitian* had unjustly deprived of them. To Roman Citizens that were poor, he gave Lands, to be divided by certain Persons of Senatorial Rank. Wanting Money himself, he set to Sale abundance of rich Clothes and Furniture, both of his own, and what belonged to the Publick. Houses aloft and Lands, and what things soever were not Necessaries; neither was he rigid

Nerva his good
Government.

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in exacting the Price, but herein shewed himself liberal towards many Persons. He took away many Sacrifices, Circencian Games, and other Shows, to diminish Expences. He swore in the Senate, that by his Order no Senator should be put to Death; and his Oath he kept, although a Conspiracy was hatched against him. Doing nothing without the Assistance of the Principal Senators, he enacted many Laws, of which was remarkable one, which forbade the making of Eunuchs, and another which Prohibited the Marriage of a Niece.

3. He stuck not at taking *Virginus Rufus* to be his Colleague in the Consulship, though he had often the Title of Emperor given him; on whose Sepulchre was Inscribed, That having overthrown *Vindex*, he ensured the Empire not for himself, but his Country. *Nerva* indeed was so good a Prince, that he dared to say, That he had done nothing, but that quitting the Government, he might safely live a private life. When *Calpurnius Crassus*, descended from that Noble Family, and others had conspired against him, he placed them at the *Speilacula* near himself, before they knew that they were discovered, and delivered them Swords into their Hands, to try as he said, whether they were sharp; but his design was to let them see that he cared not though he were presently killed in the place. *Calpurnius Elianus*, whom, following the Example of *Domitian*, he had set over the *Prætorian* Guards, stirred up the Soldiers against him to require certain Persons to be punished; and he so opposed himself against what was intended, that he offered his Neck naked to them, but profited nothing; they being killed whom *Elianus* had demanded to be slain. Perceiving that he was despised for his Age, he went up into the Capitol, and there with a loud voice praying that it might prove happy for himself, the Senate and the People of *Rome*, he adopted *M. Opius Trajanus Crinitus*, who now governed *Germany*, and afterward he designed him *Cæsar* in the Senate. This he did, though he wanted not Kindred of his own; for he would not prefer his own Relations before the Publick Good, neither did it affright him that *Trajan* was a *Spaniard*, and not an *Italian*, and that before him none of another Nation had held the *Roman* Empire, judging that the Virtue, and not the Country of a Man was to be esteemed. This Account we have from *Dio*, who writing of the Persecution raised against such as followed the Jewish Rites, we have cause to believe that *Christianity* was chiefly met thereby; for our Ecclesiastical Writers say, *Nerva* recalled such as were Confessors upon that account, and that *St. John* the Apostle by virtue of that Indulgence returned out of *Patmos* to *Ephesus*. We are told from other Hands, that *Nerva* only banished *Crassus* the Conspirator to *Tarentum*. That he eased the Commonwealth of grievous Impositions, and conjoyed two things in the times of some of his Predecessors infociable, viz. Sovereignty and Liberty. He lived with *Trajan* but three Months; For falling out with one *Regulus* a Senator, he was in so great a Passion, that it drove his Natural heat into a Fever, whereof he died on the sixth before the Calends of *February*, having, as *Dio* tells us, lived sixty five Years, ten Months, and ten Days, and Reigned one year, four months, and nine days, in the DCCCL I year of the City. A. D. XCVIII, he himself the fourth, and *Trajanus Cæsar* the second time, being Consuls.

He adopts
Trajan.

He died.

Trajan suc-
ceeds.

4. *Trajan* was a *Spaniard* by Birth, of the City *Italica*, of an Ancient rather than an Eminent Family, and took the Ensigns of the Empire at *Agrippina* in *Gall*. As soon as he was Emperor he wrote much to the Senate, and amongst other things, that he would never put to Death any good Man, nor mark such with Infamy; and this he not only at present confirmed by Oath, but also afterward. He sent for *Elianus* and the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who had moved Sedition against *Nerva*, as though to make Use of them, and caused them to be slain. He presently reduced all *Germany* into its former condition, as well as brought under several Nations beyond the *Danube*. When he came to *Rome*, he did many things there for correcting the State of the Commonwealth, and in favour of good Men, of whom he took care. To the Cities of *Italy* he gave much, toward the Education of Children. When his Wife *Plotina* first of all entered the Palace, she turned her self upon the steps to the Multitude, and told them, That the entered such a sort of Woman as the desired the might come out again; and indeed, she carried her self so in her greatness, that nothing could be said against her. When he had staid sometime in the City, he was provoked to undertake a War against the *Dacæ*, the King of whom, *Decebalus* (or *Decabalus*, *Diurpanus*, or *Diurpanis*, for he hath several Names) had forced *Domitian* to pay Tribute. *Trajan* found himself burdened with the Payment of the Money, besides the Disgrace, and he was nettled with

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the Reputation that people had got, with their confidence thereupon, and the daily increase of their Forces. *Decebalus* when he heard of his Design, was troubled at it, knowing that formerly he had not overcome the People of *Rome*, but *Domitian*; but now he should have a War with the People of *Rome*, and *Trajan* the Emperor too; that *Trajan*, who for *Justice*, *Fortitude* and *Goodness* was excellent, and vigorous in Body as well as Mind, being in the Two and fortieth year of his Age. These good qualities *Dion Cassius* makes out in many Particulars, though to the Virtues lately mentioned, he adds not *Temperance*. But he writes that though he was given to the love of Boys and of Wine, yet did he nothing that might be reprehended; for though he drank largely, yet he was Sober, and as for what concerned Boys, he was troublesome to no body. For those his good qualities and his Skill in War, *Decebalus* feared him. *Trajan* gave him Battel, and therein made great slaughter of the Enemy, but had many of his own Men wounded, so many, that *Linnen* failed to bind up their wounds, the want of which to supply, he spared not his own Robe.

He makes War
upon the *Daci*.

Returns Vi-
ctorious.

Provoked a
gain, he makes
a second Ex-
pedition.

He makes a
Bridge over
Danubius.

5. After this Success, he removed into the higher part of the Country, where seizing on divers Hills, he came, not without danger, to the Royal Seat of the *Daci*. Their King sent several times, and at length obtained Peace, which he was to purchase by delivering up his Arms, his Engines, and them that made them; by giving up Fugitives, dismantling his Forts, and having the same Friends and Enemies with the People of *Rome*, he laid aside his Arms, and having slain at the Feet of *Trajan*, and done his Reverence, he went to the Senate to have the Peace confirmed by the Fathers. These things performed, and these Agreements made *Trajan* left a Garrison in *Zermizegethia*, and fortifying the rest of the Country returned into *Italy*. At *Rome* the Ambassadors of *Decebalus* were admitted into the Senate, where they spake a few things, having laid aside their Arms, and holding their hands joynted together like Slaves or Captives. The Peace being confirmed, they had their Arms restored, and *Trajan* triumphing over the *Daci*, obtained the Surname of *Dacicus*. He presented a Show of Gladiators, with which Sport he was delighted, and of Dancers in the Theatre. Yet in such a noise of Arms, he could not away the care of other matters, but in the *Forum of Augustus*, the *Porticus of Livia*, and other places administered Justice from the Tribunal. But within a little while word was brought that *Decebalus* acted all things quite contrary to the League, receiving Fugitives, fortifying places, and soliciting the Neighbouring Nations to the War, whereupon he was by the Senate judged an Enemy, and *Trajan* again undertook the War in Person. When he was come into *Myfia* *Decebalus* sent some to watch their time, and kill him, but this being discovered, he perswaded *Longinus* one of his Officers to come to him about an Agreement, and then kept him, hoping to make his terms by him, till he killed himself.

6. In the mean time *Trajan* caused a Stone Bridge to be laid over the River *Danubius*, such a Bridge as *Dio*, or *Xiphilin*, could not sufficiently admire. Though there were other works of his, very Magnificent, yet in his Opinion this excelled them all. It stood upon twenty Piles of four square Stone, an hundred and fifty foot high from the Foundation, distant from each other an hundred and seventy feet, and conjoined with Arches. It was built in a River full of whirlpits, having a muddy Channel, and in which the Stream could not be turned another way, rapid in its motion, and uncertain as to its breadth and depth. The Piles only remained in the time of *Dio*, serving for to shew that there is nothing but the wit of man can accomplish it. *Trajan* built it with this Design, That if War was made upon the *Romans* that lived beyond the River in Winter when it was frozen, Succours might by it be sent over to them. But *Adrian* on the contrary, fearing that the *Barbarians* should kill the Guard, and break into *Myfia*, commanded the upper parts of it to be broken down. *Trajan* having finished the Bridge, passed over, and waged War with the *Daci*, rather more securely than speedily; and hereby at length subdued them. Many times he performed both like an Expert Captain, and a Valiant Soldier, and his Men gave notable Testimonies of their Valour. At length *Decebalus* understanding that his Seat, and all the Country about it was taken, left he should run the same risque, killed himself. His head was sent to *Rome*; *Dacia* became a Province of the *Roman* People, and into it *Trajan* led a Colony. *Bicilis* the Companion of *Decebalus* discovered that he had caused the Current of the River *Sargetia* to be turned another way, and in the Channel thereof had buried his Treasure, and then suffered the Stream to return to its former course; after which, he killed such Slaves as he

had

had employed in the work. This Treasure, and such good things as he had hid in Caves, was secured as excellent booty.

7. At the same time *Palma the Praefect of Syria*, subdued that Part of *Arabia* which joined to *Petra*, and thereby increased the Dominion of the People of *Rome*. To *Trajan* when he was returned to *Rome*, Ambassadors from several Nations made their Addresses, and particularly from *India*. He Exhibited Shows for an hundred and twenty three Days together, in which sometimes were killed a thousand Beasts tame and wild, and sometimes ten thousand; and a thousand Gladiators fought. He conversed with his Friends with all freedom, and especially with one *Licinius Sura*, of whom he was bidden to beware. This man was so rich, that he built at his own expence a *Gymnasium* for the City, and on a time invited *Trajan* to Supper. The Emperor went, and dismissing his Guard, first, called *Sura's* Physician, and bad him shave his Eyelids, then his Barber whom he permitted to do the same office upon his Chin; for this was the ancient Custom both of the *Roman* Citizens and Princes, *Hadrian* being the first of the Emperors that let grow his Beard. Afterward being washed he went to Supper; and the day after told his Friends, who were wont to calumniate *Sura*, That if he would have murdered him, he had sufficient opportunity to have done it. But he was so far void of fear, that when he delivered the Sword to one whom he had advanced to Command the *Praetorian Cohorts*, with which he was to be girt, he gave it him naked, and bad him draw it in his defence, if he governed as he ought to do; but if contrary, then to use it to his destruction: yet was he so prudent as to Animadvert upon some who had plotted his Death, in the number of whom was *Craffus*, their Cause being first heard by the Senate. He built Libraries, and erected a vast Column in his own *Forum*, partly for a Sepulchre, and partly for a Monument to Posterity, having digged away the hilly ground, and by that means levelled the *Forum*.

8. After this he made War against the *Armenians* and *Parthians*; finding himself concerned, as he said, That the King of *Armenia* had not received a Diadem from himself, but the *Parthian* King; but his great Inducement was desire of Glory. When he came to *Athens*, he was courted by Ambassadors sent from *Chefores*, who promised all fair things, but he would not be diverted from the Expedition. After he was come into the Enemy's Country, he was met by the *Satrapa*, and the neighbouring Kings, who presented him richly; he took all *Armenia*, punished *Paramasties* the King thereof, and rewarded the King of the *Heniuchi*. Having placed Garrisons as was convenient, he came to *Edessa*, where he received the submission of *Angarus*, who ruled *Ofoena*. When he arrived in *Mesopotamia*, *Chefores* offered to quit that Country and *Armenia*, but he proceeded against his Captains *Manus* and *Manisarus* into *Adiabene*. When these things were heard at *Rome*, many Decrees passed to honour him, and amongst other marks, the Surname of *Optimus* was conferred on him. He in his Expeditions travelled on foot; as he marched, Exercised his Soldiers, and tried their Courage and Fidelity by spreading abroad false Reports. *Nisibis* and *Barna* being taken, he was Surnamed *Parthicus*; but he gloried most in that of *Optimus*, whereby his Nature and Disposition was expressed, and not his Wars. Returning to *Antioch*, he there made some Stay, and was frightened with a most terrible Earthquake, which afflicted other Cities, but especially this, in an unheard of manner. With the fall of Houses and Rubbish, and by other means a vast number of People perished, so that the Town being full of Strangers, who came either for Law-Suits, upon Messages or other Business, the Court being there all the Winter, there was no Nation that received not loss from so great a Calamity. *Trajan* himself escaped out of a Window, being, it's said, drawn out by one of more than humane proportion, and though the Earthquake ceased, he continued many days in the open Air. The Hill *Corasus* was so shaken, that its higher parts fell down, and it looked as if it would tumble upon the City. Other Mountains were levelled, waters broke out where formerly none appeared, and Fountains which formerly poured out water were stopped up.

A Dreadful
Earthquake.

9. When Spring came on he led his Army into the Enemies Country, resolving to pass the River *Tigris*, and knowing that thereabout was no Timber for building of Ships; the Vessels he had made of Trees felled in the Woods about *Nisibis*, he caused to be conveyed thither in Carriages, being so framed as to be taken in pieces and set together again upon occasion. With them he made a Bridge at the foot of the Mountain *Cardynus*, in despite of the Enemy, who was discouraged

by

Trajan takes in
Atiabene.

by his multitudes of Men, and the sight of Ships in that place, where they thought they had no reason to expect them. Then crossing the River, he took in all *Adiabene*, being that part of *Affyria* belonging to *Ninus*, with *Arbela* and *Gargamela*, where *Alexander* overthrew *Darius*; it was called *Attyria*, the letters S.S. being by the *Barbarians* changed into T.T. To *Babylon* he marched without controul, there being none left in his passage to oppose him; for the *Parthians* were weakened by Civil War, and this sort of Discord was not yet taken up amongst them. There he had opportunity to behold a Lake of *Bitumen*, of which the Walls of that City were built, being of that Nature, that mixed with Brick or small Stones, it was more strong and durable than any Stone or Iron. He beheld the mouth thereof, when so great a vapour proceeded out of it that no sort of Terrestrial Animal, nor Fowl was able to bear it, but died with the smell thereof; and had it proceeded far, the place had not been habitable; but it contained it self in a narrow compass, to the bounds of which when it came, it returned back. The like to this *Dio* tells us he himself had found at *Hierapolis*, a Town of *Asia*, the vapour of which, as he heard and saw, was pernicious to all living Creatures, Eunuchs or gelded Men excepted, the reason of which he confessed he did not understand; no more do we.

10. *Trajan* had a design to join *Euphrates* with *Tigris* by a Ditch, thereby to convey his Boats for making of a Bridge; but finding it was higher than *Tigris*, he changed his purpose, lest it should make *Euphrates* rapid and not Navigable. He conveyed then his Vessels by Land over the narrow place betwixt them; for, *Euphrates* falling into a Fen, joined it self with *Tigris*. Having passed *Tigris*, he took *Ctesiphon*, and thereupon had the Title of *Imperator*, and that of *Parthicus* confirmed; and it being known, the Senate decreed many things in his honour, particularly, that he should Triumph and keep as many Festivals as he pleased. Now had he a great desire to Sail down into the *Red Sea*, being a *Sinus* of the Ocean, and called *Erythraean* from *Erythrus*, who there reigned. In his passage he was in danger, by reason of the rapid Stream of *Tigris*, the Winter Season, and the Tide; but coming to the Sea, and taking notice of the passage into *India*, he affirmed, that had he been a young man he would have sailed thither. He made curious Inquiries concerning that Nation, and would say, *Alexander* was an happy man, yet sometimes affirm, That he had gone farther than he, and so he wrote to the Senate; although he could not defend what he had got. But he wrote so often of so many Nations subdued by him, that the Fathers not able to reckon them, voted him as many Triumphs as he pleased to accept of, ordered a Triumphal Arch to be erected in his *Forum*, and the Citizens would have gone far to meet him, had he ever returned. His latter end however did not answer his beginning; for while he spent his time in sailing to the Ocean, all he had taken off again in the greatest Tumult, each Nation either killing or casting out the Garrisons he had left to bridle them, while his Journey answered not his expectation; for he saw and heard nothing besides heaps, falls and ruins; only he made a parentation to *Alexander* in the House wherein he died.

11. The News of the general defection being brought to him while still on Shipboard, he sent *Lucius* and *Maximus* against the Rebels, of whom *Maximus* was overthrown in Battel, but *Lucius* behaving himself very gallantly, recovered *Nisibis*, took *Edessa*, and after he had plundered it, set it on fire. Besides this, *Selenus* was taken and burnt by *Erycius*, *Clarus*, and *Julius Alexander*. But fearing that the *Parthians* would also revolt, he resolved to give them a King, and when he was come to *Ctesiphon*, calling them and the *Romans* together in the Field, after he had from an high Tribunal boasted of his Performances, he set a Diadem on the Head of *Partabaspes*. This done, he undertook an Expedition against the *Agareni* in *Arabia*, who had also revolted, possessing a City neither great nor rich. For, the adjoining Region, for the most part, was Desert, having no Water, or that unwholesome, and being destitute of Wood and Forage, so that no great multitude of Men could there long continue, and it was protected by the most violent Heats to which it was exposed. Therefore neither *Trajan* now, nor afterwards *Severus* took it, though they cast down part of the Wall. *Trajan* sent his Horse against them, and afterwards he followed in Person; but the Horse received much loss, and he himself narrowly escaped, one that rode near to him being shot dead; for though he disguised himself, yet by the gravity of his Person they guessed him to be the Emperor. Now did the Heavens shake with Thunder, Rainbows were seen, Lightning, Tempest, Whirlwinds, Hail and Thunderbolts

He falls to the
Ocean.

His end not
answerable to
his beginning.

He makes a
fruitful Expe-
dition against
the Agareni.

Thunderbolts fell upon the *Romans*, as often as they attacked them, and when they went to Supper, they were exceedingly plagued with Flies, both in their Meat and Drink. Therefore did *Trajan* dislodge and get him gone, and not long after fell into his Mortal Disemper.

A furious Re-
bellion of the
Jews.

12. In the mean time, while he was thus employed, the *Jews* supposing him entangled in an inextricable War, perfwading themselves also, that by the Earthquake was portended the ruine of the *Roman* Empire; moreover imagining that from the first year of *Cyrus*, to this present, had passed but Four hundred and eighty three years, and consequently that but one of *Daniel's* Weeks was unfulfilled, entered into a Conspiracy; and made incredible Slaughter of the *Romans*, using in several Countreys, some say several Captains, whereof yet *Barcoab* was Chief. The fury of this Rebellion fell upon *Aegypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Cyprus*; and *Dio* tells us, That about *Cyrene* one *Andreas* was their Captain. The manner of their Outrages they committed, both upon *Greeks* and *Romans*, was as horrid as the Facts themselves, though these horrid beyond all belief, if they had not been related by most credible and impartial Writers. From the head they sawed them downwards, they cast them to wild Beasts, caused them to fight and kill one another; they eat their flesh, beheaded themselves with their blood, and wore their skins. In and about *Cyrene* perished by this means Two hundred and twenty thousand men, and in *Aegypt* and *Cyprus* Two hundred and forty thousand; upon which account, in the time of *Dio*, it was not lawful for a Jew to come in *Cyprus*, if he entered there, he was presently slain. *Trajan* resolved to prosecute them throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies or Rebels, but as Creatures noxious to Humane Society, and that with revenge suitable to their Crimes; and for this purpose sent *Marcus Tubero*, with a great Power, both by Sea and Land, who neither in a short time, nor without cruel hostility finished the War; but he slew many *Myriads* of the *Jews*. Their carriage in the West made the Emperor suspect their Brethren in *Mesopotamia*, whereupon he commanded *L. Quintius* to Banish them that Country, and he joining Battel with them, slew also a great Number.

13. *Dio* writes, That *Trajan* thought of making in person another Expedition into *Mesopotamia*; but his Disease growing upon him, he took his Journey to *Italy*, leaving *P. Aelius Hadrianus* in *Syria* with an Army. Therefore though *Armenia* was taken, and a great part of *Mesopotamia*, and besides, the *Parthians* were overcome; yet the *Romans* thought they had in vain been at such pains, and undergone so many Dangers, for that the *Parthians* detesting *Partabaspes* were resolved to be governed according to their own Customs. As for *Trajan*, he suspected that his Disease came by Poison; some thought it proceeded of Blood, which being wont to issue from his Interior Parts every year, had of late stopped; and indeed he was seized with an Apoplexy, so as he lost his Sense in some part of his Body; but he manfully laboured of a Dropisie. Being brought to *Selinus* a City of *Gilicia*, called *Trajanople* in *Dio's* time, he soon died, after he had Reigned Nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days. He extended the Empire farther than any of his Predecessors, so that now it reached from the *Irish* Ocean further than the River *Tigris*; from the *Atlantic* Sea to the *Persian* Gulf; from Mount *Atlas* to the *Caledonian* Forest; as also as far as the River *Albis*, and beyond *Danubius*. His Moderation was exceeding great, he so using his Subjects as he himself, he said, would desire his Prince should use him, were he a private Person. Though he was not learned, he much favoured Humane and Secular Learning, conversing very often and familiarly with the Professors thereof, whom he also preferred to Publick Offices. But Humane and Secular Learning he only favoured; for he raised the third Persecution against the Heavenly Doctrine and Church of Christ, which drew down its thought, the heavy Judgments we have mentioned, upon the Empire during his Government.

Trajan perfec-
teth the
Church.

14. Being puffed up with the Victory he had obtained over the *Daci* and *Thracians* (after the ending of the second *Dacian* War, in the ninth year of his Reign, *Decabalus* having killed himself) as he was marching against *Osroes* or *Chobdoses* the *Parthian* King, and the *Armenians*, having commanded all that would not worship his false gods to be put to death, *Ignatius* the Scholar of St. *John the Apostle*, and *Bishop* now of *Antioch*, was brought before him, whilst he lay (in his passage) in this City.

His discourse
with Ignatius
Bishop of An-
tioch.

City. Ignatius standing in his presence, he said, *who art thou Devil* (Cacodemon) *who makest haste to transgress our Commands, and persuadest others to destroy themselves?* Ignatius answered, *No body calleth Theophrastus a Cacodemon, for Devils sit from the Servants of God.* But I know thou so callest me because I molest them. *For I confess I have Christ the heavenly King; and dissolve their councils.* Trajan demanded, *who is Theophrastus?* Ignatius replied, *He who hath Christ in his breast.* Trajan said, *Dost thou think we have the Gods in our breast which assist us against our Enemies?* Ignatius answered, *In that thou esteemest the Devils of the Gentiles to be gods, thou erreth.* For there is one God, who made Heaven, and Earth, and Sea, with all that are in them; and he hath one only begotten Son Jesus Christ, whose friendship I have obtained. Trajan then said, *Thou speakest of him that was crucified by Pontius Pilate.* Ignatius replied, *Of him who crucified sin and the inventor of it; and who approveth not of him that serveth Idols, but who in his heart wisely understandeth this.* Trajan added, *Dost thou then carry Christ in thy self?* Ignatius said, *Yea, for it is written, I will dwell in himself the Crucified.* concluded thus, *I award that Ignatius, who saith, he beareth in himself the Crucified, be conveyed in bonds by Soldiers to the great City Rome, there to be devoured of beasts for a show to the People.* This was accordingly executed upon the most holy Martyr, on the Twentieth of December, as it is recorded in his *Acta*, or the Memorials of him, collected by Philo, Gaius, and Agathopos, who followed him from Syria to Rome; concerning which, as also the Epistles which go under his name, the Disquisitions of the most Reverend and Learned Arch-Bishop of Armagh are to be consulted.

Whom he caus-
eth to be call-
ed to wild Beasts
at Rome.

15. Ignatius being vexed by a tedious journey, that his constancy might be shaken, when he came to *Troas* (or new *Troy*, built not far from the place where that of *Priamus* stood) understood that Peace was restored to his Church of *Antioch*. This came to pass whilst Trajan still continued there, consulting about the Partisan War, as appeareth from *Malela* the Historian of that City. For *Tiberianus* the President of the chief Nation of *Palestine*, moved the Emperor to persecution by this Letter: *I am wearied with punishing and putting to death the Galileans (who come before us under the name of Christians) according to your Commands, yet they cease not to reveal themselves for the slaughter.* And although I have laboured both by exhortation and threatenings, that they might not dare to make known themselves to me as professors of that doctrine; yet being persecuted, they do not cease. I desire therefore that what your pleasure is in this kind, your Majesty would please to certify me. * *Suidas* mentioning also this message of *Tiberianus* unto Trajan, * *et cetera* addeth, that the Emperor forbade all his Subjects to punish the Christians. Yet Trajan, that this indulgence was not so universal, but that it most especially concerned *Palestine*, *Syria*, and other parts of the East, where the Emperor then resided, appeareth from Ignatius his deprecation, that the Persecution might cease, when he was even to be brought into the *Ampitheatre*; as the *Acta* or Memorials concerning him relate. But besides this Letter of *Tiberianus*, there is extant another of *Pliny* the younger, who was moved to write to the Emperor upon the same occasion, and for the same end.

Confess affir-
mation to wit
ed Epist. Ignatius
ad Polycrates.

Tiberianus his
Letter to
Trajan.

Minigareth the
Persecution.

As also the
Letter of Pliny
Junior.

16. For being *Proprator* of *Bithynia*, the variety of cases in those that were accused, viz. *Epist. 10.* troubled him, although he sought to comply with the iniquity of the times, he declared, that such as stood out his threatenings thrice, be commanded to be led to punishment. He signifieth, that out of such as had formerly been Christians, but now worshipped the Images of the Emperor, and the gods, and blasphemed Christ, he could not get any confession of any other fault or error, than that they were wont on a day appointed, before it was light, to meet together, and sing an hymn to Christ; and bound themselves by a Sacramentum or religious Oath, not for any wickedness, but that they should not commit robbery, theft, or adultery, that they should not break promise, nor cheat. Which being done, they were wont to depart, and meet again to eat, promiscuously but innocently. To get out the truth he tortured two women servants, but could not find any thing justly chargeable, though through his Ethnic pravity and desire to please the Emperor, he termeth the faith Superstitio prava & immodica, or a naughty and immoderate superstition. He addeth, that it seemed to him a thing worthy of serious consideration; especially for the number of those that were in danger: for many, saith he, of every age and order, and of both Sexes, are brought, and will be brought into danger. For not only hath the contagion of this superstition gone through Cities; but also Villages, and Fields, which, as it seemeth, might be stopped and corrected. To be sure, it's clear enough, that the Temples which were almost desolate, begin to be frequented, and the sacrifices of long time intermitted

The death of
St. John the
Apostle.

intermitted to be restored, heathens for that use now going off, which till now scarcely any would buy. Whereby it is easy to guess, what a multitude of men might be reclaimed, if there were but place for repentance. Thus *Pliny*, to whom Trajan answered, that we may only repeat the Summe, that Christians are not to be sought for, but if accused and convicted, except they recant, to be punished; concerning the absurdity and injustice of which Sentence, *Tertullian* excellently argueth in his * *Apology*, most worthy to be read of all Christians. * *chap. 2.*

17. In the Reign of Trajan died St. John the Apostle, the time and manner of his death being uncertain, though all agree as to the place, which was *Ephebus*. (a) *Jerome* referreth his death to the sixty eighth year after the Passion of Christ, which fell in with the third of Trajan, and the twenty seventh of December, on the first *Peria*. (b) Others place it in the seventy first after Christ's Passion, and the sixth of Trajan. *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre* (in his Tract written concerning the lives, ends, and Martyrdoms of the Prophets, Apostles, and seventy Disciples) writeth, that being a hundred and twenty years old, yet living (the Lord would so have it) he buried himself. (c) *Jerome* alleged out of *Tertullian*, that in the time of *Nero* (though others lay in the Reign of *Domitian*) he was thrown at Rome into a tun of hot boiling oil, yet thereby took no harm, but came out after this trial purer than he went in. (d) *Augustine* calleth him a Martyr by will: *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephebus* (as (e) *Eusebius* allegeth) sticketh not to call him a Priest, a Martyr, and a Doctor. But that which (f) *Augustine* writeth of his end, is strange of all (and let the credit thereof rest in the choice of the Reader,) how John caufed at *Ephebus* his grave to be made, and in presence of divers went in alive, and being no sooner in, and to their seeming dead, they covered him. Which kind of rest, saith he, is rather to be termed a sleep than death, for that the earth of the grave bubbleth or boyleth up after the manner of a Well, by reason of John's resting in it, and breathing: a sign of his slumbering therein. Though he died at *Ephebus*, yet was not the succeeding Bishop, much less any other, Heir of that Authority, which for so many years he had obtained in the Church, as having many outlived the rest of the Apostles. For to the Apostles succeeded not Apostles nor universal Messengers of Christ, of which sort John was for many years, and he alone; but Bishops, every one circumscribed within his own Limits. In the days of Trajan, and this third Persecution was Crucified (g) *Simeon Cleophas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, being an hundred and twenty years old. *Julius* a Jew succeeded him, after whom some place *Zacharias*, *Tobias*, *Benjamin*, and *John* in the nineteenth and last of Trajan. In the eleventh of his Reign was *Euaristus* Bishop of *Rome* Crowned with Martyrdom, on the sixth of the Calends of November, and *Alexander* succeeded him, who also being Martyred in the nineteenth year, on the fifth before the Nones of May, (h) *Xystus* had his seat according to *Damasus*. And we must not forget that *Heros* succeeded Ignatius in the Sea of *Antioch*. (i) *Epist. l. 3. cap. 32.* (j) *Epist. l. 3. cap. 35.*

18. Trajan, that we may conclude his Story, was esteemed a Prince of unful City and Fortitude, and *Aurelius Victor* tells us some reason, because the Estate of the Roman Empire had been so afflicted and wasted by many and cruel Tyrants, that he was believed sent by heaven, by designment to amend and repair it. He pleased the more because he took order for supply of Rome with Provisions, instituting a Company of Bakers; and it was thought a great Advantage to the State, that for speedy Intelligence, he more vigorously managed the *Curia Publica*. *Pliny Junior*, who flourished in his time, upon his being promoted to be Consul, made a large Panegyrick in the Senate still extant, wherein as he extols him for many things, so in an especial manner for removing grievances, and heavy Impositions, particularly that of the *Vicesima*, or twentieth part of Estates, first required by *Augustus*, which his Successor again rigorously exacted. That Inclination he had to Wine, of which also *Nerva* is said to have been guilty, it's said he moderated by Prudence, giving order, that after a full meal, no more should be brought in, though called for. All the respect and love he had from the People, was cemented by his familiar converse. For he would make visits to his Friends, feed them when Sick, eat at their Houses, and often ride in their Chariots. He was liberal, and studied to enrich those with whom he had but small acquaintance. In his time was but one Senator Condemned, and he by the Senate without his knowledge. Herchy he procured such fame even after his death, that in the Acclamations of the Senate, the Fathers would wish that the succeeding Princes might be happier than Augustus, and better than Trajan. *Eufrapius* writes,

X x x x

The Death of
Trajan.

writes, that he died of a Flux at *Seleucia*, a City of *Isauria* in his return from *Perfia*, in the sixty second year of his Age. He alone, he adds, was buried in the City. His Ashes in a golden Urn were put in his own *Forum*, under his Column, which was an Hundred and forty four foot high. In his time flourished, besides *Pliny Junior*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, *Suetonius*, *L. Florus*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and others. His Death fell in the fifth of the Two hundred twenty fourth *Olympiad*, the Eight hundred and seventieth of the City A. D. CXVII. *Quintus Niger*, and *T. Vespasianus Apronianus*, being Consuls.

19. It was commonly believed, that the Design of *Trajan* was to leave *Neratus Priscus* his Successor; and his Friends were so much inclining to it, that one time he told him, He commended the Provinces to him, in case that any thing fatal should happen; many said, that he thought good to imitate the Example of *Alexander the Macedonian*, and dye without a certain Successor; and that he intended to fend an Oration to the Senate, wherein he would desire, that if any thing happened to him otherwise than well; they would give a Prince to the Commonwealth, yet so, as he therewith added several Names, out of which they should make choice. But the Succession fell upon *Hadrian* his Kinsman, who was born at *Rome*, in the year that *Vespasian* the Seventh, and *Titus* the Fifth time were Consuls, but had his Original also from *Italia*. It was given out that *Trajan* adopted him before his Death, and some name the day whereon he should receive Letters which certified him of such Adoption. But most agree that for it he was obliged to *Plotina* the Empress, and *Exuperius* writes, That *Trajan* refused to adopt him, though the Son of her that was his Cousin German by the Mothers side, whereas others say, That his Father *Ælius Adriani*, surnamed *Afer*, was his Cousin German, and so related. *Dio* writes, That he was joynt to *Trajan* in Affinity, as well as Conanguinity, having Married his Brother's (some say his Sister's) Daughter, and lived with him continually. He advanced him to several Offices in the State, and several Military Commands in the Wars, which he himself managed in person. Being sent his *Prætorian* Legate into the lower *Pannonia*, he reformed the *Sarmatæ*, supported Military Discipline, bridled the Extravagance of *Procurators*, and for this obtained the Dignity of Consul. He was supported by *Sura* the Emperor's Favourite, and *Plorina* the Empress, who procured him, after *Sura's* Death, his second Consulship, and to be designed *Legatus* in the *Parthian* Expedition.

20. When her Husband was dead, with the assistance of *Attianus* his Countryman, she procured him to be Emperor, being in love with him, and encouraged, by reason he was not far off, and had great Forces. *Dio* tells us, He had it from *Apronianus* his Father, who governed *Cilicia*, who told him all the particulars, and that especially how *Trajan's* Death was concealed for some days, that the Adoption might proceed, which was discovered by her. Subscribing the Letters sent in his Name to the Senate, which had never been practised before. *Spartianus* writes, That some reported how by *Plotina's* means he was adopted after the Death of *Trajan*, one being suborned to counterfeit his weak voice. After his having obtained the Empire at *Antioch*, he set himself to govern it in a peaceable manner. Therefore the *Barbarians* rebelling, whom *Trajan* had subdued, and thus happening in several other Provinces, he resolved to quit all beyond *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, following therein the Example of *Cato*, as he said, who declared the *Macedonians* to be free, because they could not be held in subjection. At first he studied to shew himself addicted to Clemency. He begged pardon of the Senate, that he had not made them Judges concerning his Succession, and excused it by the suddenness of his being saluted by the Senators, because the Commonwealth could not be without an Emperor. The Senate having decreed a Triumph to him, which was due to *Trajan*, he refused it, and caused *Trajan's* Image to be drawn in a Triumphal Chariot. The Title of *Pater Patriæ* being given him, both at first and afterwards he refused, saying, That it was late before *Augustus* deserved it. The *Aurum Coronarium* he remitted to *Italy*, and lessened it in the Provinces, yet setting forth the difficulties at large under which the Treasury laboured. A Conspiracy was hatched against him by *Negritus* whom he had designed for his Successor, but being discovered he was put to Death, and so were his Complices, *Palma*, *Celsus*, and *Lucius*, by command of the Senate, but against his will, as he wrote in his own life. But he was ill spoken of for putting to Death these four Persons of *Consular* Dignity; and to cause it to be forgotten, he came to *Rome*, where he gave a double *Comitatus* to the People, and in the

Senate he swore, having excused what was done, that he would never punish a Senator but by the Sentence of the Fathers themselves.

21. That the Magistrates might not be charged with the *Cursus Publicus*, he laid the burthen upon the Treasury, as soon as he came to the Government. To obtain a good name, he remitted to private Debtors dwelling in *Rome* and *Italy*, an infinite Sum of Money, and vast Arrears to others in the Provinces, causing the Bonds whereby they stood engaged, to be burned in the *Forum* of *Trajan*. The Estates of condemned Persons he forbade to be brought into his private *Fiscus*, but to be accounted for in the publick *Ærarium*. He increased the liberality of *Trajan*, to Boys and Girls that wanted maintenance. To Senators who were decayed, not by their own faults, according to their charge of Children, and their quality he gave allowances for life. Most of the Senators he admitted to familiarity. The *Circensian* Games decreed to him, he refused, but only on his Birth-day, and said often both in the Assembly of the People, and in the Senate, that he would so govern as the Interest in the State being that of the People, and not his. When he had entered his third Consulship, he made many Consuls the third time; but a vast number he honoured with the second; and his third Consulship he held only four months, during which time he often sat in Judgment; when the Senate was legally assembled, either in the City or without, he was always present, and promoted the honour of it all he could, especially taking care, that the Dignity should not be cheap, for he difficultly admitted any into it. Yet would he venture to make himself rather cheap in visiting sick Persons twice or thrice a day, though but *Equites*, or even *Libertini*; he would comfort, relieve, and advise men of such quality, and take them to his Table, doing all things like a private man. Travelling into *Gall*, he was as liberal to all that had need of his liberality.

22. Thence he passed into *Germany*, and there, though he was more desirous of Peace than War, so exercised his Soldiers, as if some War and Expedition had been at hand. He taught them to bear and endure hardship, and that by his own Example; for living himself like a Soldier amongst the *Manipulares*, he publicly fed upon Military Fare, which was *Lard*, *Cheese*, and that they called *Polca*, or *Water & Vinegar* as did *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Metellus*, & *Trajan*. On some he bestowed Rewards, on others Honours, to make them more willingly undergo what he severely imposed. Indeed *Spartianus* tells us, He restored the Discipline of the Camp, which had decayed by the carelessness of other Princes, ordaining Offices and Allowances. That this is true, in part we have some reason to believe from what other Historians also write of *Trajan*; *Vegorius* mentions *Hadrian's* Constitutions about Military Affairs; *Dion Cassius* tells us, That his Rules and Orders were to his time observed for Laws; and *Cassiodorus* mentions a Coin, on the Reverse of which Discipline was engraven. He was also so extraordinarily Skilled in the Art Military, that he wrote a Book of *Tactics*, which lying long obscure, at length saw the light in the days of *Augustus*, by means of *Zoticus*, who to his Observations, and the Experiences of the ancient Captains, added others of his own time, as *Salustius* hath observed. But what *Spartianus* writes of his restoring, we must not believe; as if he alone restored the Discipline which had been decaying from the time of *Augustus*; for, *Galba* was careful this way, though he had small time to make reformation, it being a common word amongst the Soldiers, That *They must mind their Duty, for it was Galba*, not *Gerulicus*. *Vespasian* also was a good Soldier, and no doubt careful this way. To be sure so was *Trajan*, who also, as appears from *Vegorius*, published many Constitutions upon this Subject.

23. But *Spartianus*, the better to make good his Assertion, proceedeth and telleth us, That he never suffered any Soldier, without warrantable Cause, to be absent from his Colours; when this happened, usually the *Tribunes* were in fault, by giving leave upon frivolous pretences; but, *Tribunes* in his days were commended for their worth, and not by the favour of the Soldiers, or their commendation to the General, as had been practised toward the end of the Commonwealth, when they were not chosen by the People in the *Comitia*. To excite them to Travel, he himself would march on foot, armed as he was, twenty miles; for it was the usual and ordinary Custom, for the Soldiers to Travel five hours every day, in which space they got twenty or four and twenty miles; twenty miles in the Law being esteemed a Journey, and called *Militaria gradus*; as twenty four, *gradus plenus*. He caused to be pulled down all arched

X x x x x

Rooms,

Hadrian wrote
a Book of
Tactics.

Gave his
Soldiers good
Examples.

Quins all be-
yond Euphra-
tes and Tigris.

Is Popular.

Rooms, Galleries, and such Coverings as the Soldiers made o're their Tents, for keeping off the heat of the Sun; The Army in Summer was Exercised in the Field; in Winter, if it rained or snowed, under Coverings, and then only; and for this purpose they made Porticus's or Galleries, but these were more for Necessity; such as *Hadrian* pulled down were rather the green Porticus's made against Heat, and for pleasure, by them when Idle and Extravagant. Frequently he went meanly clad, which is to be understood when he was in the Camp; for that he used Gold in his Ornaments, and first of all Princes in that sort called *Mantilia*, some Authors wrote, The Belt he wore was without Gold; whereas it was the custom for the Roman Captains to have them sparkling both with Gold and Gems. The Hilt of his Sword was scarcely of Ivory, though this was despised in those days. Soldiers that were Sick, he visited at their Lodgings. He himself would chuse the ground where the Camp should be, though this was the Duty of the *Metures*. He chose no *Centurions* but those that were Robust, and of good Reputation; neither made he a *Tribune* that had not a Beard, or was not of such an Age as his Prudence and years might be equal to the Charge. Nothing did he permit the *Tribune* to receive from the Soldier, though there was an ill Custom, for the Officers to sell leave to the Soldiers of being absent from their Colours, and to convert their Pay and Allowances to their own Use. All delicacies he removed, and reformed what was amiss in their Arms and Furniture.

24. He made inquiry into the Age of the Ordinary Soldiers, suffering none to serve who was of less than Valour required, nor of greater than Humanity would suffer, or the Ancient Custom; and he made it his business to know them both as to their Persons and their Number. He was also diligent to understand what Military Provisions for Horse and Man were laid up in the limittaneous Cities; he curiously inquired into the Revenues of the Provinces, that if any thing was wanting, he might supply it. No man ever took such care not to buy or feed any idle thing. His Soldiers being thus brought to imitate their Emperor, he came into *Britain*, and here correcting many things out of order, he first of all others raised a Wall eighty miles long, to divide the *Barbarians* from the *Romans*. *Septimius Clarus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Suetonius Tranquillus* his *Epistolarius Magister*, he removed from their Places, for being more familiar with his Wife *Sabina*, than he commanded, or the reverence due to his Court required; and he said, That had he been a private man he would have put away his Wife, as morose and froward. And he was not only curious as to matters of his own House, but in such as related to his Friends; so as by the *Frumentarii* he discovered all things; neither did they understand that the Emperor knew how they governed themselves before he let them know how they did it. Having settled his Affairs in *Britain*, he returned into *Gall*, being troubled to hear of the Sedition at *Alexandria*, which was raised by occasion of their God *Aps*, who having been dead after many years, the People fell into a Tumult about the placing of him: At *Nemausus* he raised a *Basilica* of admirable work, in honour of *Plotina*. After this he went into *Spain*, and wintered at *Tarraco* (now *Arragon*) where at his own Expence he re-edified the Temple of *Augustus*; for the Inhabitants of that place raised Temples to him amongst the rest. He called a meeting of the *Spaniards* at this place, at which they of *Italian* Extraction endeavouring in jesting wife to draw their Necks from Burthens, and the rest in good earnest, he ordered his matters very prudently.

25. In those days in many places where the *Barbarians* were divided from the *Romans*, not by Rivers, but Limits made by Art, he raised a fort of Rampart with pieces of Timber in the manner of an Hedge or Wall. Over the *German*s he set a King; he appeased the motions of the *Mauri*, and had Supplications decreed him by the Senate; Afterward he composed the War of the *Parthians* by a Conference. He travelled out of *Spain* into *Africk* and so into *Egypt* and *Syria*, with the rest of *Asia*. Coming into *Acbaia*, he was at *Athens* initiated in their Mysteries called *Eleusinia*; after the Example of *Hercules* and *Philip*; many favours he bestowed upon the Inhabitants, and having been formerly their *Archon* he presided at their Solemnities, as *Agonotheta*; and in *Acbaia* it was observed, that it being at their Sacred Solemnities, the Custom for those that were present to have Knives about them for fear of Treachery, none that were so armed entred with *Hadrian*. After this he went into *Sicily*, and there up to the Hill *Ætna*, to see the Sun rise in form of a Bow. Thence he came to *Rome*, and from *Rome* passed again into *Africk*, where he conferred many benefits on the Provinces,

as

as the Coins still bear witness, in some of which he is styled the *Reformer* of *Africk*. *Spartian* adds to these his Narrations, that scarcely any other Prince travelled with such speed through so many Countries. As to this, *Cassaubon* observes, that he was accounted another *Hercules*, for his travelling so assiduously through the Roman world, and doing good in his passage. For *Victor* tells us, That he had his Troops of Smiths, Architects, and other Artificers, not unlike the Military Legions distinguished into *Cohorts*, for making or beautifying of Walls. *Cassaubon* saw a Coin in the possession of *Thuanus*, whereon he was both called *Roman Hercules*, and accounted like to that Hero. In others he found him styled *Soter*, or Saviour, because going about the Provinces, he severely punished Governors thereof, whom he found faulty, who were often more cruel than any Monarchs. But whereas *Spartian* adds scarcely, this I learned man thinks he doth it, because of *Julius Cæsar*, who like Lightning ran through the Provinces, and illustrated most of them by his Victories. Next to him was *Augustus*, who yet as *Suetonius* confesseth, came not in *Africk* nor *Sardinia*, though in all the other Provinces. All the other Princes, *Trajan* excepted, were in a manner Homelings. But as for *Hadrian*, *Dion Cassius* in this respect prefers him before all the other Emperors without exception.

26. Having returned from *Africk* to *Rome*, he went again into the East, and took *Athens* in his way, where he perfected the works he had formerly begun, and dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and an Altar to himself; and in the same manner passing through *Asia*, he consecrated Temples of his own Name. Then did he receive from the *Cappadocians* Slaves for the Service of the Camp. Of old when the Roman Discipline was vigorous, the Soldiers were not permitted to have any Slaves to follow them, and when the Custom was come up, yet such Captains as were severe, would cause them to be dismissed. But afterward it grew to that height, that every ordinary or Common Soldier would have his Slave. These Slaves the Ancients called *Calones*, and the later *Romans* *Galearii* from carrying their Helmets, who were wont to dig also, to make Trenches, and labour at such works as the Soldier himself formerly wrought. Now out of *Cappadocia* did *Hadrian* furnish himself, for out of that Country the greatest part of Slaves proceeded, that People being noted by the *Greeks* to be of a servile Disposition, and so much also by the *Romans*, that *Cappadox* and *Mancipium* with them, signified the same. But to pursue our Story, *Tetrarchs* and *Kings* he invited into Friendship, and particularly, *Cædres* the *Parthian*, to whom he restored his Daughter taken by *Trajan*, and promised the golden Chair, which had also been taken; but performed not his word. Some Kings came to his presence, whom he treated in such sort, that it repented the rest that they did not come: In his Progress through the Provinces, he so severely punished the offending Officers and Governors, that he himself was believed to procure their Accusers. The *Antiochians* he so much hated (for their lightness and prating it's most probable) that he determined to separate *Syria* from *Phœnicia*, that *Antioch* might not be called the Metropolis of so many Cities. At this time the *Jews* raised a War, because they were forbidden to Circumcise themselves. He ascended the Mountain *Cafius*, where it is reported, the Sun might be seen to rise at the fourth watch of the Night, to behold this sight: Now there were two Mountains of this Name; one at *Pelusium*, at the entrance into *Egypt*, and the other hanging over the City of *Antioch*, where we may perceive *Hadrian* was about this time. But next to this, *Spartian* subjoyns, that having passed *Arabia*, he came to *Pelusium*, and built more Magnificently the Monument of *Pompey*, which Monument was in the other Mountain *Cafius* adjoining to *Pelusium*. As he sailed through the *Nile*, he lost *Antinous*, a beautiful Youth he had. Some believed that he devoted himself for *Hadrian*, it being a Custom of old to kill one's Self; to prolong the life of a Friend, as they believed they thereby did, one live thing being given for another. Others thought he was killed by him, that by his Entrails he might discover future things, as there was also a Custom amongst the Pagans. However here he died, as *Spartian* saith, devoted to him, the one way or the other; and he loved him extremely; in such a way it's thought by some, as is not to be named, for he was very beautiful, as his Image expressed in a Medal doth shew, which *Cassaubon* saw amongst the Rarities of *Thuanus*, the President. And the *Greeks*, to flatter *Hadrian*, consecrated him for a god. Having the Town named after him, where he was Buried, he had there, and in many places of *Greece* Temples and Priests, and they said he gave out Oracles, as such as flattered *Alexander*, said of *Escphe-*

sion;

He hated the Antiochians.

Antinous.

He further reforms them.

He comes into Britain.

Goes into Gall.

Into Spain.

His Travels.

the ancient Christians giving way to the Custom, though Prohibited by the Constitutions of *Clement*. The Fathers in their Synods also forbade it, but their Authority was long neglected after the Decree of the *Laodicean Council*. But at length the Canons got ground, as should appear from a Novel of *Justinian*, by which amongst others, this was made a lawful cause of Divorce. If a Woman without leave obtained from her Husband shall cohabit with Men. Further, *Hadrian* ordained, That if a Person was killed in his House, the question should not be put to all his Slaves, but only such as by their names might know of it. By Question is meant Examination by Torture, as will largely appear in the second Part of this Work.

31. So Popular was *Hadrian*, that, though Emperor, he would take Inferior Titles, as of *Prætor* in *Hetruria*, in the *Larine Towns* of *Diaktor*, *Ædilis* and *Duævir*. At *Naples* he was *Demarchus*, in his own Country *Quinquennialis*, as also at *Adria*, which was esteemed as his other Native place, and *Archon* at *Athens*. Almost in all Cities he built and celebrated Games. At *Rome* after other vast Divertilements in honour of his Mother-in-law, amongst other Species which were wont to be given to the People, he gave Spices. In honour of *Trajan*, he commanded water made of Balm and Saffron to be sprinkled on the People, through the Degrees of the Theatre. Though every where erected infinite Structures, yet he put his Name to none but the Temple of his Father *Trajan*. At *Rome* he repaired the *Pantheon*, the *Septa*, the *Basilica of Neptune*, many Temples, the *Forum of Augustus*, the Bath of *Agrippa*, and consecrated them all to their own and ancient Names. All these, or most of them, had perished by Fire in the Reign of *Titus*, and had been begun to be repaired by *Trajan*, but were left imperfect. He made a Bridge of his own Name (called *Pons Ælius*, as appears from *Dio*) and a Sepulchre by the River *Tiber*. So writes *Spartian*, though others will have *Hadrian's* Sepulchre, which *Procopius* terms a Tower and a Castle, to have been built after his Death by his Successor *Pius*. *Marius Maximus* said he was Cruel by Nature, and therefore did many things piously, that was the lot of *Domitian* might not also happen to him. Though he rejected Titles, and would not have his Name set upon Buildings; He named, *Spartian* saith, many Cities after himself *Adrianople*, *Carthage* it self, and part of *Athens*; besides an infinite number of *Aqueducts*, he distinguished by the same Name. Yet *Salmastius* tells us, That using his utmost diligence, he could find but Nine Cities of his Name, whereof two were most known, and by no other; to the rest remained their other Names, though their Inhabitants boasted themselves for *Hadrianopolites*, and so would be called. One of these was in *Cyrenaica*; and the other in *Thrace*, Twenty four miles distant from *Plorinopolis*. Further, *Hadrian* first ordained the Officer called *Advocatus Fisci*, whereas, as *Cassaubon* notes, the Affairs of the Treasury were managed formerly by the Procurators of the *Cæsars*.

32. He had a vast Memory, and a great readiness of Speech; for, he dictated himself his Orations, and answered to all things when he was saluted by the Common sort on certain Days, he would return their Names to many without a Nomenclator, though he had heard them but once, and spoken all together; so as he would correct the Nomenclator often when mistaken. He could tell the Names of the *Veterane* Soldiers whom he had dismissed from Service. Books which he had never seen before, and hastily read, he would repeat by heart. At one and the same time he wrote, dictated, heard, and discoursed with his Friends. Of all the publick Accounts he was so much Master, as scarcely was a Diligent Father of a Family of those of his own House. Concerning the Judges or Governors of Provinces, he fought what he could by Inquiry, and so long till he found out the Truth. His Freedmen he would neither have known in publick, nor be thought to have any power with him, being wont to impute to the preceding Princes the faults of all this sort of men that served them, and condemning all of his own that made their boasts of him. Such Cities, and Persons as were afflicted with Famine, Pestilence, and Earthquakes, he relieved. He gave the Privilege of *Lætium* to many Cities; whereby we may understand, that it was not he that made all the Subjects of the Empire free Citizens of *Rome*. Under him were no troublesome Expeditions, and Wars were in a manner passed over in silence; yet was he beloved by the Soldiers for his extraordinary care of the Army, and for being most liberal to them. The *Parthians* he always had his Friends; because he took away their King whom *Trajan* had imposed on them. He permitted the *Armenians* to have a King, whereas under *Trajan* they had but a *Legatus*, or Lieutenant. From the *Mesopotamians* he exacted not the Tribute imposed on them by

Hadrian Studies to be Popular.

Many Cities called by his Name.

He made the Advocatus Fisci.

Had a vast Memory.

The Friendship of his Neighbours how he obtained.

His care about Habits.

Against excess of Feasts.

He corrected a lingering Disease.

Shows his Greediness.

by *Trajan*; but why should he meddle with *Armenia* or *Mesopotamia*, when these Provinces and *Affria*, at the beginning of his Reign he had quitted and resigned up to the *Parthian*, perceiving them not capable to be held by him. The *Albani* and *Hiberi* were his mighty Friends; because he had been liberal to their Kings, though they would not come at him. The Kings of the *Badrians* in an humble manner sent Ambassadors to desire his Friendship.

33. He himself often assigned Tutors. Enacting Civil as well as Military Discipline, he commanded *Senators* and *Equites* never to wear their Gowns in Publick, except they returned from Supper; and he himself always wore the Gown in Italy. It seems he re-enforced *Augustus* his Law, which took in the common People also, though by *Hadrian* they were left to their liberty. Before this Restraint of his, both *Senators* and *Equites* would use the *Pænula* and *Lacerna* in Publick. But *Marcus* was so great a lover of the Gown, that he always used it himself in Italy, and commanded his Soldiers also to be Gowned, wherein his Son *Commodus* also was so much concerned, that some he caused to be killed who met him in a *Barbarian's* Habit. But *Hadrian* required it not when they returned from Supper, because then they wore their Garments proper to eating; so they had Clothes proper for the time of Bathing, and from the Baths they might return in such. He received the *Senators* when they came to Feast with him, standing; and always when he lay down to Meat, was either clothed with the *Pallium*, or Gown put from his right Arm toward the left Shoulder; which he did, by his Example, to Correct the Extravagancy of the *Romans*, who in those days when they went to meat, were wont to change their Shoes for Sandals, and their Gowns for Senatorial Weeds, which were so large, that in nothing they more shewed their Luxury. But he either wore the *Pallium*, which left the Arms at liberty, or else had his Gown removed from his right Arm; which he must necessarily have loose and free. And he not only regulated the manner of Eating, but the Expense thereof, by direction from the Governors of Provinces, and reduced it to the ancient Custom, by recalling the Sumptuary Laws; not the *Lex Fannia*, or *Licinia*, (so *Salmastius* thinks;) which were too ancient and unsuitable to those times, but the *Julia*; by which it was ordained, that not above Two hundred *Sestertii* should be laid out upon a Supper; on the Kalends, Ides and Nones Three hundred and on other Festivals, and a Thousand at Weddings, and the like.

34. Carriages with great Burthens, he suffered not to enter *Rome*, neither Horses to be ridden in Cities; which *Law Cassaubon* tells us, was changed for a milder, which permitted one to Ride in Cities on Horseback, but not in a Chariot, as our Neighbours of *Amsterdam*, lately Prohibited the Use of Coaches in theirs. Before the eighth hour of the Day; he suffered none except Sick Persons to walk in Publick. The ninth hour at *Rome* was the usual time for Supping; and then were opened the Taverns, Baths, and Brothel Houses; but it seems *Hadrian* would allow the Baths to be set open at the eighth. He first used the Ministry of the *Roman Equites*, for dispatching Epistles and Petitions. He himself frequently heard Causes both at *Rome*, and in the Provinces, taking in to his Assistance, the *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and the best of the *Senators*. He constituted four *Consulares*, Judges through all Italy. When he went into *Africa* it rained, which it had not done for five years before; according to our Historian; and for this the *Africans* loved him. But it seems, his ordering of his Head in Rain was such, that he loved not himself. For having travelled through all Parts uncovered, in the Showers and Colds, he fell into a lingering and Consumptive Disease. Then being solicitous concerning a Successor, he thought of *Severianus*, and others, but looking upon them as Emperors, he detected them, though he repressed the force of his natural cruelty, till by a flux of Blood he was almost brought to his end. Then did he command *Severianus* to die, as affecting the Empire; in that he sent some Victims from Supper to the Emperor's Slaves, had set him down in a Royal Seat, placed by the Bed, as the Custom was, and though an old Man of Ninety years of Age, had gone bolt upright to the Stations of the Soldiers; many other being put to Death, either openly, or by cunning and secret means. Amongst these, his Wife *Sabina* was also said to have been taken away by Poison. *Vellor* the Historian speaks of her Death as caused by him; yet voluntary, writing that Being affronted by almost servile Injuries, she was compelled to a voluntary Death; and that she openly boasted how insufferable an humour she had endured, and had laboured, that she might not be with Child by him, to the Destruction of Mankind.

He Adopts
Verus.

35. He adopted *Ceionius Commodus Verus*, the Son-in-law of *Nigrinus*, who conspired against him, whom formerly he had respected for his handfomness, and called him *Ælius Verus Cæsar*. In respect to this Adoption, he gave the *Circensian Games*, and a Donative both to the People and Soldiers; he honoured him with the *Prætorship*, the Government of *Pannonia*, and two *Consulships*. But he was very sickly, inasmuch that he could not give him thanks in the Senate for his Adoption, which made him often say, that he had leaned to a rotten Wall, and had lost a Thousand *Sestertia*. Having taken too strong a Purge, or some other sort of Physick, he died in the Night, through a great Issue of Blood which happened to him while he slept; *Hadrian* being wont to foretell his short continuance. He died on the first of *January*, or the Calends, and therefore he forbade he should be mourned for. Though on the third day after the Calends was the greatest Solemnity for naming Vows for the health of the Emperor; yet the first day it self was very Solemn, and such Ceremonies they were generally unwilling should be interrupted, or the Festivity lessened by Mourning. *Ælius Verus Cæsar* being Dead, he adopted *Arrius Antoninus*, afterward surnamed *Pius*, but on condition that he should adopt other two, which were *Arrius Verus*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Many were vexed at the Adoption of *Antoninus*, particularly *Catilius Severus*, *Præfekt* of the City, who aimed at the Sovereignty; which being discovered, he was put out of his place, and deprived of his Dignity. *Hadrian* weary of his life, commanded his Slave to run him through with his Sword; which being known, *Antoninus* and the *Præfekt* came in, and desired him to bear patiently the violence of his Disease; at which he was angry, and commanded him that had made it known to be killed, but *Antoninus* preserved him, who affirmed, that being adopted, he ought not to suffer *Hadrian* to be slain; otherwise he should be a Parricide. He made his Testament, and this done, endeavoured again to kill himself, but the Dagger was stolen away from him, after which he grew more cruel; and he demanded Poison, of a Physician, who that he might not give it him, flew himself. At length he went to *Baie*, leaving *Antoninus* at *Rome*, to govern; where all endeavours for recovery being frustrate, having sent for *Antoninus*, he died in his sight on the sixth day before the Ides of *July*; and being hated by all Men, was Buried in *Cicero's* Village at *Puteoli*.

He made a
great Altera-
tion in the
form of Go-
vernment.

36. This is the Account we have from *Spartianus*, concerning the Reign and Character of *Hadrian*; and the largest we have from any Author now extant, being to our great loss deprived of so great a part of *Dion Cassius* his works. And we could have wished *Spartianus* himself had been more copious; for the Reader must take notice, that though we have such slender Intelligence of the manner of it; yet we are told, that *Hadrian* made a great alteration in the form of Government, so great that he obliterated most of that which was introduced by *Augustus*; nay, that the Model, as it stood in *Constantine's* time, was most of it of his contrivance. Yet when we come to particulars, we find little in *Spartian*; but that *He made four Consulares Judges, throughout Italy*. Only *Sex Aurelius Vittor* tells us much in little, that *The Publick and Palatine Offices, as also of the Militia, Hadrian put into that form, which a few things being changed, remained in his days*. But we cannot be of this opinion, that they were but a few things; for from this time down to *Constantine*, an Alteration crept in by degrees, as all Sublunary things are subject to change. But it will not be amiss to hear what a very great Man, *Onuphrius Parvinius* saith, concerning this Subject. He writes, that there were four Authors of a new form of the Commonwealth in the whole *Roman Empire*. These were, *Romulus, Augustus, Hadrian and Constantine*. That *Hadrian* made this alteration first after *Augustus*; and he founds his Assertion on this Affirmation of *Vittor*. Before he comes to demonstrate it, he premitteth a Description of the whole Empire, taken out of *Appian's* Proem to his Books of the Civil Wars. Then he renews his Assertion, that this Description of the Empire falling chiefly into the Reign of *Hadrian*, he made a new division of all Nations and Provinces therein mentioned, and ordered the Empire in a far differing manner from that wherein it was constituted by *Augustus*. Which division of Provinces, and new Constitution of the Empire, he saith he will suggest chiefly out of *Sextus Rufus*, and begin with *Italy*, the head of all. *Italy*, and her three Islands were distinguished into seventeen *Dioeceses*, or Administrations; The Governors of which were some *Consulares*, some *Corrẽdores*, and some *Præfides*. There were eight *Consulares*, two *Corrẽdores*, and seven *Præfides*. In *Galls, Aquitains and Britain*, were eighteen Provinces; in *Ilyricum* seventeen; in *Thrace* six, and in *Africk* as many. As for the division of *Asia*, it's wanting.

37. But

Consulares of
Provinces, when brought
in.

37. But for *Italy*, eight Provinces, or *Dioeceses* as he calls them, had *Consulares*, two had *Corrẽdores*, and seven had *Præfides*. For those of *Spain, Gall and Britain*, he saith not which had which, so bold are some in following *Vittor*; they knew not why, as to particulars. Generally Learned men have concluded that the *Consulares*, who by that Name and Authority governed Provinces, were instituted partly by *Hadrian*, and partly by *Constantine*. But *Salmasius* contends, that the Division of Provinces into *Consulares*, and *Pro-Consulares*, was not only before *Constantine*, but also before *Hadrian*, he being *Consularis* of a Province, who governed it by *Consular Authority*. That *Hadrian* brought not first up the Administration of the *Consulares*, but that *Italy* before his time not being governed by *Consulares*, he appointed such Judges to administer Justice to all the Provinces of that Country. He fetcheth them from the Institution of *Augustus*, who sent such Officers to govern some of his Provinces when the Partition was made betwixt him and the People. *Cassaubon* observes, that *Marcus* afterward to these *Consulares*, substituted Lawyers, and so was *Italy* governed till the Reign of *Macrinus*, under whom these *Juridici* failed, as he gathers from the fragments of *Dio*. Afterwards we shall see in *Constantine's* Model, that *Consulares* were a sort of Governors, and of the ordinary Governors of Provinces. *Hadrian* it seems did not first institute them; but he might introduce some things circumstantial as to their Office. No more did he institute that of *Prætor*, which was very ancient; but in his time a great Accident happened in reference to the discharge of the *Prætor's* Office, and that possibly by his Direction and Command.

The Editum
Perpetuum com-
piled in his
time.

38. For under him we are told by *Eutropius*, that the Edit called *Editum Perpetuum*, was Compiled by *Salvius Julianus*. And the Emperor *Justinian* in his Preface before the Digests to the Great Senate, attributes this to *Hadrian* himself, saying, That what things were every year published by the *Prætors* in their Edicts, he comprized in one little Book, taking in excellent *Julian* to that Enterprise. During the Commonwealth, the *Prætors* had Power to Correct the Rigor of the Law, and the *Ædiles Curules* had in certain Cases authority to make Laws also. But as their Offices, or their Edicts were but Annual before the *Corneilian Law*. Now *Salvius Julianus*, whom *Spartian* writes to have been one of *Hadrian's* Councillors, reduced them by his Command into order, and framed out of them a perpetual Edit, to be as a certain Body of standing Law, and to prevent the great Confusion occasioned by the New Edicts which each made at the Entrance into his Office. This Edit which was henceforth to be their guide and rule in Administration of Justice, consisted of One hundred and ninety Books or Chapters, and being confirmed both by Prince and Senate, was afterward illustrated by the Commentaries of two most Noble Lawyers, *Paulus*, and *Ulpian*, like the *Di-
scriptum in
Pandectis, ubi
omne ad Edi-
tum, totum est
Editum*.

Commentaries
upon it.

39. From this time forward it came to pass, that whereas since the Monarchy introduced by *Augustus*, the *Prætors* had still made their Laws or Edicts; the Lawyers also reigned in the *Forum*, with remarkable Authority, and moderate Princes very often consulted the Senate upon any new Law to be made (where upon their *Orations* in Senate are recited in Books, and have the Name also of *Senatusconsulta*) after the Publication of this Volume of Edicts, the *Prætors* no more proposed any of their own; but like other Magistrates, began upon occasion to consult the Prince, who ever had at his Hand the best Lawyers to advise with, as we see *Hadrian* had. And indeed by all of that Noble Profession, the Reign of this Emperor deserves much to be taken notice of, both in respect that the *Perpetual Edit* was made in his time, and not without good reason, *Justinian* in Composing his Code, begins with the Constitutions made by him, omitting those of the former Emperors; as also that now the Power of making Laws remained in the Princes alone; in the Privy and Select Council of whom, all things necessary for the Government of the Commonwealth, the State of the Empire, and the Discussion of Causes and Controversies were handled and debated. But this *Salvius Julianus*, that eminent Lawyer of *Milan*, the Scholar of *Jabolenus*, is thought by some to be the Author also of that called *Interdittum Salvianum*; as also of the New Edit concerning the joining of other Children with an Emancipated Son. For he was

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Prætor;

Prætor; he was also twice *Conful*, and *Præfect* of the City, besides several Governments of Provinces; and which made him more Noble, faith *Spartian* (in the life of *Didius Julianus* the Emperor his great Grandson) a Lawyer. He it was that composed the *perpetual* Edict, and not *Didius Julianus* the Emperor, as *Grætius* strangely mistook, being deceived as *Menagius* believes, by a most corrupt place of *Aurelius Victor*.

40. By all that has been said, we may easily perceive that *Hadrian* was really a great Person, as to his Parts and Accomplishments. But that his humour was compounded, and that he was various, appears from *Spartian*, who is most in his Commendation, and as abundantly evident from other Writers. They agree that he indeavourd to conceal his Cruelty, and other Vices; but it would now and anon shew it self, as it did even at the first, though he caressed the People all he could, to make it have a good Opinion of him; and swore to the Senate that he would never punish a Senator, but by the Sentence of that Court. But he broke his word toward his latter end, when he put to Death many of that Order, which some may charitably attribute to his not being himself. He is charged with Envy, and that toward his very Benefactor *Trajan*. For to this both *Eutropius* and *Sext. Rufus* do attribute his quitting *Affrica*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Armenia* to the *Parthians*, and his resolution to have *Exuperes* to be betwixt them and the *Romans*; yet this he might do being of the same Opinion as *Augustus*, that the former bounds of the Empire were large enough, and that *Trajan* did but endanger it by making it greater. This, together with desire of Ease both of himself and People, might be the principal Cause of his quitting those Countries; for though he understood the Art of War, as we have seen, very well, yet he had devices to keep it off; and would not fail upon occasion to do it by underhand Gifts and Presents he made to Neighbour Princes, and he would boast that he did more (this way) for the safety of the Empire, than others had done by their Arms. But whereas *Spartian* talks that there were no heavy Expeditions under him, and that Wars were in a manner transacted in silence, he wrote it without good Intelligence, or due Consideration. For besides that he is said by some to have overthrow the *Sarmatæ* (or *Sarmatæ*, inhabiting the Countries now called *Russia*, and *Tartary*) he had a bitter contest with the rebellious *Jews*.

41. The principal cause of their rebellion was, for that he built a new City, and therein a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where *Jerusalem* stood, and called the place after himself *Ælia Capitolina*, and he forbade them to be Circumcised. They were confirmed in their Sedition by one who pretended he came down to them as a light from Heaven to save them from slavery and bondage, saying, he was the Star foretold by *Balaam*, whence being called *Barcochab*, he was first worshipped as the *Messiah*, and anon called *Bitter*, a City in *Africa*, but afterwards proving to be an Impostor, they called him *Barcochab*, or the son of a lye. *Dio* wrote, that the whole World was in a manner shaken with this Commotion of the *Jews*. *Hadrian* sent the best Captains he had against them, whereof the chief was *Julius Severus*, who had at this time governed *Britain*. Albeit in the end he had the victory, yet would he not have wished for many Triumphs at the same rate. For very many of the *Romans* fell; inasmuch that *Hadrian* writing to the Senate, used not that beginning which other Emperors were wont: *Sto vos liberique vestri valeatis*, *Bene est*; *Ego quidem & exercitus valeamus*. But the extraordinary strength which now appeared in the *Jews* was given them for their destruction. The greater danger their mutiny had occasioned to the Empire, the greater was the Emperors severity in punishing their rebellion past, the greater his care to prevent the like in time to come. In Battels and Skirmishes were slain of them 580000, besides an infinite number consumed with Famine and Diseases, during the time of this lingering War, protracted of purpose by the *Romans*, not willing to try it out in open field with such a forlorn desperate multitude. *Dio*, who lived not long after this time, emphatically notes, that they were left few in number, their Land laid waste, fifty of their strongest Munitions utterly razed, and Nine hundred eighty five of their Chief, and most populous Towns sackt, and consumed by Fire. *Hadrian* after this strange desolation, by Publick Decree ratified by the Senates consent, prohibited any Jew to come within the view of *Judea*. Before this overthrow they had manifest signs foreboding their destruction. *Solomon's* Sepulchre, which they held in greatest honour, faith *Dio*, a little before this War fell asunder of its own accord; Wolves and Hyænas howled throughout their streets, and devoured them in the fields. Such *Jews* as *Hadrian* took

Hadrian concealed his humour.

The *Jews* again rebelled.

Lik-6p. 775.

took Captive, he banished into *Spain* his own Country (this was their Tenth Captivity, faith *John * Vasæus*) where they had their Synagogues, till the time of *Chas. II^d*. *Chas. II^d*. *A. D. 137*.

42. The State of the *Jews* from this time until the expiration of the *Roman* Empire cannot easily be gathered from any *Roman* Writers, who seldom vouchsafe the *Jews* or *Christians* any mention, unless enforced thereto by some famous War or Mutiny, or by some other event redounding to the *Roman* glory. *Judea* after this time was not famous for any tumult till the ruin of *Rome*; greatness; the *Jews* wanted strength, and the *Christians* willing minds to procure the Emperor's glory by Seditions. Hereupon whatsoever calamity either of them suffered by the *Romans*, was passed over by *Roman* Writers, as private wrongs not worthy registering in their *Annals*. Upon this account 'tis no wonder they took no notice of our Saviour, or his Acts, all tending to Peace and Loyalty. For as *Tacitus* notes, *Judea* was most quiet in *Tiberius* his time, which was the best news the *Romans* cared to hear thence. Yet the general estate of the *Jews* between *Hadrian's* and *Honorius's* time, as *one observes, may be gathered out of the reverend *Fathers* of the Primitive Church; who usually stopped the mouths of *Heathens*, or blasphemous *Atheists*, by proposing their condition, then known unto all the World, for such as our Saviour had foretold it. Thus much of the *Jews* until the series of time and affairs reduce us to them.

Hadrian's Character.

43. *Hadrian*, if we look at his natural disposition, was as it were compounded of vice and virtue, yet so as he seemed to have the command of them, and may be reckoned amongst good Princes. He was much addicted to studies, and well seen in most of the liberal Arts; here was his fault, that he desired to comprehend all, and did not reserve himself for the most worthy, being one of the most curious men that ever lived. And in him that saying was sufficiently demonstrated, *Non est curis qui idem fit malisculis*. For he was so envious that he morally hated all better Scholars than himself, and consequently the greatest Professors in all Sciences; but such as were unable for their Profession he would diff with great rewards, as was said. He killed *Apollodorus* the Architect for shewing him something freely the Errors in his Buildings. One of his *Præfects* was *Similis*, who as *Dio* writeth, getting leave to retire, and live quietly in the Country, his last seven years, commanded this Inscription to be set on his Tomb: *Hæc Ætatis Similis, whose life consisted of many (or sixty seven) years, yet he lived but seven*. His cruelty toward his latter end we may in charity impute to his peevishness contracted by the Dropsie, with which he was fore vexed in every part. In his time the Church was under some Persecution; for *Xistus* Bishop of *Rome* was Crowned with Martyrdom in the tenth year of his Reign, on the eighth of the *Ides of April*, to whom succeeded *Telephorus*, according to *Damasus*; but this was rather from the malice of others, and the wicked custom then on foot, than out of his inclination. Being somewhat satisfied with the Apologies of *Quadratus* and *Arifides*, two learned Men, he wrote a Letter to *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, which *Justin Martyr* hath exemplified in his second Apology, and from him as it seemeth, *Eusebius* in his History, after this manner:

His Letter in behalf of the Christians.

44. The Emperor *Cæsar* *Ailius* *Adrianus* to *Minutius Fundanus*. I received a Letter from *Serenus* *Gratianus*, that right worthy man thy *Prædecessor*, the occasion whereof I cannot with silence pass by, lest thereby men be troubled, and a gap left open to the malice of *Sycophants*. Wherefore if your *Provincials* can prove ought against the *Christians* whereof they charge them, and justify it at the Bar, let them proceed, and not impeach them only for the name with making outcries against them. For it is very expedient that if any be disposed to accuse, the accusation be thoroughly known of you and sifted. Therefore if any accuse the *Christians* that they transgress the Laws, see that you judge, and punish according to the quality of the offence; But in plain terms, if any upon Spite or malice in way of cavillation complain against them, see that by all means you chastise and punish him according to his malice. *Hadrian* at length by vomiting blood in great quantity, contracted a Dropsie (if *Dio* writeth Physician like) which he deified death, but * *Animula* could not have it (according to the Prayer of *Severianus*, whom, though he judged him worthy of the Empire, of late he had put to death) but at length an ill kind of diet accelerated it, yet saying, *Multi Medici Regem sustulerunt*, and enquiring * of his Soul whither it meant to go. He died on the fourth of the *Ides* of July, having lived Sixty two years, and reigned twenty-one, with eleven Months, in the 89th year of the City, A. D. 138, *Sulpitius Camerinus* and *Quintinus* *Julius* *Julianus* *Niger*

Sec dieth,

* *Dr. Jackson* B. 1. Chap. 27. pag. 114. upon the Creed.

* *Animula* *gula* *blandula*, *subtus* *comisque* *corporis*.

* *Quæ* *nunc* *abbi-* *us* *in* *loca* *Pal-* *atidis*, *rigida*, *medulla*. *Ne* *at* *Quintinus* *Julius* *Julianus* *Niger*

Niger Magnus being Consul. In his time flourished *Ptolemy of Alexandria*, that great Astronomer, *Aulus Gellius* or *Agellius*, *Justin* who epitomized *Trogus Pompeius*, and others.

Antoninus succeeded.
Why called Pius.

45. *Antoninus* succeeded his Adoptive Father *Hadrian*, and was Surnamed *Pius*. Concerning the reason of this Surname, some fetch it from his Piety to his Father-in-Law, whom *Hadrian* seeing him to lead when old and weak, into the Senate, and to sustain him with his Arm, was so taken with him, that thence he was moved to adopt him, as the Senate was to give him this Surname. But others derive it from his pious and grateful Memory of his Adoptive Father, to whom he not only built a Monument resembling a Castle, at least a Tower, as *Procopius* describes it; but presently after his Death, when the Senate was much incensed against him by reason of his cruelty shewed to several Members thereof, and refused to canonize him for a *Divus*, or give him, as they worded it, divine Honours, he with much pains obtained it of them: Besides this, he made him a Sepulchre at *Puteoli*, ordained Games every fifth year, with *Flamines* and *Sodales*, and many other things in honour of him as a Demy-God. Some thought him so called, because he saved such as *Hadrian* in his Extremity commanded to be killed; others, because he would not suffer him to kill himself, and others derive the Surname from his own innate Goodness and Clemency of his Nature. He is called by *Capitolinus*, who wrote his Life, *T. Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus Pius*, deriving his Pedigree by the Father's side, from *Gallia Transalpina*, and the City *Nemausus*, or *Nimes*. His Grandfather was *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, who through various Honours, arrived at the second Consulship, and the Prefecture of the City: his Father *Aurelius Fulvius* who also was Consul, a temperate and honest Man. His Mothers Mother was *Boionia Procilla*, his Mother *Arria Fadilla*, and her Father *Arrius Antoninus*, who was twice Consul, a Person by the Historian termed *Sanctus*, who told *Nerva* in the Senate, That he pitied him for being Emperor. This his Grandson was born in September, when *Domitian* the twelfth time was Consul, together with *Cornelius Dolabella*.

How he behaved himself while a private Man.

46. While he was a private man, he most commonly lived in the Country, but was Eminent where ever he came. He was made by *Hadrian* one of his four *Consulares* over that Part of *Italy*, where he had most Estate. To the *Italians* he restored all that Gold called *Aurum Coronarium* given him upon the account of his Adoption, and half to the other Provincials. He was so constant, that good Governors of Provinces he kept in their Places seven, and nine years. He waged many Wars by his Legates. For he overcame the *Britains* by *Lothius Urbicus*, raising another Wall made of Turf, after the removing of the *Barbarians*: he compelled the *Moors* to desire Peace: by his Legat and Praefidents he also reduced the *Germans*, *Daci*, *Jews*, and other Nations which rebelled. Moreover he repressed Rebellions in *Achaia* and *Egypt*, and restrained the *Alani*, who often attempted to stir. He commanded his Procurators modestly to exact the Tributes, heard willingly such as objected any thing against them; such as exceeded, he commanded to give account of their Actions, neither ever rejoiced he in any gain, by which a Provincial was oppressed. The Imperial Height and Dignity he brought to the greatest Civility. Being Emperor, he bore so much respect to the Senate, as when he was a private Man, he desired should be given to him by the Prince. He ordained nothing concerning the Provinces or other Matters, without the advice of his Friends, and according to their Opinions composed his forms. Whereas other Princes were never seen but in their Gowns, he would appear to his Friends at home in his ordinary Clothes (as the *Tunica* and *Penula*) and about some of his Domestick Business. He governed, yet, the Empire with such diligence, that he took care of all Persons, and all things, as of his own, and all the Provinces flourished under him.

His Mercifulness.

47. Confiscation of Estates in his time was more rare than ever, for though several were found guilty of Treason, yet one Person was only proscribed for affecting the Sovereignty, *Attilius Tullianus*, and that by Decree of the Senate, and yet he would not have him forced to reveal his Complices, and he was ever ready to help his Son in all things. *Priscianus* also perished who was guilty of the same Crime, but he killed himself, and he forbade the Conspiracy to be inquired into. His manner of living was such, as there was opulency without reprehension, parsimony without forbiddness, and his Table was furnished by his own Servants, Fowlers, Fishers, and Hunters. The Bath he had he let the People make Use of without Rent; neither did he change any thing from the quality of a private

private life. But he took away Pensions from many whom he saw idle; affirming, That Nothing was more fordid, nay cruder, than for those to gnaw upon the Commonwealth, who by their pains contributed nothing to it.

The Accounts of the Provinces, and the Revenue he understood very well. His private Patrimony he gave to his Daughter, but the Profits of it (but for some time purely) to the Commonwealth. He sold things belonging to the Emperor which were superfluous, and often lived on his own Lands, neither made he any Expeditions, but only travelled to his own Estate, and into *Campania*, saying, That The Train and Attendance of a Prince, although too sparing, was burdensome to the Provincials; and yet was he of great Authority amongst all Nations; for he resided in the City, that, as in the middle, he might with more speed receive Messages from all quarters. He gave a Congiary to the People, and a Donative to the Soldiers. Besides many works of his own, and the repairing of others, he assiduously many Cities with Money, either to raise new Fabricks, or restore the old; nay, he would help the Magistrates and the Senators of *Rome* in the discharge of their Functions.

Self-denial.

48. He refused to be left Heir by such as had Sons. To a good Judge he gave no Successor so long as he lived, except to *Orpilius* Praefect of the City, at his own desire. For *Gnaevius Maximus*, the Praefectus Praetorio arrived at his Twentieth year under him; a most severe Man, to whom *Tatius Maximus* succeeded, in whose Place, when dead, he substituted two Praefects, *Fabius Repentinus*, and *Cornelius Vidorinus*; of whom *Repentinus* was labelled, as if he came to the place by means of the Prince his Concubine. The scarcity of Wine, Oyl, and Wheat he supplied out of his own Treasury, by buying them up, and giving them gratis to the People. For, in his time there was a Famine, the Cirque fell down, and Earthquakes happened, which over-turnd some Towns of *Achaia* and *Rhodes*; all which he wonderfully restored: There was also a Fire at *Rome*, which consumed Three hundred and forty Islands, or Houses, as our Historian explains himself, for the Houses were insular, made at distance one from another. King *Pharagmenes* came to him to *Rome*, and paid him more respect than to *Hadrian*. He made *Pacorus* King of the *Lazi*. He drew back the *Parthian* King from invading the *Armenians*, only by his Letters. He took up Controversies betwixt Kings. The King of *Parthia*, who desired to have back the Royal Chair taken by *Trajan*, he denied. He restored *Rimithales* to the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, having heard the Controverfie betwixt him and the Curator. He sent aid into *Pontus* to the *Olbipolites* against the *Tauriscythes*, whom he compelled to give them Hostages. Now *Cassianus* tells us, that the *Olbipolites* were *Greeks*, at least mixt with *Greeks*; the *Tauriscythes* were *Barbarians*, either *Scythians* or *Goths*, called also *Getae*. The Senate decreed, that the Months of September and October should be called the one *Antoninus* after him, and the other *Faustina*, after his dearly beloved Wife *Faustina*; (who died in the third year of his Reign, and was made a *Divia* by the Senate, with a Temple, and other things suitable to that Heathenish Honour) but he refused it. But the Marriage of his Daughter *Faustina* to *M. Antoninus*, he so highly solemnized, as to give a Donative to the Soldiers.

How he treated his Ministers.

How Learned Men.

49. His Praefects he both enriched and honoured with Consular Ornaments. If he condemned any of Extortion, he restored their Estates to their Children, but on condition, that they gave the Provincials back what their Fathers had taken from them. To Pardon he was most prone. He conversed with his Friends as a private man, living with them in the time of Vintage. He used his Freedmen very severely. To Rhetoricians and Philosophers throughout the Provinces he gave both Honours and Salaries, though other Writers ascribe this, to *Hadrian* who went before, and *Marcus* who followed after him. He enacted many things, and made use of these Lawyers, *Papianus Verus*, *Sabinius Valens*, *Volusius Metianus*, *Ulpianus Marcellus*, and *Jabolenus*. All Seditions he repressed, not by Cruelty, but by Modesty and Gravity. He forbade the Dead to be Buried within Cities. He forbade the Charges of the Shows of Gladiators. The *Carfus Publicus*, or *Carfus Vehicularius* with great diligence he made less burthenfome. Of all things he did, he gave an account in the Senate, and by Edicts. He deceased in the Seventieth year of his Age, and yet he was miffed as if he had been a young Man. He contracted his Disease by eating Cheese at Supper, which Vomiting in the Night, the next day he was seized by a Fever. The next day after finding himself very ill, he recommended the Commonwealth and his Daughter to *M. Antoninus*; his Praefects, or Officers being present, and commanded the Golden Fortune which was wont to be set in the Bed-Chamber of the Emperor to be

the World. In the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, *Marcion* also the Heretick began to teach, living in the time of *Justin Martyr*, who wrote against him. He was Native of *Pontus*, first a Stoick, then a Christian; he followed *Basilides*, *Cerdon*, and *Valentinus*, in their Heresies. Meeting *Polycarpus*, he said, *Knowest thou? Polycarp* answered, *I know thee for the first born of Satan*. *Epiphanius* writeth, that being a Bishop's Son, when he had deflowered a Virgin, he was by his own Father excommunicated, and afterwards flying to *Rome*, because they there admitted him not into the Church, he began to Preach detestable Doctrine. He taught, that there were three beginnings, *Good*, *Just*, and *Evil*: that the New Testament was contrary to the Old. He denied the Resurrection. He baptized such as died without Baptism, saying, that *Paul* had him do so. He taught that Marriage was unlawful, and that it was a great Sin to Marry. That *Cain*, the *Sodomites*, and all wicked men were saved, because they met Christ when he descended into Hell, but the *Patriarchs* and *Prophets* are still in Hell, for not meeting Christ; for they thought (said he) that Christ came to tempt them. Under *Anicetus* also came to *Rome Marcellina*, a woman which infected many with the Heresie of *Carpocrates*, who called himself *Jesus*. She is said to have kept and offered incense to the Statues and Pictures of Christ (which the *Gnosticks* said, had been made by command of *Pilate*) as also to others of *St. Paul*.

54. About the nineteenth year of *Antoninus Pius*, the beginning also of *Montanus* his Heresie is placed by *Epiphanius*; but from *Eusebius*, *Cappellus* would gather, that the original of it was fifteen years before, because the Historian writeth, that *Apollinaris* wrote against *Miltiades* and *Montanus* the Hereticks, under the Proconsulship of *Gratus*, who seemeth the same with him, whose Consulship is by *Cassiodorus* cast into the fourth of *Pius*. He thinks therefore, that in the nineteenth year some new thing might be attempted by *Montanus*; as he might this year institute his *Prophetesses*. These were his two Country-women, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, born at *Pepusa* a City of *Phrygia*, upon which account he called *Hierusalem* by that name. *Cappellus* further observeth, that of such things as are attributed to *Montanus*, some were truly his, some after his death were added by the *Montanists*, and some falsely ascribed to them. *Montanus* really held, that the Promise of sending the Holy Ghost was deferred till his time, and in himself fulfilled, because the Church heretofore could not bear the yoke of more severe and holy Discipline, which he endeavoured to bring in, by appointing the eating of *dried meats*, *fasting*, and *Monogamy*, or single Marriage. The *Montanists*, after their number was increased, did those things which *Hierome* mentioneth, viz. they appointed themselves *Patriarchs*, two *Cenones*, which word seemeth of *Phrygian* Original, and three *Bishops*. That is falsely imputed to them, which *Jerome* saith others did attribute, but he would not believe, viz. that they pricked an Infant, and with his blood made up the *Eucharist*. If this opinion may be attributed to any Heresie, or if this prejudice did not arise from the imputation of this kind of cruelty by the *Heathen* to Christianity it self, the *Carpocratians* rather than the *Montanists* were guilty of it. But because both sorts were called *Gnosticks* (as swelling with an opinion of knowledge) what was acted but by one, might easily be attributed to the other. So because *Montanus*, as full of the Holy Ghost, called upon men in the name of the Father, he was believed to confound the Persons of the *Trinity* into one, which was the invention of the *Sabellians* a hundred years after. 'Tis further said of him, that he baptized the dead, and not allowing of second Marriages, permitted Married Persons to be separated when they themselves would. That he took away repentance, affirming, that Sinners could never have their Sins pardoned by repentance. And that the Apostles and Prophets understood not any thing they had written, but were *Arrepti*. Now to return to civil matters.

55. *Marcus Antoninus*, the Successor of *Antoninus Pius*, a Man who lived as a Philosopher all his life, and who in Sanctity excelled all Princes in the Opinion of *Capitolinus*, was the Son of *Aminius Verus*, who died in his Pretorship, and Grandson of *Aminius Verus*, who was both Consul and *Præfekt* of the City, and brought in amongst the *Patricians* by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, the *Censors*. He was born at *Rome* in the Gardens on Mount *Calvus*, the Six and twentieth of *April*, his Grandfather being the second time Consul with *Augustus*, and was thought to derive his Pedigree from *Numa*. At first he had the Name of *Catilius Severus*, his Great Grandfather by the Mother's side. After the Death of his Father, he was called by *Hadrian* *Aminius Verissimus*, to express the veracity of his Nature, and was

was Adopted and Educated by his Grandfather on the Father's side, being called *Aminius Verus*, after he had taken the Gown of a Man. He was grave from his first Infancy. And as soon as he was taken from Nurseries, was delivered to great Masters to be taught Philosophy, whom he much respected. He had those that taught him *Musick*, *Geometry*, *Grammar*, and *Rhetorick*, both Greek and *Latine*; amongst whom, he chiefly respected *Fronto* a *Latine* Orator, to whom he deferred in the Senate a Statue to be erected, and *Proculus*, who instructed him in *Latin* Grammar, was so dear to him, that he promoted him to the Proconsulship, taking the Burthens thereof upon himself. Even while yet a Boy, he vehemently studied Philosophy. When twelve years old he took the Habit of a Philosopher, and with it the Patient enduring of all things, inasmuch that he studied in the *Fullum*, and lay on the ground, his Mother hardly prevailing to have him make Use of a Couch spread with Skins. When he was made Partaker of the Imperial Dignity, yet would he go to hear *Apollonius* the *Chalcidian* a Stoick Philosopher. He heard *Sextus* of *Charronea* the Nephew of *Plutarch*, and others, Stoicks; and of Peripateticks *Claudius Severus*; but especially *Junius Rusticus*; a Stoick, he revered and chiefly followed, being very able for Civil Affairs and Matters of War, as well as most Skillful in the Stoick Discipline. With him he communicated all his Publick and Private Councils, whom he would kiss even in the presence of the *Præfekt* *Prætorio*, whom he honoured with a second Consulship, and after his Death required of the Senate that he should have Statues. So great Honour he gave to those that taught him, that he kept their Images of Gold in his *Lararium* or Household Chappel, and always graced their Sepulchres with Porches, Sacrifices and Flowers. Besides what is mentioned, he studied the Law, and in such labours took such pains, that he disordered thereby his Body; and in this alowes his Childhood to be reprehended. He frequented the Publick Schollis of Declaimers, and his School fellows he so loved, that whom he could not prefer to Places in the State, he enriched other ways.

56. For studying the Law, the Historian tells us, That he had *L. Volusius Marcianus* for his Master. This is that *Marcianus* whom he formerly named as Councillor to *Antoninus Pius*, who in the Treatise written by this *Marcus* concerning himself, and often in the *Pandectis*, is falsely called *Marcianus*. Being a most Learned man, he composed many Books, as Sixteen *De Fideicommissis*, Fourteen *De Publicis Judiciis*, a Book in Greek upon the *Rhodian Law*, and which must especially be mentioned, another *De Affe*, or Distribution of an Inheritance, which *Cujacius* formerly caused to be bound up with the *Code* of *Theodosius*, and not long since *Fredericus Gronovius* published at the end of his Learned Commentary *De Sæsser*. *um in Amantissimus Toris Civilis*, 6. 9. *Cujacius*, and after him *Jacobus Grotius* commend this Book of *Marcianus*, to all such as intend to study the Law, to be read before *Justinian's* Institutions; for, in vain do such apply themselves to that labour, who do not understand the Distribution now mentioned.

57. *Marcus* took his *toga Virilis* in the Fifteenth year of his Age, and then was the Daughter of *L. Cætonius Commodus*; by the order of *Hadrian* contracted to him. Not long after he was made *Præfekt* for the *Latine* *Ferie*, and in that place carried himself very discreetly. He granted all his Fathers Patrimony to his Sister, saying, when his Mother called him to a Division, that he was content with his Grandfather's Estate, and that she, if she pleased, might give his Sister hers too, that the might not be inferior to her Husband. Notwithstanding his gravity, contracted by the study of Philosophy, he was so good natured, that he would be drawn to see the huntings of the Theatre, and behold the *Spettacula*, and naturally he loved such Exercises. Though the study of Philosophy diverted him from all, yet not so as to take away his Civility; for he was temperate without Contumacy, bashful without laziness, and without sadness grave. Being adopted by *Antoninus*, who had Married his Aunt, he was rather afraid than merry, and when his Domesticks wondered at it, and asked him the reason, he argued with them concerning the Inconveniences which attended the Sovereign Command. Then for *Antonius*, he began to be called *Aurelius*, because of his passing into the *Aurelian* Family of the *Antonini*. *Hadrian* being dead, *Antoninus* resolved to have him for his Son in-Law, the Contract being dissolved betwixt his Daughter and *Verus*, who was not ripe enough for her, and he designed him *Quæstor* and Consul with himself. He conferred on him the Title of *Cæsar*, with other Honours, and the Consulship the second time, when he himself bore it the fourth. After this, Marrying *Faustina*, *Pius* his Daughter, and having a Daughter by her, he was

His Gratitude to his School-Master.

Most prized by *Claudius Severus*.

Marcianus his Master for the Law.

Marcus Antoninus succeeds *Pius*.

He Married *Faustina* the Daughter of *Pius*.

adorned with the *Tribunitia* Power, as also with the *Proconsular*, (which *Augustus* and his Successors took to themselves, though *Antoninus Pius* seems to be the first who used the Title of *Proconsul*) and the Privilege of making the fifth Report, being in such credit with *Pius*, that he would promote no man without him, neither would give ear to any whisperers against him. For twenty and three years he so demeaned himself in this his Father's House, that the Old Man's love to him increased, neither in all that time did he lye from him above two Nights, at several times.

He joins with himself *Lucius Aurelius Verus* in the Imperial Sovereignty.

58. After the Death of *Pius*, being constrained by the Senate to take the Publick Government upon him, he made his Brother *L. Commodus* Partner with him in the Empire, calling him *Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus*; he gave him the Titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and thenceforth they began to govern the Commonwealth with equal Right, and the Roman Empire to have two Emperors, upon which account they are in Law-Books known by the Names of *Drui Fratres*. He himself presently took the Name of *Antoninus*, and as the Father of *L. Commodus* called him *Verus*, and adding that also of *Antoninus*, betrothed to him his Daughter *Lucilla*, and upon this occasion, whereas *Trajan* had given Maintenance to certain Boys and Girls, whose liberality had been increased by *Hadrian*; and *Pius*, in Honor of *Faustina*, had given Alms to Girls, which from her had the Name of *Faustinae*; now there were other both Boys and Girls taken in, and allowed Maintenance. Having dispatched what was to be done in the Senate, and in the Camp with the Soldiers, to whom they promised Twenty thousand *Nummi* a piece, and to the rest proportionably (that is, as *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, as much more to the *Centurions*, and treble to the *Tribunes* and *Præfets* of *Ale*) they buried their Father magnificently in the Tomb of *Hadrian*, and both of them commended him by Funeral Orations, conferring on him the usual Ceremonies of a *Divus*. After their possession of the Empire, they both carried themselves so civilly, that no man misliked the Ignity of *Pius*. Still did *Marcus* follow the study of his dear Philosophy, but received some disturbance therein by the rising of *Tiber*, which overflowed to such extremity, that it spoiled many Buildings, and other Things, drowned many Animals, and procured a most grievous Famine; all which mischiefs they moderated by their presence and care. The *Parthian* War also now broke out, which *Vologesus* had designed in the Reign of *Pius*, but now he declared by driving away *Avidius Cassianus*, who governed *Syria*. A War was also ready to break out here in *Britain*, and the *Catti* made Irruptions into *Germany* near the *Rhine*, and into *Rhetia*. Against the *Britains* was sent *Calpurnius Agricola*, and *Avidius Vitorinus* against the *Catti*. But against the *Parthian* by consent of the Senate was *Verus* himself sent, whom *Marcus* his Brother accompanied as far as *Capua*, and gave him a Train besitting his Person.

Stirs in the Provinces.

59. *Verus* being come into *Syria*, lived deliciously at *Antioch*, and *Daphne*, and exercised himself with the Arms of *Gladiators* and Hunting, carrying on the War against the *Parthians* by his Lieutenants; whereas *Marcus* was no hour free from business, and partly unwilling, partly content, bore with the voluptuous humour of his Brother. *Statius Præfex* prospered well in *Armenia*, taking the City *Artaxata*, whereupon the Surname of *Armeniacus* was given to both the Emperors, and *Marcus* refused it at first, though he took it afterward, as also that of *Parthicus* upon the ending of that War; and that of *Pater Patriæ*, he put off till the Return of his Brother. He ordained that all Citizens should within Thirty days enter their Children that were born at *Rome*, in the Registers of the Governors of the *Ærarium* of *Satura*, and throughout the Provinces he brought up the Use of the Publick *Tabularii* (Slaves at present, though afterwards Freemen) who should do the same there, as the Governors of the *Ærarium* did at *Rome*, keeping the Publick Records; so that if any one in the Province happened to be questioned concerning his Liberty (as whether he was not a Slave) thence he might bring proof, as also might any one concerning his Age. About the fate of the Dead, whether they were free Persons, he forbade inquiry to be made after five years. No Prince ever shewed more respect to the Senate; when he could he was always present, though he had nothing to report, if he was at *Rome*; and if he had any thing to Communicate, he came out of *Campania* when he was there. And in other Assemblies he would stay till Night, neither did he ever go out of the Senate-House (or *Curia*) till the Consul said, *We shall trouble you no farther Conscript Fathers*. He made the Senate to Judge of Appeals from the Consuls. He used singular Diligence in Judicial Proceedings, and added Days of Judicature to the former, so as in all

The Laws of Marcus.

Nihil vos mo-
ramus Patres
Conscripti, ite-
re formula di-
mittite Sena-
tum et Con-
silia, dilecti.

he appointed Two hundred and thirty every year for doing Business, and debating Causes. He first made the *Prætor Tutorum*, or him who had the care of Tutors, that they might more easily be obtained, whereas formerly Tutors were wont to be demanded of the Consuls.

60. The Guardians which governed the Persons and Estates of Children under Puberty, the *Romans* called *Tutores*; and such as governed the Estates and Persons of those that were Puberes, but under Five and twenty years of Age, they called *Curatores*. Now as for *Curatores*, whereas formerly they were not assigned for wantonnes or madness, but by the Law called *Lex Lætorie* he decreed that all that were once Adult should receive *Curatores* without rendering any cause why. This *Lex Lætorie* being also called *Quinquagennaria*, because the Legitimate Age of Twenty five years was determined, contained, as *Isidorus Gothofredus* hath observed, certain Heads, whereof this was the first, to provide *Curatores* for *Minors*, that were wanton or Spendthrifts, and for those that were Distracted: The second ordained that *Minors* or those under that Age, should not stipulate, or oblige themselves by making Bargains; whereupon it followed, that a Creditor who trusted one under that Age, should lose his Money, or that wherewith he trusted him. Further, *Marcus* had a care to lessen the Publick Charges. He set himself against *Calumnies*, imposing a mark upon false Accusers. As for such Accusations as increased the Revenue, he dispensed them. For Publick Allowances, he invented many things. He assigned *Curatores* out of the Senate to many Cities, that thereby he might extend the Senatorial Dignities; For not only Cities, but Regions and High-ways had their *Curatores*, who took care of them. He provided for the *Italian* Cities in time of Famine, by Corn given them from *Rome*; being very careful that Grain should not be wanting. He qualified every way the Shows of the Gladiators, as also the Charges of the Stage-Plays, commanding that the Players should receive but five *Aurei*, and that no better of them forth should exceed ten. Now for the Shows of the Gladiators, *Cassiodorus* observes, that he qualified them three ways, especially, First, by diminishing the Expences of them. Then by commanding that they should be without Blood, at least when He was there, and without killing, their Swords being blunted, or so ordered that they could not deadly wound, as the *Athletæ* were wont to fight. And in the third place he took the Gladiators to serve in the Wars, making Soldiers of them; contrary to the old Custom, whom he called *Obsequentes*, as *Capitolinus* also observes; which raised a Discourse amongst the People.

Marcus sets himself against Accusations.

Italy had several sorts of Governors.

61. He took special care of the Ways both of the City, and of the Provinces. He provided for *Italy* by giving it *Juridici*, according as *Hadrian* had commanded those of the Degree of *Consulares*, to administer Justice. *Appian* writes, That the *Consulares* continued not long after *Hadrian's* Death; and indeed the Jurisdiction in the Provinces of *Italy* was in various Hands, sometimes administered by *Consulares*, sometimes by *Juridici*, sometimes by *Correctors*, and in the time of *Constantine* and afterwards, by *Consulares* again, who yet seem not to have been of the same Dignity with those in the time of *Hadrian*, to whom *Capitolinus* gives the Appellation of *Consulares viri*. The Historian farther writes, That *Spain* being exhausted, he supplied it out of *Italy*, against the Command of *Trajan*; but he did it modestly. As to this, we must know that *Italy* being much unpeopled by the Civil Wars, *Augustus* replenished it with frequent Colonies, and from him the succeeding Princes took it for a Maxim of State, to be sparing in raising Men out of *Italy*; which was so constantly observed, that the *Italians* withdrew their minds from War, and applied them to Arts of Peace and Agriculture, as we shall see more in the second Volume of this Work. The Legions therefore being ever supplied with Soldiers out of the Provinces, and especially out of *Spain*, later Princes were wont to fill up the Towns that were so exhausted with *Italian* Colonies, which it seems *Trajan* forbade; but *Marcus* thought fit for all that to do it, but with much Modesty and Reverence to his Memory. We are told further by *Capitolinus*, That *Marcus* added other Laws concerning the Twentieth part of Inheritances, already, and hereafter to be spoken of; concerning the Tutelage of *Liberis*; of the Estates of Mothers; of the Successions of Sons for the Mothers part, and that Foreign Senators should possess a fourth part in *Italy*. As for the Mothers Estate, *Marcus* introduced new Law, That Children should succeed their Mothers which died Intestate; and this he did by that which sometimes is called the *Oratio* of *D. Marcus*, and sometimes the *Senatusconsultum Orphitianum*, because it was made when *Orphitus* and *Rufus* were Censors, as

In L. D. Di-
nastich. Cod.
lib. 3. tit.
22.

Laws made by Marcus.

Justinian

Julian tells us, in his Institutions, This year, of their Consulship, was the Twentieth from that of the Consulship of *Pl. Tertullus*, in which, was made the *Senatusconsultum Tertullianum*, whereby the Mother was enabled, to inherit the Estates of her Children, whereas by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, neither of these could be. Now this concerning the Succession of Children, is attributed to *Marcus*, because the Emperors were wont to send their Epistles or Orations, as they are termed, to the Senate, concerning such or such a matter, which being ready, the *Senatusconsultum* passed, and thereby it came to pass, that the same things were ascribed both to the Orations and *Senatusconsultum*. At length the Emperors *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Arcadius* called the Grandchildren also, to succeed their Grandmothers; yet so as they should receive one third part less than their Fathers or Mothers should have received; but *Julian* made them equal in Right who succeeded to one dying Intestate. As for Senators having a fourth part of their Estates in Italy, there was something of it before, as appears from *Pliny* Junior, who speaks of a third part; that They which stood for Honours might take *Rome* and *Italy* for their Country, and not like Strangers for an Inn or Stable.

62. To the *Curators* of Regions and Ways he gave Power, either to punish, or lend to the *Præfets* of the City to be punished, such as exacted any thing from any man besides the *Peltigalia*. He rather restored Old Law, than introduced New. He had his *Præfets* with him by the Authority and Precepts of whom he dictated always his Laws. Especially he made Use of *Scævola* the Lawyer. This was *Cervidius Scævola* who flourished at this time, and in all his Answers used extraordinary Caution to accommodate Law to the condition and quality of the Fact, and therefore was wont to use this Clause, According as Matters are presented. *Modestinus* reckons him amongst the Lawyers of the highest Form. But to return to our Historian, heads; That *Marcus* treated the People no otherwise than it was wont to be used in the Commonwealth. He was in all things most Moderate, in deterring men from what was ill, in alluring them to goodness, in rewarding and indulging; and he made good of bad; and of good, exceeding good; and bore with Moderation the Reproaches of some Persons. He was of a compassionate a Nature, that upon occasion of the Fall of a Dancer on the Ropes, he commanded Mattresses to be laid under them when they Danced; whence it came to pass, that in the time of *Capitolinus*, Nets were wont to be hung under the Ropes, to keep them from falling to the Ground. While the *Parthian* War was carrying on, another arose with the *Marcomanni*, which the Officers upon the Borders for some time kept off, till the former could be made an end of. This War of the *Marcomanni* struck them at *Rome* with so great terror, that he sent for Priests from every place (by reason of Sacrifices, *Cajaubon* thinks) of which he procured to great a Number, that he was jerey by the People upon that account; as in case he returned Victor, Oxen would fail and be all destroyed. He filled up strange Rites, he lustrated or purged *Rome* all manner of (Superstitious) ways; and being kept back from going to the War, he celebrated the *Lettisterna*, according to the *Roman* Rite, for seven days. So great a Pestilence happened, that dead Bodies were carried out in common Carriages. Then were the most severe Laws of the *Antonini* made, of Burying and Sepulchres; for they ordained, That every one that would should not build a Sepulchre, as faith the Historian, is observed at this very day; possibly not with much Cost and Labour. He was so kind, that such as died poor, he commanded to be Buried at the Public Charge.

63. The *Marcomanni* and *Vitorali* making great disturbance, both Emperors went out in their Coat-Armour; and time it was; for such *Barbarians* as were driven out by others, except they were received, made also War. And this Expedition did not a little Good; for being come as far as *Aquileia* where they purposed to Winter, most of the Kings retired with their People, and killed the Authors of the Insurrection. And the *Quadi* having lost their King, said they would not confirm him that was chosen in his room, without the consent of the Emperors. But *Lucius* went unwillingly in this Expedition, most of the Mutineers sending and begging Pardon for their Defection; and when *Furius Virdinus* and Part of the Army was lost, he was of opinion that they should return home. On the other side, *Marcus* imagining that the *Barbarians* did but counterfeit, pretending to fly, that they might decline so great a War as they saw was coming upon them, was for going forward and pulling on the Affair. There

Scævola his chiefest Adviser in Law-Matters.

His War with the *Marcomanni*.

Both Emperors undertake an Expedition against them.

fore passing over the *Alps* they proceeded further, and settled all Matters that tended to the Defence of *Italy* and *Illyricum*. *Lucius* however urged, that having sent Letters before to the Senate, he might return to *Rome*, and in the way as he was fitting with his Brother in the Chariot, he died of an Apoplexy. *Capitolinus* ascribes their Return to the desire *Lucius* had to be at *Rome*, it seems to enjoy the Pleasures of the City; but he urged it more after the loss of the *Præfets Prætorio*, and part of the Army. But *Galen* who was sent for to *Aquileia*, gives another account of their Return, That it was by reason of the Plague mentioned by *Capitolinus*, which raged exceedingly both in Country and Army. It is written of *Lucius*, That he had always Learned and Eloquent Men about him, and that he loved his Matters, and was beloved of them. He demeaned himself toward *Marcus* his Benefactor with indifferent respect till his Expedition into *Asia*, but living there in a Luxurious manner, after his return he carried himself with no great agreeableness, and gave himself up to all manner of Debaucheries, spending his time in continual feasting, and other sorts of voluptuousness, and ordering himself according to the Government of his debauched and infamous Freedmen. Some suspected he died by Poison; but he lay Speechless three days, and being carried to *Altinum* died there. *Marcus* having made him Emperor with equal Power, gave him the Name of *Verus*, transferring upon him his own; whereas before, he was called *Commodus*. But *Valesius* observeth against *Joseph Scaliger*, that of *in Annot.* these two Brothers who first of all governed the *Roman* Empire with equal Right, him whom the *Latine* Writers name *Marcus*, the *Greeks* call *Verus*; and him whom the former call *Verus*, they ordinarily signify by the Name of *Lucius*. *Ann. 1-346*

64. But of such Sanctity was *Marcus* the Survivor, that he concealed what he could, and if he could not, excused the Vices of *Verus*, though they exceedingly displeased him; and being dead, he conferred on him the title of *Divus*, with the Honours usually given to such, and both honoured and provided for his Relations. Now *Capitolinus* tells us, That there is no Prince, but is struck at by evil Tongues, inasmuch that it was reported, That *Marcus* took *Verus* away either by Poisoning one side of his Knife, and giving him a piece of Meat which touched that side, keeping to himself the other, or by the help of *Polydippus* his Physician, who let him bleed unseasonably. But *Dion Cassius* relates, that *Verus* laid in wait to take away the life of *Marcus*, and was himself taken off to prevent it: and not only *Dion*, but *Philostratus* also hints as much, as is observed by *Salmastus*, writing that *Herodes* was also suspected by *Marcus*, as being of the Conspiracy, and that *Marcus* made choice of some of his *Athenians* to bring Complaints to him of his Tyrannical carriage; and therefore *Herodes* complained that this he had got by having *Lucius* for his Guest. However, *Marcus* after the death of *Verus*, being delivered from the trouble of so uneasie a Partner, with more freedom and vigour applied himself to the course of Virtue and Philosophy, being of the Stoick Profession, which he so much was Master of, that he never changed his Countenance either for Joy or Sorrow; with great Moderation and Benignity he governed the Provinces. He warred prosperously against the *Germans*. In particular he himself dispatched the War against the *Marcomanni* in such a manner as had not been known, both in respect of Valour and Felicity, and as such a time when the Pestilence destroyed many Thousands both of the Provincials and the Soldiers. By this means he delivered the *Pannonia* from the *Marcomanni*, *Sarmatae*, *Wandals* and *Quadi*, and returned to *Rome*, with his Son *Commodus*, whom he had made *Cæsar*, and triumphed with him. Now in reference to this War with the *Marcomanni*, though *Capitolinus* relates several things betwixt the Death of *Lucius*, and it; as if *Marcus* had dispatched it some large time intervening, *Salmastus* blameth him for so doing; especially for mentioning that *Commodus* did partake with his Father in his Triumph, before he speaks of the finishing of this War. For from *Galen* he observes that *Lucius* dying, *Marcus* returned to *Rome* with his Reliques, which being Buried, and he made a *Divus*, he presently undertook again the Expedition against the *Marcomanni* which had been interrupted by his Death. This War was of extraordinary consequence, both in respect of the loss of the *Romans*, and the great things performed by *Marcus*; which if they of this time were to be believed, in an Inscription in a Stone erected to his Memory after his victorious return, advanced his glory above all the Performances of the greatest Emperors. But what these Performances were we know not. *Ammianus Marcellinus* toucheth at them; but the place of his Book is so corrupted, that though *Cajaubon* and *Salmastus* both have indicated your

Lucius dies.

Vide Capitolinus in vita Veri.

The War against the *Marcomanni* was of vast Consequence.

voured to amend it; yet *Valerius* complains of their ill Success, and plainly tells us, that as *Hippocrates* forbids Remedies to be applied to those that are desperately Sick, so he is of opinion, that one ought to abstain from the desperate places of Authors.

65. But this we know from *Capitolinus*, That having exhausted his Treasury in this War against the *Marcomanni*, and not being inclined to lay any extraordinary Impositions upon the People, he set to Sale in the *Forum of Trajan*, abundance of rich Furniture, Clothes, and Vessels of Gold, Silver and other precious Materials which belonged to the Imperial Houses. The Sale continued for two Months, and so much Gold he raised as to dispatch the remainders of the War according to his desire, and afterwards he gave leave to the Buyers, to bring in what they had bought, and to receive their Money again if they pleased; neither did he trouble any that brought the things again, or refused to do it. But as we said, so great a flock he found coming upon him and the Empire, as put him upon very extraordinary Courses, especially a great Pestilence raging at the same time. This made him call Slaves to take Arms as had been practiced in the *Punic War*, whom he named *Voluntarii*, after the example of *Volones*. He armed also the *Gladiators*, whom as we said, he called *Obsequentes*. Nay, he made Soldiers of the Robbers of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*. He armed also the *Diocmitae*, or those that pursued Robbers, the *Romans* having such disposed in all quarters where the case required. He purchased the Assistance of *Germans* against *Germans*, besides the Legions, which he furnished out with all Diligence. For all Nations from the limit of *Illyricum* as far as *Gall*, had conspired, of whom *Capitolinus* reckons up Fifteen hard Names, besides the *Marcomanni*, whom *Marcus* overthrew in the Passage of the *Danube*, and restored the Plunder they had taken from the Provincials. But so with his great labour he overcame most fierce Nations, the Soldiers imitating him, the *Legati* and *Præfetti Prætorio* leading the Army; and the *Marcomanni* yielded themselves to him, of whom he translated many into *Italy*. He always was wont with the Senators and Great Men to Consult, not only concerning Military but Civil Affairs, saying, That it was more fit that he should follow the advice of so many and such Friends, than that so many and such should follow his Will and Pleasure. Many Noble Persons were lost in the War, to all whom he Erected Statues in the *Forum of Trajan*. His Friends often persuaded him to desist from Wars, and return to *Rome*, but he refused to comply with them, and staid till he had finished all. So that to those that carp at him as by reason of his Philosophy, and being a Scholar, not pliable enough to the labours of War and Government, he might easily answer by letters, or word of mouth, when as by his very Actions they were confuted.

66. Of the Provinces, some he changed from *Proconsular* to *Consular*, others if *Consular*, he made *Proconsular* or *Prætorian* according to the Necessity of War. This had been, and continued to be, the Custom of all Princes after *Augustus*, who taking to himself at the Division, the quiet Provinces, made some *Consular* by his *Consular Legates* sent into them, and gave the quiet to the People, some of which were called *Proconsular*, because *Consuls* after the going out of their Offices during the Commonwealth, took the Provinces by lot, and then governed them as *Proconsuls*. Therefore the Emperors having the Power over the Armies, if Provinces happened to be unquiet, they took them from the People, and from being *Proconsular*, made them *Consular*, and in room of them gave them others, which then from *Consular* were changed to be *Proconsular*. And though at first, as *Salmasius* observes, in the Division of the Provinces, there were but two amongst those which fell to the share of the People that were *Proconsular*, and ten that were *Prætorian*, into which *Prætors* were sent, yet afterwards those *Prætores* and *Prætorii* were called *Proconsuls*, and governed them with *Proconsular* Authority; whereupon it happened, that so frequent mention is made of *Proconsuls*, who never had been *Consuls* indeed. Now as the People had for their Governors *Proconsuls* and *Prætors*, so the Prince had for his *Consulares* and *Prætors*, which were all properly called his *Legati*, but the Provinces were still styled *Consular* and *Prætorian*, and *Capitolinus* is to be understood in this place. But *Marcus* had need to make some *Consular* and *Prætorian*, and thereby to take care of them by what the Historian further tells us, that the *Moors* wasted almost all *Spain*, though by his *Legati* he restrained them; and that in *Aegypt* the Soldiers he calls *Milites Bœotici* did great mischief, till they were vanquished by *Avidius Cassius*. There was also disturbance amongst the *Sequani*

Marcus sets to Sale his rich Furniture.

He changed the way of the Provinces.

Many Nations revolted.

in *Gall*, which by seasonable severity and his Authority he repressed. To his Son *Commodus*, having sent for him to the Limit of *Germany*, he presented the *Toga Virilis*, thereupon gave a *Conjatory* to the People, and designed him *Consul* before the time. If any one was proscribed by the *Præfetti* of the City, he did not willingly receive him. He was most sparing in giving away publick Money, (to his praise rather than reprehension) but yet he was bountiful to good Men, and to decaying Towns, and even remitted Tributes and Customs, though the Commonwealth stood in need of them.

67. When he was absent from the City, he took especial care that the publick Shows and Diversions should not be prevented but by the richest sort of Men. When he took away the *Gladiators* to the Wars, there was a Talk went amongst the People, as if he would take away their Recreations, and compell them to apply themselves to Philosophy; for on the Market-Days, he had commanded that *Pantomimus* should not act till it was late, lest Trade should be hindered. And a report there was, That as in all times there are many who for Gain and Interest apply themselves to such courses as they find Princes to be inclined to, so now there were many that under pretence of being Philosophers, were burthenfome to the State, and were troublefome to private Men; possibly by Intruding themselves into their Houses, and requiring Meat and Drink, and other Conveniences, which if they could not obtain, they loaded them with Reproaches, carrying themselves big because of the *Pallium* they wore, and it might be without the *Tunica*, as they of the Cynical Seat were wont to go. But *Capitolinus* saith, That *Marcus* removed this Inconvenience, which possibly, as to the Commonwealth, might have extended it self to freedom from being *Tutors* and *Guardians*, and other Burthens in the State, to which true Philosophers might plead some Title. It was his custom to punish all sorts of Crimes, more mildly than the Laws ordained, though sometimes against Persons notoriously guilty, and of grievous Crimes he was inexorable. The Capital Causes of Men of Reputation he heard himself, and that with all fairness imaginable; inasmuch that he reprehended a *Prætor* who quickly dispatched Trials, and bad him hear them over again, saying, That the Dignity of the Persons was concerned that they should be heard by him who judged for the People: The *Prætors* were wont to delegate their Jurisdiction to *Decemviri* or others, to take Cognizance of the Causes of Men of Note, which *Marcus* here reforms; truly affirming. That it concerned their Dignity that they should be judged by them who judged for the People. And not by such Delegates. But shewed himself mild and civil towards such Enemies as were taken; and of the subdued Nations, he planted an infinite number in the *Roman Soil*. To this *Capitolinus* subjoins, that he extorted Thunder from Heaven by his Prayers against the Device of his Enemies, obtaining Rain for his Men when they were oppressed with thirst. But we are told by *Christian Writers*, that this was procured by the Soldiers of the Legion called *Melitta*, being *Christians*, who fell upon their knees in presence of their fellow-Soldiers, and in the Name of *Christ*; so far prevailed with Almighty God, that presently abundance of Rain fell, and the Enemy was defeated by Thunder and Lightning. This Legion was thence called *Fulminatrix*, or Thundering, and obtained by this an honourable Edit in behalf of the Christian Religion, although the Letters which go under Name of this Emperor in reference to this thing, be either counterfeit or interpolated. But what *Capitolinus* ascribes to the Prayers of the Emperor, that do *Dio* and *Claudius* to the *Magi*.

68. *Marcus* intended to have made *Marcomannia* and *Sarmatia* both Provinces; but that he was hindered by the Rebellion of *Avidius Cassius*, who took upon him the Imperial title in the East; some said at the suggestion of *Faustina* the Empress, who despaired of her Husband's life, as others believed, because he thought he would perish, or had already, in the *Marcomannian War*. But *Marcus* was not much moved with the News of his Revolt; neither did he rage against his Relations; but he was declared an Enemy by the Senate, and his Estate was seized by the Publick *Erarium*. Leaving then the pursuit of the War with the *Marcomanni*, he went against *Cassius*, and at *Rome* there were Tumults, out of fear that the Rebels would come thither in his Absence. But *Cassius* was presently Slain, and his Head brought to the Emperor, who commanded it to be Buried, not rejoicing at his Death. And *Mærianus* the Son of *Cassius*, to whose care *Alexandria* had been committed, was killed by the Army.

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Marcus restrains the Extravagance of pretended Philosophers.

His Mildness.

Christian Soldiers by their Prayers obtain Rain.

Vide Encl. in Chron. c. 115. lib. 5. c. 5. Tertull. Apolog.

But *Marcus* forbade the Senate to proceed againſt any in Extremity, that were conſiſtent with the Deſecration; and he deſired, That in his Reign no Senator might be put to Death, left thereby it ſhould be polluted: Thoſe that were Condemned to Iſlands, or Deportation he commanded alſo to be recalled, only a very few Centurions being put to Death. He pardoned the Cities that had ſided with *Caiſſius*; nay, he forgave the *Antiochians*, who prated much againſt him in *Caiſſius* his behalf, from whom he had taken the *ſpectacula*, publick Meetings, and all ſorts of publick Orations, and againſt whom he had lent a moſt heavy Edict. Though he had reſuſed to ſee *Antioch* when he went into *Syria*, as he did *Cyrrus*, the place where *Caiſſius* was born; yet having been at *Alexandria*, he went thither. He tranſacted many things with Kings, and eſtabliſhed Peace, all the Kings and the Ambaſſadors of the *Perſian* meeting him. He was moſt dear to all the Eaſtern Provinces, with many of which he left footſteps of his Philoſophy, amongſt the *Egyptians* in particular, he carried himſelf like a Citizen and a Philoſopher in all their Temples and publick Places, and whereaſ they of *Alexandria* had wiſhed well in ſeveral reſpects to *Caiſſius*, yet he pardoned them all, and to ſew that he was reconciled, left one of his Daughters with them. As for his carrying himſelf like a Philoſopher, others write, that when he was there, he propoſed his Queſtions to the Philoſophers, and answered theirs, as it was the cuſtom for Learned Men to meet in publick Places to confer concerning learned Points, and diſcuſs Queſtions. But well might he pardon them for ſiding with *Caiſſius*, when he bore a mind full of Clemency even to him and his Relations. He ſuffered him to be killed, that is, did not revenge his Death, but commanded it not. *Heliodorus* his Son was Banished into an Iſland, and others went away into ſore Banishment with part of their Estates. Other Sons of *Caiſſius* received more than one half of their Father's Patrimony, and were aſſiſted with Gold and Silver; moreover, were the Women with Ornaments. Nay, he grieved that *Caiſſius* was ſlain, ſaying, That he would have had his Reign paſſed over without the blood of a Senator.

69. In his Winter-Quarters, at the foot of the Mountain *Taurus*, and a Village called *Halala*, he left *Fauſtina* his Wife, who there died ſuddenly; he had her with him in Summer too, and had given her the Title of *Mater Caſtro-rum*. From *Dio* it appears, alſo from *Coines*, that after his Victory over the *Quadi* he was himſelf ſaluted the ſeventh time *Imperator*, and ſhe by this Title of *Mater Caſtro-rum*; for *Livia* having that given her of *Patris Patrie*, afterward this flattery was drawn into Example. And it ſeems *Marcus* approved it, for *Capitolinus* tells us further, That having praiſed her, he deſired of the Senate that they would decree her Honours and a Temple, and took it kindly that they made her a *Diva*; and that he inſtituted a New Company of Girls, called *Fauſtiniane*, in honour of her. He made the Village where ſhe died, a Colony (called thence *Fauſtinopolis*) and built her a Temple; and this he did, though he had the fame of an unchaſt Woman, of which he was either ignorant, or diſſembled it. Indeed he was accounted unchaſt, and *Commodus* was thought begotten by ſome other Man than *Marcus*, to whom *Julian* his Ape in his Tale of the *Cæſar*'s objects both his reckoning his Wife amongſt the *Heroines*, and preferring ſo bad a Son; but he makes him excuſe the ſirſt by Cuſtom, and the ſecond both by Cuſtom, and the Natural Affection which Fathers (ſuch it ſeems he thought him, however he did of himſelf) bear to their Sons. He makes him alledge, That he was not the firſt that honoured his Wife. To have begun ſuch a thing would have been unreaſonable, but to deprive ones neareſt Relations of what is uſual, would come neareſt to Injuſtice. But to return to our Story, having ſettled the Affairs of the *East*, he came to *Athens*, and there was initiated in the Temple of *Ceres*, to prove himſelf Innocent, and above entered the *Sacrarium*. For it was the Cuſtom for the Pagan Priests when they celebrated their Myſteries, to command all that found not themſelves Innocent, even as far as Purpoſes and Intentions, to get them gone. And they were wont it ſeems, as *Cæſarion* obſerves from *Lucian*, to drive away three ſorts of Perſons, *to Tyndamoni*, *Atheiſts*, *Chriſtians*, and *Epicureans*.

70. Returning into *Italy*, he came by Sea to *Brundisium* in a grievous Tempeſt. There he took the Gown, and commanded his Soldiers to do the ſame; neither ever under him were they ſeen to be without them (or *Legati*) in *Italy*. Having Triumphed at *Rome*, he made his Son *Commodus* his Colleague in the *Tribunitial* Power, gave a Congiary to the People, and preſented them with Extraordinary

Extraordinary Shows. Many things then in the State he corrected. He moderated the Expence of the Shows or the Gladiators. That Saying of *Plato* was always in his mouth, That *States would flourish if either Philoſophers Reigned, or Princes would be Philoſophers*. He Married his Son to the Daughter of *Brutus Præſens*, Solemnized the Wedding no otherwiſe than as private Perſons were wont to do, but gave a Congiary to the People. Having formerly ſpent three years in the Wars againſt the *Marcomanni*, he undertook now another Expedition againſt theſe Northern Nations, and in it died at *Sirmium*. At the beginning of his Sickenſs, deſpairing it ſeems of Recovery, he adviſed his Son to ſlay and diſpatch the remainders of the War, which he was unwilling to do, pretending fear of the raging Peſtilence. He abſtained from Meat and Drink, deſiring to die, and increaſed his Diſeaſe. On the ſixth day he called his Friends to him, and laughing at the things of this life, and concerning Death, he asked them why they wept for him, and did not rather think of the Peſtilence and Common Death? and when they would be gone, he ſigh'd and ſaid, If you leave me, I bid you farewell, as going before you. The Army hearing he was Sick, grieved exceedingly, for they dearly loved him. On the ſeventh day he grew worſe, and only admitted his Son; whom again he preſently diſmiſſed left he ſhould catch the Diſeaſe. And yet were told that in his Sickenſs he grieved that he ſhould leave ſuch a Son behind him, as ſhould be pernicious to the Empire, and that he wiſhed him dead. It ſeems his Natural Affection prevailed, as *Julian* makes him ſpeak for himſelf. His Son being gone, he covered his head as going to ſleep, but that Night he died; of the Plague it ſhould appear, by what *Capitolinus* writes, of ſending away his Son, left he ſhould be infected; yet *Dion* ſaith, that he died not of that Epidemical Sickenſs. Being asked by his Friends, to whom he would commend his Son, He answered, to them, if he ſhould deſerve it, and to the Immortal Gods.

71. As for his Faults, it was objected againſt him, That he promoted thoſe that abuſed his Bed; namely, *Tertullus*, *Oſitilius*, *Orphilius*, and *Moderatus*, to various Honours; and aſor *Tertullus*, he found him dining with his Wife, which the ſevere gravity of the Court would not permit, and for this Indulgence he was jeered upon the Stage by a Mimick, and various talks being raiſed, the People blamed him for his Eaſineſs. But he dreaded nothing more than to be accounted Covetous, which cauſed him by many Epistles to purge himſelf of this Vice. And yet he needed not have done it, if ſaith and cenſorious Perſons, who think all men as bad as themſelves, or would have them ſo; had conſidered that he did not enrich himſelf by the Eſtates of proſcribed Perſons, as bad Princes were wont to do; yet they took occaſion to rail againſt him, poſſibly from a Law he firſt made, that the *Lex Julia Majestatis* ſhould extend alſo to dead Perſons. And he was very ſparing in Largeſſes, and giving away the publick Money, which opened the mouths of thoſe that were Indigent. But let what *Dio* writes be conſidered in his behalf, to ſtop the mouths of debauched Perſons, who think none are virtuous, as impure Men and Women believe none are Chaſt. He tells us (as *Xiphilin* hath Epitomized him) that when he was at *Athens*, he there hired with Annual ſtipends, Profeſſors of all ſorts to read for the benefit of all Nations. Being returned to *Rome* when he ſpoke to the People, he uſed this Expreſſion, That he had been abſent many years, at which the People cried out *Eight*, and lift up their Hands to atteſt it, their meaning being that they were to receive ſo many *Aurei* to Feaſt with. At this he ſmiled, and ſaid alſo *Eight*, and afterwards gave ſo many to every man, ſo great a Sum as they never had before received. This done, he forgave to all what was due to the *Fifcus* or Publick *Ærarium* within Forty and ſix years, the Sixteen of *Hadrian* excepted, and all Bills and Obligations relating to them, he commanded to be Burnt in the *Forum*. To many Cities he gave Money, and in particular to *Smyrna*, which had been diſtreſſed with a great Earthquake, and committed it to the Care of a Perſon of *ſenatorial* Quality, who had been *Prætor*, to ſee it repaired. Wherefore, ſaith he, I wonder at thoſe who reprehend *Marcus*, and deny that he was of a generous Mind. For though he was very frugal, yet he was never wanting to lay out Money when it was requiſite, and in Exacting Money, he was never troubleſome to any, and was at vaſt Expence in other things, though not in what related to his own Family.

72. But there were thoſe alſo that gave out that he diſſembled, and was not ſo plain and clear ſpirited as were *Pius* or *Verus*. But *Dion Caiſſius* on the contrary

The Clemency of Marcus.

He ſeeth his Wife Fauſtina.

He dies.

Taking object against him.

Covetousness.

Answered.

Diffimulation.

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trary affirms, That he did nothing by design, but from the Prefcript of Virtue, as appeared, in that though he lived Fifty and eight years, ten Months, and two and twenty Days, and was long a Prince with *Antoninus* his Father, and reigned himself Nineteen Years and eleven Days; yet in all his life he was of an equal and constant tenor; neither ever in any thing was he changed. He was truly a good Man therefore, there being nothing feigned or counterfeit in him. To what *Dio* writes, we can more easily assent, because in the Book he wrote concerning himself, containing his Philofophical Exercises and Meditations, he presses still this virtue of Truth, Candor, and Sincerity. But there was another thing still laid to his Charge, and that was, That he confirmed the Arrogancy of the Court, by removing his Friends from his common Society, and from his Feasts. Indeed he writes in that Book now mentioned, that amongst other things, he observed in, and learnt from his Father, a Moderate condescending to other mens occasions, as an

Also answered

Arrogancy al-
so answered.

Lib. 1. c. 13.
ordinary man (so *Cassianus* the Son translates that word into English, which *Cassianus* the Father, saith is proper to *Marcus*) neither absolutely requiring of his Friends that they should wait upon him at ordinary Meals, nor that they should of necessity accompany him in his Journeys. And this is thought by worthy Men to have been only his fault: He did not require Attendance at his private Repasts, both giving ease thereby to himself, and those who were to Eat with him. For *Salmasius* observes, that besides at Publick Feasts, there were those who were compelled to be present at this Prince his private Meats, because he could not well be without Company. And this Attendance *Marcus* remitted, as *Galen* writes of him, that he remitted him his Attendance, and following of him to the German War, which he attributes to his kindness and love to Mankind, agreeable to the other word which the Emperor uses in expressing his Fathers Humanity. As he loved to be true himself, so *Capitolinus* tells us, That he would not easily believe such as moved him in business, but always was long in searching out the truth. Accordingly he himself tells us, That this also he observed in his Father, an Accurate Examination of things in Consultations, and patient hearing of others: that he would not hastily give over the search of the matter, as one easily to be satisfied with sudden Notions, and Apprehensions. He subjoins his care to preserve his Friends; how neither at any time he would carry himself towards them with disdainful Neglect; and grow weary of them; nor yet at any time be much fond of them.

He was a good
Husband.

73. So good an Husband *Marcus* was, what wife soever *Faustina* proved; that he being dead, *Fabia* (the Sister of *Venus*) endeavourd to succeed her in his Bed; but *Capitolinus* tells us at parting, that he took for his Concubine the Daughter of his Wives *Procurator*, lest he should bring a Mother-in-law upon so many Children. Thus was it usual we see for the Emperors to have Concubines, not only mention being made of this of *Marcus*, but also of the Concubine of *Antoninus Pius*. However his Wife *Faustina* deserved it, yet when he wrote that Golden Book of his Meditations still extant, it appears that he had a good opinion of her, for amongst other things which he ascribes to the Gods, as having received them from them, this is one, That he had such a Wife, so Obedient, so Loving, so ingenuous. These other things were, That he had good Grandfathers and Parents, a good Sister, good Masters, good Domesticks, loving Kinsmen almost all he had, and that he never through haught and raucness transgressed against any of them. That he was not brought up by the Concubine of his Father, and that he preserved the flower of his Youth. That he took not upon him to be a man before his time, but rather put it off longer than he needed. That he lived under the Government of his Lord and Father, who would take away from him all Pride and Vain-glory, and reduce him to that conceit and opinion, that it was not impossible for a Prince to live in the Court without a Troop of Guards and Followers, extraordinary Apparel; such and such Torches and Statues, and other like particulars of State and Magnificence; but that one might reduce and contract himself almost to the state of a private Man, and yet not become the more base and remiss in publick Matters and Affairs, wherein Power and Authority are requisite. But he had such a Brother, who, by his own Example, might stir him up to think of himself, and by his respect and love, delight and please him. That he had ingenuous Children, not born distorted, nor with any other Natural or Bodily Infirmity. That he was no great Proficient in the Study of Rhetorick and Poetry, nor of other Faculties; which perchance he might have dwelt upon, if he had found himself to proceed in them with Success.

74. More-

74. Moreover, He accounts it a gift of the Gods, that he should have the Gratitude to prefer by times those by whom he was brought up, to such Places and Dignities as they seemed to him most to desire; and that he did not put them off with Hope and Expectation. That he ever knew *Apollonius Rusticus*, and *Maximus*. That he had occasion often and effectually to confider and meditate with himself concerning that life which is according to Nature; what the Nature and manner of it is. That his Body in such a life had been able to hold out so long. That he never had to do with *Benedicta* and *Theodotus*, and afterwards when he fell into some fits of Love, was soon cured. That having been often displeased with *Rusticus*, he never did any thing to him for which afterwards he had reason to repent. That it being so, that his Mother was to die young, yet he lived with him all her later years. That as often as he had occasion to relieve any that were poor or fallen into some present necessity, he never was answered by his Officers, that there was not ready Money enough to do it, and that he himself never had occasion to require the like succour from any others. That he had choice of fit and able Men, to whom he might commit the bringing up of his Children. That by Dreams he had received help, as for other things so in particular, how he might stay his Casting of Blood, and Cure his Dizziness. That when he first applied himself to Philofophy, he did not fall into the hands of some Sophists, nor spent his time either in reading the manifold Volumes of ordinary Philofophers, nor practising himself in the Solution of Arguments and Fallacies, nor dwelt upon the Studies of the Meteors, and other Natural Curiosities. All these things, he saith, without the Assistance of the Gods and Fortune, could not have been. As for the three Persons he mentions here, he tells us also, for what he was beholding to them, all of them having Contributed to the forming of that excellent Virtuosity life, whereby he was so Exemplary; but amongst all the Persons he mentions to have assisted him, he seems chiefly obliged to *Rusticus*, by whose endeavours amongst other things; *He first*, he saith, entered into the apprehension that his life wanted some redress of Cure. This was a good step to the Cure, that he was convinced of his Want of it, and necessary to amendment it was, That he should know himself to be out of order.

He was chiefly
obliged to
Rusticus.

75. As a Direction to arrive at this amendment and recovery, he propounded to himself not to do any even of the least things without Relation unto the end; and the end of reasonable Creatures he affirms to be this, to follow and obey him, who is the Reason, as it were, and the Law of this great City the World: Or as he saith in another place, the Providence of Almighty God is the Law, who over-rules all things in the World, and of his infinite Wisdom disposes all particular Events, to the general Good; and preservation of the Universe. That he might have no Lets or Rubbs in his way to this Recovery, he had a true Sense and Estimation of Sublunary things, and of Humane Affairs, though not to deride them; as *Capitolinus* writes. He was convinced of the Vanity of earthly Enjoyments, and thence came to know that the Happiness of a Man must be in something higher than in gratifying the sensual appetite. For he writes, That the time of Man's life is a point: the substance of it ever flowing, the sense obscure, and the whole Composition of the Body tending to Corruption. His Soul is restless, Fortune uncertain, and Fame doubtful; so be brief, as a Current, (or Stream) so are all things belonging to the Body; as a dream or smoke, so are all that (here) belong to the Soul. Our life is a Warfare, and a meer Pilgrimage. Fame after life is no better than Oblivion. What is it then that will adhere and follow? One only thing, Philofophy. And pity it was that he was not acquainted with the true and only Philofophy indeed, or the Christian, which would have afforded him both better directions and Helps for to attain doing of Good, and shunning of Evil, and that without Vain-glory, the usual attendant or Shadow of Pagan virtue; as to which, however *Marcus*, by the goodness of his Temper or his Endeavours, might be affected, one who succeeded him both in the Empire, and in pretence to Philofophy, was guilty of it to a Prodigy.

The fourth
Perfection.

76. But, to *Laciur*, rather than unto him, is to be imputed the fourth Perfection of Christian Religion, which in their time, raged throughout the Provinces. Herein suffered *Polycarp*, that famous Bishop of *Smyrna*, as is testified in the Epistle written by his Church to the Brethren in *Pontus*. He was ordained Bishop by *St. John*, and other Apostles with whom he conversed, and his Scholar he was *as Tertullian, Irenaeus*; and several of the Ancients do testify, and had served Christ eighty six years; for he was elder by much than thus, as the most Reverend

Reverend *Uther* * hath Evinc'd. He caus'd Meat to be set before those that apprehended him, and with wonderful Alacrity and Resolution underwent his Martyrdom by Fire, on the Seventh of the Calends of *April*, the Ninth year of this *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and the CLXIX. of the ordinary *Æra* of *Christ*, the same wherein *Lucius* died, as some Inscriptions of *Gruterus* do testify. Now suffered also *Justin Martyr*, after he had published his second Apology for Christians, through the Malice of *Crescens* the Gynick (whom railing against Christianity, he had taxed for his filthy kind of life) as he even foretelleth in his Apology. The Churches of *Lugdunum* and *Vienna* in *Gall*, were especially exercised in this fiery Trial, as is to be seen in the History of *Eusebius*. *Marcus* doth insist upon nothing more in that Book of his new mentioned, than being sociable and useful in this World, which he calls a great City, and in contriving how to contribute to the Good of the Whole, which he makes the duty and end of every particular Member. Now the Whole consists of Parts, an Universal of Individuals; and as to suppose an Universal without Individuals is a conceit, and an act of the Imagination, so to contrive the Good of the Whole, without that of its several Parts is meer fancy; a less considerable part indeed is often in Policy cut off to preserve the Whole; but the Body of Christians was not in those days inconsiderable, which filled the Court, the City, and all the Provinces, so that a Resolution would have been made to root it out (if it had been possible) and the greatest Persecutors finding still more and more to prevent themselves to Tortures, were constrained to give over, without hope of Success.

77. But however, as we said, *Marcus* insists in his Book upon nothing more than that the World is one Society, Commonwealth, and City, and that it's the Duty of every man to regard the Good of the Whole and to be sociable. Now *Aurelius Victor* writes, That in his time the Freedom of *Rome* was promiscuously given to all, or that all the Subjects of the Empire were made free *Roman* Citizens. Others write, That this was done by an Ordinance of *Pius*, and some ascribe it to *Hadrian*.
 Freedom of the City given *Hadrian* to all.
 Freedom of the City was given to all.

Freedom of the City was given to all.

But though I put no stress upon it as an Argument, yet it something moves me to be of Opinion, That He might be the Author of this Indulgence, in that these sociable Thoughts so much possessed him; for it's known sufficiently that he squared his Life, and even his Actions relating to Government, by Rules and Principles of Philosophy; affirming, That then States or Cities (*Civitates* the Historian hath it, as he termed the World, and esteemed the Empire) would flourish, if Philosophers reigned, or Emperors turned Philosophers. Now for better understanding what this freedom of this City anciently was, we are to know, That it was wont to be given either with privilege of Suffrage or without. The first that had it without Suffrage, were the *Cærites*. We understand, saith *Gellius*, that the *Cærites* were first made *Municipes* without the Right of suffrage: and that it was granted to them, that they should receive the honour of the Roman City, but be freed from business, and burthens, for that they received, and kept the *Sacra* (or Idols) in the Gallick war. *Paterculus* also telleth us, that in the Consulship of *Sp. Posthumius* and *Veturius Calvinus*, *Campanis* data est civitas partique *Samnitium* sine suffragio, and in the same place, *M. Curi* & *Rufus Cornelio Coss.* *Sabinis* sine suffragio data civitas. What *Municipium* was, and who *Municipes*, is worthy of consideration. In the time of *Gellius* it appears from him that those words were much in Use, but nothing understood. For such as were of Colonies would call both themselves and their Countreymen *Municipes*, which, saith he, is far distant from reason and truth. Even so what *Municipia* are, and how much they differ from a Colony, we are ignorant, and we think that Colonies are in a better condition than they.

78. Of this opinion so full of error *Hadrian* the Emperor learnedly discoursed in his Oration, which he made in the Senate concerning the *Italicensæ*, or Inhabitants of *Italic* Spain, (as they were called) from whom he himself descended. He wondered that the *Italicensæ* and other ancient *Municipia* (amongst whom he named them of *Utica*) when they might live according to their own Customs and Laws, were tickled with a desire to be changed into the condition of Colonies. He said that the *Præfines* earnestly desired of *Tiberius* to be altered from the state of a Colony to that of a *Municipium*, and that the Emperor granted it, in consideration that under the Walls of their Town he had recovered from a deadly Disease. *Municipes* therefore (so *Gellius* concludeth) are *Roman* Citizens of the *Municipia*, using their own freedom and Laws, only partakers of honourable employment (*Muneris honorarii*) with the *Roman* people, from undertaking which employment

* *Enrica* *consul* *de* *Polycon* *in* *Differt.* *de* *Epistolis* *libris* *et* *ignam* *Edib.* *lib.* *6.* *c.* *15.* *16.* *17.* *et* *l.* *1.* *1.*

Data *consul* *de* *Polycon* *in* *Differt.* *de* *Epistolis* *libris* *et* *ignam* *Edib.* *lib.* *6.* *c.* *15.* *16.* *17.* *et* *l.* *1.* *1.*

employment (*a quo munere capessendo*) they seem to be named, being bound by no other necessities, nor by any Law of the *Roman* People, for as much as their Land never belonged to it. Then proceedeth he to distinguish in the matter of the *Cærites*, betwixt such *Municipes* as had Right of suffrage, and not, for if there had been no such distinction he would never have said, *The first Municipes we understand to have been made without Right of suffrage* were *Cærites*. For a more clear discovery of the relations of other places unto *Rome*, we shall observe this four-fold distinction of privileges. There was 1. *Jus Civitatis*, 2. *Jus Municipii*, 3. *Jus Colonie*, 4. *Jus Latii*. *Jus Civitatis* was freedom of the City, and we had in *Paterculus* that it was *cum suffragio* & *sine suffragio*. *Jus Municipii* we find in *Gellius* to have also been freedom of the City; for *Municipes* were also called *Civitates Romanæ*, and were named *Municipes*, a *muneribus capiendis*, or *capessendis*; there was also, as appeareth from *Gellius*, *Jus Municipii cum* & *sine suffragio*; *Jus Municipii* therefore & *Jus Municipii* seem to have differed little; the former was larger, respecting single persons sometimes absolutely considered without relation to any place that was related to *Rome* as a *Municipium*. For single persons (*Ambassadors* or others) have had the freedom of the City bestowed on them primarily without respect to any place at all, who perhaps could not be called *Municipes*, because such seem to have been proper, and only Freeman of *Municipia*, and not otherwise than mediately to have been free of *Rome*. The power or Right of suffrage will not suffer us to imagine that, because *Gellius* calleth the employment of the *Municipes*, *munus honorarium*, therefore it was but titular. For by the Right of suffrage they had power to assemble in the *Comitia*, and Vote in their *Tribes*, *Centuries*, and *Curia*, as the occasion required: and hence doubtless were capable of honourable Offices. And the word it self, though sometimes it may be expounded *Titular*, as the *Consuls*, *Præfines*, *Comitantes* time (or rather *Consulares*, as they are called in *Castellorum* and their Office *Consularitas*) are termed *Consules Honorarii*, being but *Titular* *Consuls*; yet it also respecteth authority and power as well as meer Title, in that the Law of the *Prætor* (whereof we have formerly spoken) is called *Jus Honorarium*.

79. As for the *Jus Colonie*, it is so termed by *Tacitus* also in those words: *Atin Italia veteris oppidum Puteoli Jus Colonie & Cognomentum a Nerone adijciuntur*. *Gellius* distinguisheth it from the *Jus Municipii*, after this manner. But of Colonies there is another relation or alliance (necessitudo.) For they do come extrinsically into the City, neither do they stand on their own roots; but are as it were begotten by the State, and have Laws and Institutions, not of their own, but those of the *Roman* people. Yet this condition, although it be more obnoxious and less free, is accounted better and more excellent, for the amplitude and Majesty of the *Roman* people; whereof these Colonies seem to be certain Images and resemblances: and also because the Rights of the *Municipia* are obscure and obliterated, which by reason of ignorance the owners cannot use. From this it appears, That Colonies were free of the City, in which respect *Paterculus*, giving us account of the several Colonies that were planted till the time of *Mæcæ*, mixeth with them such places as to which freedom was given, making it as it were the same thing. If it had been otherwise, there would not have been any comparison as to privilege betwixt *Municipia* and Colonies, and it would have saved *Gellius* the labour of proving, against the common belief, that the *Jus Municipii* was greater. Now as for the *Jus Latii*, *Suetonius* distinguisheth it from *Jus Civitatis*, for speaking what *Augustus* did to several Cities, he hath this expression amongst the rest: *Latinitatem vel civitatem donavit*. *Spartianus* in the life of *Hadrian* saith, *Latium multis civitatibus dedit*. And *Tacitus* (coming up to our Term) saith of *Nero*: *Eodem anno Cæsar nationes Alpium marimarum in Jus Latii transtulit*. The *Jus Latii*, *Latines* were ever counted of the kindred of *Rome*, the *Romans* having defended from them; and upon this account there was a stricter League and Alliance with them, than any other people, which enjoyed not the freedom of the City.

80. The *Latines* envying the rising fortune of *Rome* their Colony; laboured to suppress it, but still were worsted; and ever forced to submit. *Servius Tullius* the sixth King of *Rome* breathing after glory in future times, in imitation of the Council of the *Amphyctones* in *Greece*, and other publick conventions (as we have formerly said) persuaded both Nations to build at *Rome* a Temple or *Astylum* out of the common expence, where the Cities meeting yearly, should sacrifice, hold a fair at certain times, and if any contention hapned amongst them, it

Jus Civitatis *et* *Jus Municipii* *et* *Jus Colonie*

lib. 5. c. 15.

lib. 1. c. 14. 15.

cap. 47.

Annal. lib. 6. c. 32.

Diogen. lib. 6. c. 15.

The first
League and
Alliance be-
tween the Ro-
mans and La-
tins.

might be composed in a religious manner by their fellow Cities. Gathering Money he built the Temple of Diana in the Aventine Mount (the most eminent in the City) and wrote down the conditions of the League, with the manner of observing the Feast and Mart. And that they might not be abolished by the injury of Time, he engraved the Decrees of the Council in a Pillar of Brass; and the Cities which were partakers of this Society, which Pillar continueth till our Age, saith Dionysius, dedicated in the Temple of Diana, inscribed with such Characters as Greece anciently used, which is no light Argument that Rome was not built by Barbarians. Targuinus the last King, and Successor of Servius, renewed this League, and taking in the Hernici and Volsci, appointed another place in the midst of all those Nations, viz. a Mount near to the Albanians, called also Mons Albanus, where yearly Ferie (or a Festival) were to be celebrated; and for that time, in respect of the Religion of the place, and the Law made for that purpose, they were all to abstain from all manner of violence, and, in common, sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis, and Feast together; it being appointed how much each people should contribute and receive. Of these Ferie, and this Sacrifice were partakers forty seven people; and in our age, saith the Historian, the Romans observe these Ferie (called Ferie Latina) and some contribute Lambs, some Cheefe, some a certain quantity of Milk, and others Cakes or Wafers made up with Milk. The Sacrifice is one Bull for all, of whose inward a certain portion is given to every people. They sacrifice for all in general, and the Romans preside at the Sacrifice. Those Ferie at first consisted but of one day, which Targuinus appointed. After his Banishment the people added another. And about six years after, when Peace was composed betwixt Patritians and Plebeians, after the Creation of the Tribuni Plebis, and Ediles, a third was added; at what time the League was renewed with the Latines, because that after the Peace made with them at the end of the War with Targuinus (whose part they took) they had continued peaceable and faithful to the Romans during their confusions and seditions.

81. * Dionysius mentioning the Renewing of this League, giveth us the substance of it, by which description our design is accomplished as to the Jus Latii. These things were contained in the League; *Let there be mutual Peace betwixt the Romans and Latines, as long as the Heavens and Earth keep the same Station: and let neither make War upon the other, nor procure others to do it, nor give free passage to such as would, but to the utmost help each other infested by War, and equally divide the Prey and Spoils. Concerning private Contracts, let the controversy be judiciously decided in the Forum of that People where the Contract was made. Let nothing be added to the conditions of the League, nor taken away, without the consent of the Romans, and all the Latine People. To this purpose a League was established betwixt the parties, and sworn to by all sacred things.* This near confederacy is to be taken as explanatory of the Jus Latii, including such a strong Alliance as was not made with any, but afterwards according to this Prescript. In process of time the Latines came to have the freedom of the City. When this freedom was given to them, is something obscure. Dionysius so relateth the Story of Cassius (in whose second Consulship, according to him, this League was renewed) as if at the same time was given to them the freedom of the City; for Cassius, to curry favour with the Hernici, gave them the same league, and when he would have in his third Consulship the Agrarian to pass, he caused the Latines and Hernici to be present at the Comitia, to carry it by the greater Number of voices. But if any such thing were, it was done rather by his over-forwardness to gratify them, and without the consent of the State, as those Privileges were which he bestowed upon the Hernici. However, it appeareth that they had not the freedom till this time; for Cassius in his flattering speech to the multitude, concerning the excellent acts performed by them in his three Consulships, saith, That in his third the sedition being appeased, the Commons were reduced home: the Latines Kinmen of the Romans, but emulators for Glory and Empire, were received into friendship, and into the City, that afterwards they might esteem Rome as their Country, and not as an Adversary. Though formerly there was a League with them, yet it seemeth they were not received into the City till now, and that rather by Cassius his flattery, so that neither they nor the Hernici retained this privilege, and we do not find that they were admitted into any Tribe, or gave thenceforth their suffrages in the Comitia. This confirmeth what we say, That * Florus declareth the cause of their

Dionys. l. 2.

* L. l. c. 14.

their Revolt afterwards, to have been an emulation for Empire and Magistrates, and that contemning the Romans after the burning of the City, they required Jus civitatis amongst other things.

82. This they did not now obtain, being subdued and reduced by War to obedience, and punished several ways. However the ancient League seemeth to have been renewed; at least with most of them; who were still called Socii nominis Latini. Often the Jus Civitatis was promised them, but still deferred and put off by the Fathers, who alone knew the Secret of Empire, till at length they broke out into the Social War, and yet then were they subdued again, and brought under by force, and then was given to them conquered, what they could not obtain by strong hand. After this, the hedge being broken down from about the Roman State, and through the variety of the interests of Roman Citizens parties and factions arising, Freedom came to be given to other places, one after another, though when, to whom, and by whom, we now must not inquire. Augustus was very sparing in the grant thereof; but succeeding Princes spread this privilege far and wide, till at length Antoninus Philofophus communicated it to the whole body of the Empire, it being now nothing material, seeing that the multitude met not together in the Comitia, to give their suffrages, which had by variety of Interests, humours and inclinations confounded all things. But to return to our Matter. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philofophus died when he had reigned Nineteen years, on the Seventeenth of March, in the Fifty eighth year of his Age, the Nine hundred thirty third of the City. A. D. CLXXX, Arius Praefens the second time, and Julius Gordianus being Consuls.

Commodus his Son (for whose fake Dio maketh the Physicians to have killed him) succeeded him, having two years before been made a Consul, through a Dispensation with the Lex Annaria; as Lampridius writeth; although it seemeth somewhat strange, that this Law could take place upon those, to whom the title of Augustus was not denied. Being owned by the Army, for some time he governed according to the direction of his Father's friends; but being obnoxious to flatterers by reason of his youth, who sought to make their own ends out of him, he shortly after, contrary to the judgment of his best Counsellors, made a dishonourable Peace with the Enemy, and away he went to enjoy the pleasures of Rome, where he was joyfully received for his Father's sake; his Beauty also much commending him to the eye. For a time he here also harkened to his Father's friends, but making one Perennius an old Soldier Captain of his Guards, he being excessively covetous, allured him at first by pleasures to idleness and neglect of business, then governing all himself, he falsely accused them and others of the richer sort, that he might seize on their Estates. This his design was furthered by Lucilla the Emperor's Sister, who grudging that Crispina, Commodus his wife, should take place of her, entered into a Conspiracy against her Brother, and ingaged one Quadratus a young Noble man therein, who perswaded Quintianus to kill Commodus. But he meeting him, had no power to do the deed, only shewing the Dagger, said, *The Senate sends thee this*, and so was apprehended and put to Death with his Complices. These words concerning the Senate thus foolishly spoken, never went out of the Emperor's mind, but made him suspect all the Fathers; which advantage Perennius took, and perswaded him to kill all the chieftest of them. This being performed, this man affected the Sovereignty, but was in good time discovered, both he and his Sons, whom he had sent into Illyricum to draw the Legions to revolt, and received their reward.

84. Commodus, to prevent the too great power of one man, put two into his place, Cleander and Niger, for the time to come; and yet presently after had more Plois laid for his life. There was one Maternus, who practising the Trade of Robbery, got a great company of Highway-men together, and making himself Captain of a considerable Army, wasted Gall and Spain, and thence repelled, resolved to venture for the Sovereignty it self. Having but little hope to obtain it by force, because of the People, and the Praetorian Bands, he betook him to his wits. At that time the Annual solemnity was kept in honour of the Mother of their gods, wherein it was lawful for Soldiers or any other to imitate Magistrates or their Officers. Taking this opportunity, he sent some of his Soldiers privily armed to get amongst the Sergeants and Officers of the Emperor, and so to kill him; but being betrayed by his own Party, he and his Plot both miscarried. After this succeeded a terrible Pestilence, accompanied with a Famine, which Cleander a Phrygian, one who from a Slave came into greatest Power,

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made

made an occasion to advance himself. He bought up all the Corn, thinking by a largess thereof to purchase the Empire of the Soldiers and People, but these rising against him, as the cause of the Dearth and Plague too, after that with great difficulty, by reason of his Power, the Matter was revealed to *Commodus*, he also received his reward. These things caused the Emperor to be jealous of all men, to cast off all care of State-affairs, and giving ear to every back-biter, to kill any. Hence also no persons of worth being admitted into his presence, he was ruled by dissolute Companions, and fell more and more into disorder.

85. He turned Chariot-driver, and spent his time in killing Beasts with darts, and other unworthy exercises. He was the best marks-man that ever was known, scarcely ever missing any mark he aimed at. He publicly killed multitudes of wild beasts upon the Theatre, amongst the rest a Panther, which just being about to devour a man, he hit and slew in the nick of time, as she was about to seize on him. In stead of *Commodus the Son of Marcus*, he commanded himself to be called *Hercules the Son of Jupiter*. Casting off the usual Robe of Princes, in compliance with that name, he would lye on a Lions Skin, and have a Club in his hand; yet he would wear Purple Garments and Cloth of Gold. To his former title he added *Amazonian, and Conqueror*; *Rome* he styled *Immortal and Fortunate*, and the World *His Colony*. A great fire happened in the City, which burned that excellent Library gathered by his Predecessors, with the Temple of *Peace*, and other Buildings, which accident as the People accounted an ill Omen, so they laid the guilt upon him, knowing well his Practices, which he never strove to conceal. Though his throwing of Darts upon the Theatre much derogated from the Imperial Majesty, they were indifferently pleased with it; but when he came Naked upon the Stage and acted the Common Fencer, it seemed intolerable. At length at the Feast of *Janus* resolving not to proceed from his Palace as *Emperor*, but as *Fencer* from the Fencing-School, attended with such like to the view of the People, this occasioned his end.

86. For, this his resolution being known to his Friends, *Martia* his beloved Concubine, *Lætus* his General, and *Electus* his Chamberlain, laboured with all intricacies to divert him from so shameful a thing. He herewith extremely displeased, betook himself to his Chamber, where in a roll he wrote down the Names of such as he would have killed, and amongst them those three in that order we mention them had the first places; then followed a great number of Senators, the Goods of whom he intended to distribute amongst the Fencers and Soldiers, to purchase mirth and jollity from them, and defence from these. This writing he laid upon his Bed, where he did not suspect that any would come at it. But a little Boy with whom he was wont to play, coming thither, took it up, and went out with it in his hand, whom *Martia* meeting, and taking up in her arms, fearing it might be something of consequence, read it, and thereby discovered the matter, which she presently imparted to the other two. They all concluding that haste was to be made, *Martia* gave him Poison, and when that succeeded not, they hired one *Narcissus* to strangle him. So *Commodus* died, who by his Lieutenants overthrew the *Moors* and *Dacians*, and bridled *Pannonia*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, which would have thrown off the yoke. He died on the last day of the *Julian* year; the Thirty second of his Age, when he had Reigned almost Thirteen years. A. V. C. 945. A. D. 192, he himself the seventh, and *Helvius Pertinax* the third time being *Consul*.

87. The Conspirators did not make known his death, till they had made means for a Successor; and then gave out that he died of an Apoplexy, which was easily believed, because of his voluptuous life. He upon whom they pitched was *Helvius Pertinax*, an old Soldier, who had done good Service in *Britain*, where he was near killing by his Soldiers, but severely corrected their insolence. He had been thrice *Consul*, yet being thus delivered from the danger he was in by *Commodus*, considering the meanness of his Birth, he would have declined the burthen, but it was put upon him by the Senate, and the Army acknowledged him. He gave great hopes of an excellent Prince, behaving himself modestly and suitably towards all men. He restrained Promoters, took away divers Tolls and Gabels lately imposed, and refrained the Rapines and Insolence of the Soldiers. This troubled the Guards exceedingly, who being so much the more sensible of the change brought upon them by strict discipline, as they remembered the liberty given them by *Commodus*, resolved to make trial of another, and an end of *Pertinax*.

Pertinax. In the strength of this resolution they set upon and killed him; though he had, like so excellent a Person, gravely and stoutly admonished them of their Duty. He died in the Eighty fifth day of his Reign; and the Sixty ninth year of his Age. *Q. Sotus Falco*, and *C. Julius Erucius Clarus* being *Consuls*.

88. Now, that we may briefly carry on the series of Ecclesiastical matters, where we left them. In the second year of *M. Aurelius Philopopolis* died *Anicetus* the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Soter* being the 13th of this See succeeded him, according to *Damasus*. In his 10th year *Soter* died, & was succeeded by *Eleutherius*. In the 6th of *Commodus* died *Eleutherius*, on the Seventh before the Calends of June, *Maternus* and *Bradius* being *Consuls*, in which year *Commodus* and *Cleander* to overturn the Power of the Consulate created Twenty five *Consuls*, for which *Cleander* was afterwards punished, being carried to *Rome* amongst the worst sort of Slaves. In the following year *Eleutherius* was succeeded by *Viktor* an African, *Commodus* the fifth time, and *Glabrio* being *Consuls*. Touching the purity of the Church of *Rome* at this time *Aggeppus* thus wrote. (a) *When I came to Rome I stayed there till Anicetus was* (a) *Ex lib. Hist. chosien Bishop, whose Deacon was Eleutherius, whom Soter succeeded, and after him* lib. 4. cap. 22. *Eleutherius. In all their successions, and in every one of their Cities it's no otherwise than the Law and the Prophets, and the Lord himself preached. Irenæus also wrote:* (b) *Eleutherius was the Twelfth Bishop from the Apostles, after the same order,* (b) *Ex lib. 1. 5. cap. 6. 2. the same Doctrine and Tradition of the Apostles truly taught in the Church, at this day continued in our time. From Marcus the first Bishop of Jerusalem from amongst the Gentiles, some reckon Thirteen Bishops unto Narcissus, of whom are many things reported. He (c) was accused of an heinous crime, and although (c) Idem lib. 5. cap. 11. 112. 5. he was innocent, yet left he his Church, and fled into the Wilderness, where he continued a long time. In the mean while his Accusers were wonderfully plagued from above, to the example of all perjured persons. After his departure Dios was Bishop unto the Reign of Severus, as is gathered from Epiphanius. After Cornelius (d) Idem lib. 4. c. 30. 24. (e) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (f) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (g) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (h) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (i) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (j) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (k) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (l) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (m) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (n) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (o) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (p) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (q) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (r) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (s) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (t) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (u) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (v) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (w) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (x) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (y) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (z) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (aa) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ab) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ac) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ad) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ae) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (af) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ag) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. (ah) Idem lib. 5. c. 19. 22. 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figments of Montanus were confuted by Apollinarius. And there were held in Asia sundry Synods in which Montanus was excommunicated, and his Heresie condemned. The brethren in (1) France also assembled together, and censured the opinions of Montanus, writing to Eleutherius Bishop of Rome, that he would maintain the Peace of the Church there against such Hereticks (2) Serapion also Bishop of Antioch held a Synod there about the middle of Commodus his Reign, where together with many other Bishops he condemned the Montanists, or their Heresie called the Phrygian Heresie, because Montanus was of that Countrey. Not long after was held a Council at (1) Rome by Victor the Bishop, about the Celebration of Easter (2) Item 1. 5. in Palestine also, in Pontus and Gall were Synods called about the same matter.

Controversie concerning Easter.

90. This controversie about Easter, is mentioned by Eusebius not till the last year of the 243 Olympiad, which fell in with the fourth of Severus; but Cappellus thinketh it first arose in the first of the 242 Olympiad, and the tenth of Commodus, wherein this Feast was Celebrated by the Jews, and the Churches of Asia Minor, at a wrong time, as Theophilus Bishop of Caesarea thought, viz. by the Jews on the fifteenth of Nisan, March 20. but by the Christians of Asia on the fourteenth of Nisan, March 19. on the fourth Feria, three days before the Vernal Equinox. Theophilus supposing that the Equinox happened on March the 25. and that so it ever did; and for this cause that the Sun was on that day created, and that Christ arose again the same day, as also that the Lord's Supper was instituted on the 22. of March, contended that it was utterly against reason to prevent the Epoehe of the Equinox so many days, and the day whereon the Lord's Supper was instituted. Wherefore he procured the Fathers of Palestine assembled in a Synod, to make these Canons, 1. That never, except after March 21. 2. That never but after the fourteenth Moon. 3. That never after April 24. 4. That never except on the Lord's Day, Easter should be celebrated; on that day which next followed the fourteenth Moon hapning next after March 21. Herby he hoped it would come to pass, that Easter would ever be observed within the Month of Aries. In the Synode of Palestine where these Canons were made, the forefaid Theophilus Bishop of Caesarea, and Narcissus of Jerusalem presided. Of that at Rome, Victor the Bishop was President. In that of Pontus, Palmas, as the most ancient, did govern. In that of the Bishops of Gall, Irenaeus presided. There was another of the Bishops throughout Ostroena, and the Cities therein contained; and especially held by Baucillus Bishop of Corinth, with many others; all which, saith Eusebius, with one and the same Sentence and Judgment ordained the same Decree. With those also consented Cassius Bishop of Tyre, and Clarus Bishop of Ptolemais. They affirmed that it was the Apostolick tradition and custom as yet retained, that the fasting days should be broken up on no other day than that wherein our Saviour arose from the dead. And the Church of Alexandria celebrated Easter on the self-same day with them.

91. But all the Churches throughout Asia, as of an ancient Tradition thought good to observe the high-feast of Easter in the fourteenth Moon, on which day the Jews were commanded to offer their Paschal Lamb. As much as to say, That upon what day soever in the week that Moon fell, the fasting days were finished and ended. Polycrates of Ephesus, chief of these Bishops, in his Epistle to the Church of Rome, sheweth the custom of Asia observed unto his time, in these words: We observe the unviolated day of Easter, neither adding any thing thereto, neither taking any thing from it. For notable pillars of Christian Religion have rested in Asia, which shall arise at the last day when the Lord shall come home from Heaven with glory, and restore all the Saints to joy. Philip, one of the twelve Apostles now lying at Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who kept themselves Virgins all the days of their lives, the third also after the end of her holy conversation rested at Ephesus. John also, who lay on the Lord's breast, and wore the Priestly Attire, both a Martyr and a Doctor slept at Ephesus. Moreover, Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna, and a Martyr. Thrafeas an Eumenian, both a Bishop and a Martyr slept at Smyrna. What shall I speak of Sagaris, both a Bishop and a Martyr lying at Laodicea? Also of blessed Papius and Melito an Eunuch, who was led and guided in all things he did by the holy Ghost, and now resteth at Sardis, waiting the message from Heaven when he shall arise from the dead. All these celebrated the Feast of Easter, according to the Gospel, in the fourteenth Moon, swearing no where, but observing the rule of faith. To be short, and I Polycrates the meanest of you all do retain the tradition of my forefathers, of which also I have imitated some. For there were seven Bishops before me, and I am the Eighth which always have celebrated the Feast of Easter on that day

day in which the people remove the leaven from amongst them. I therefore (my brethren) who now have lived sixty five years in the Lord, have conferred with the brethren throughout the World, and have read, and over-read the holy Scriptures; yet will not be moved at all with those things which are made to terrify us. For my Ancestors and Elders have said, That we ought rather to obey God than men. Afterwards he speaketh of the Bishops that consented, and subscribed to his Epistle, after this manner: I could repeat the Bishops that were present, whom you requested me to assemble, whom also I have assembled together, whose names if I should write would grow unto a great number; they have visited me a simple Soul, and a man of small account, and have consented to this Letter. They also know that I bear not these gray hairs in vain, but always have had my conversation in Christ Jesus.

Victor Bishop of Rome sharply reprehended Id.

92. Immediately upon this, Victor Bishop of Rome went about to sever from the unity in the Communion all the Churches of Asia, together with the adjoining Congregations, as favoring not aright, and inveighed against them in his Epistles, and pronounced flatly all the Brethren there for excommunicated Persons. But this not pleasing all the Bishops, they exhorted him to seek after those things which concerned Peace, Unity, and Love between Brethren. Their words are at this day extant (saith Eusebius) that sharply reprehended Victor. Of which number Irenaeus in the name of all the Brethren in Gall that were under his charge, wrote, and allowed the same Sentence, viz. The Mystery of the resurrection of our Saviour to be celebrated on the Sunday only. Yet as it was very meet he put him in mind at large of his Duty, that he should not estrange, or cut off all the Churches of God, which retained the Tradition of old Custom. He told him, That there was not only a controversie about the day, but also the kind or manner of fasting, that this variety began long before their time; yet for all this they were at Unity one with another, for this variety of fasting, saith he, commendeth the unity of Faith. He told him, That his Predecessors in the See of Rome, Anicetus, Dius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xistus, neither did so observe it themselves, neither left any such Commandment unto Posterity, and yet they were at unity with them which referred to them from other Churches, and did observe the same. Polycarpus being at Rome in the time of Anicetus, they varied between themselves about trifling matters, yet were they soon reconciled, and not a word of this matter. Neither was Anicetus able to persuade Polycarpus that he should not retain that which he had always observed with John the Disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the Apostles with whom he had been conversant: neither did Polycarpus persuade Anicetus to observe it, but told him he ought to keep the Ancient Custom of the Elders whom he succeeded. These things being at this point, they communicated one with another. And in the Church Anicetus granted the Eucharist unto Polycarpus (or as Rufinus understandeth it, granted the Ministration of the Communion to him) for the reverence he owed him, and in the end they parted in peace; and all such as retained contrary observations throughout the whole universal Church held fast the bond of Love and Unity. Thus Irenaeus, not degenerating from the Ezymology of his name, and passing all others in the gift of reconciling the Brethren, practised for Ecclesiastical Peace. He wrote not only to Victor, but also sundry Governors of divers other Churches, in several Epistles concerning the said Controversie.

93. Thus do we see the first controversies about this Feast of Easter. Although the Hypotheses of Theophilus concerning the Aquinotial will not abide tryal, yet doubtless, those had more reason on their side, who intending to celebrate the Resurrection of Christ, refused to do it, but on that day he rose from the dead; the other practice seeming to have risen from a Custom of keeping the Passover at that time, by such as were originally of the Jewish Nation. Notwithstanding they differed about time and manner, yet before the Government of Victor, we see they agreed in Brotherly love. And it appeareth that the Custom of observing this Feast, was most ancient, even in the Apostles days, as appeareth from what is said by Polycrates, and by Irenaeus, in behalf of Polycarpus. Though they differed in the manner about keeping it, yet we do not find that any denied it was to be kept at all, although they were also for the true and spiritual observation of it, and against Abuses, as all good Christians have reason to be. But (that we may conclude this Controversie) in process of Time, both they of Asia, and others, leaving their own Customs, admitted of the Paschal Canons; made by the Orientals, especially by those of Palestine and Alexandria. At length few Differen-

ters remaining, a necessity of Obedience was imposed by *Constantine*, who herein followed the judgment of two Synods, *viz.* that of *Arletum* or *Arles*, A.D. 314, and the other of *Nice*, A.D. 325. But (that we may note thus much by way of Anticipation) The ancient *British* Church, as it seemeth submitted, not to those Decrees, observing *Easter* from the fourteenth to the twentieth Moon, which computation, faith ^(a) *Beda*, is contained within the Circle of Eighty four years. And for this, when they would not comply with *Augustine* the Monk (who had been sent from *Gregory* the Great Bishop of *Rome* to convert the *Saxons*, and was made by him the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*) who sought to draw them to Uniformity, twelve hundred Monks of *Bangor* were put to the Sword (whether through procurement of *Augustine* or no, I shall not now determine) by King *Ethelfrid*, A.D. 603, the *Scots* also then inhabiting *Ireland* observed *Easter* at the same time as the *Britans* did, to whom therefore *Laurentius* the Successor of *Augustine* in the See of *Canterbury* wrote, to drive them from their singularities. But how much he hereby profited, the present times do yet declare, faith ^(b) *Beda*, who lived A.D. 703.

When Britain
received the
Christian
Faith.

94. And being thus occasionally brought to *Britain*, we must observe in behalf of our Native Country, that the thick mists of Superstition being scattered, in the Reign of *Commodus* (not under *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*, as *Beda* writeth) when *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome*, the heavenly light and brightness of Christianity, by the means of King *Lucius*, shone upon this Island. This Prince admiring the holy life of Christians, made Petition unto *Eleutherus* by mediation of *Elvan* and *Meduan*, *Britans*, that both himself and his Subjects might be instructed in the Christian Religion. He sent forthwith *Fugatius* and *Donatianus*, two holy Men, with Letters, which at this day, faith *Cambden*, be extant, and as very many be persuaded, not forged, but Authentical, as bearing date when *L. Aurelius Commodus* was the second time, and *Vesprontius* was Consul. This *Vesprontius* was *Vesprontius Candidus*, whom *Onuphrius* and *Baronius* make the Colleague of *Commodus* in the first year of his Father's Reign, though an Inscription of *Gruterus* mentions *Aurelius Verus*; so that, to the very first beginning of *Commodus*, the Preaching of these Men is to be ascribed. These holy Men instructed the King and others in the mysteries of Christian Religion. Hereupon *Ninnius* writeth: King *Lucius* is surnamed *Lever Maur*, that is, a Prince of great glory, for the Faith which in his time came. Now such as call the Being of this King into question, for that they think there was at this time no King in *Britain*, which was wholly and fully reduced into a Province before; *Cambden* wilheth to remember, that the *Romans* had by ancient Custom in their Provinces, Kings, as the Instruments of their Bondage, that the *Britans* even then refused to obey *Commodus*, and that they themselves possessed and held freely those Parts of the Island, which were beyond the aforelaid wall, and had there Kings of their own, and that *Antoninus Pius* a few years before, having put an end to War, permitted Kingdoms to be ruled by their own Kings, and Provinces by their own *Comites*. He citeth *Tertullian*, who much about this time wrote, That those places amongst the *Britans* which yielded the *Romans* no access, are now subdued unto Christ. *Britain* is enclosed within the compass of the Ocean. The Nation of the *Mauri*, and the barbarous *Getulians* are beset by the *Romans*, for fear they might pass beyond the limits of their Countries. What should I speak of the *Romans*, who with Garisons of their Legions fortify their Empire: neither are they able to extend the power of their Dominion beyond these very Nations. But the Kingdom and Name of Christ reacheth further still, it is believed in every place, and is worshipped of all those People above named, &c.

95. But our Ecclesiastical Writers (thus *Cambden* proceedeth) who have employed both time and diligence in the consideration of this point, endeavour and labour to prove, and that out of ancient Fathers of credit, that before this time, in the very dawning and Infancy of the Church, *Britain* had received Christian Religion: and namely, that *Joseph of Arimathea*, a Noble Senator, failed out of *Gad* unto *Britain*, and that *Claudia Rufina* the Wife of *Aulus Pudens* (which woman, as is credibly thought, St. *Paul* nameth in his latter Epistle to *Timothy*) and whom the Poet *Martial* so highly commendeth, was a *Britain* born. They cite the testimony of *Dorotheus*, who commonly goeth under the name of the Bishop of *Tyre*, who in his *Synopsis* hath recorded, that *Simon Zelotes* having travelled through *Mauritiana*, was at last slain and buried in *Britain*, as also that *Arifobulus*, whom St. *Paul* mentioneth in his Epistle to the *Romans*, was made Bishop of

(a) Ecclesiast. Hist.
Angl. l. 2. c. 2.

(b) ubi supra
c. 4.

Britain (to which *Nicephorus* inclineth) notwithstanding he speaketh of *Britania*, and not of *Britania*. They report likewise upon the authority of *Simeon*, that great Metaphrast, and of the *Menology* of the *Greeks*, that St. *Peter* came hither and spread abroad the Light of God's Word: out of *Sophronius* also and *Theodore*, that St. *Paul* after his second Imprisonment in *Rome*, visited this our Country. Whereupon * *Venantius Fortunatus* wrote of him, (except he speaketh of his Doctrine) if he may be believed as a Poet. But to this purpose, faith our Author; maketh especially that which ere-while I alleged out of *Tertullian*, as also that which *Origen* recordeth, how, The *Britans* with one consent embraced the Faith, and made way themselves to God by means of the Druids, who did always beat upon this Article of Belief: That there is but one God. And verily of great moment is that with me which *Gildas* writeth after he had mentioned the Rebellion of *Boodica* and treated of the revenge thereof. In the mean while, faith he, Christ that true Sun shining with his most glittering brightness upon the universal World, not from the temporal skie and firmament, but even from the highest cope of Heaven, exceeding all times, vouchsafed first his beams, that is to say, his Precepts and Doctrine, in the time, as we know, of *Tiberius* Cæsar, unto this frozen Island full of ice, and lying out as it were in a long tract of earth remote from the visible Sun. *Chrysostome* likewise, to note so much by the way, writeth of the Christian Religion in this Island as followeth. The *British* Islands seated without this Sea, and within the very Ocean, have felt the power of the Word (for even there also be Churches founded, and Altars erected) of that Word I say, which is planted in the Souls, and now also in the Lips of all People. And the same *Chrysostome* in another place: How often have People in *Britain* fed of man's flesh: but now with fasting they refresh the Soul. Likewise St. *Hierome*: The *British* divided from our World, if he proceed in Religion, leaving the Western Parts, towards the Sun setting, will seek Jerusalem, a City known to him by form only, and relation of Scriptures.

Hereticks.

96. As for Hereticks which lived in the time with the forementioned Bishops, and the Reigns of *Marcus* and *Commodus*; There were the *Secundians*, called so from *Secundus*, who together with *Epiphane* and *Ildorus* taught the same with *Valentinus*. In life they were deadly, all Women among them were common: they denied the Resurrection of the flesh. *Ptolomæus* of whom were named the *Ptolomæi*, taught the Heretical Opinions of the *Gnosticks*, and of *Valentinus*; adding thereunto of his own, certain Heathenish doctrines out of *Flomer*. *Marcus* of whom the *Marcofii*, *Colorbasus* of whom the *Colorbasii*, and *Heraclion* of whom the Hereticks were called *Heraclionites*, sacrificed with Witchcraft: to amaze their Auditory they pronounced Hebrew words. Many Women coming to Church, under colour of receiving the Power of Prophecy from them, confessed they were abused by them. *Marcus* ran away with another man's Wife. They poured oyl and water upon the head of the deceased, hoping so to redeem them. They said, that the life and generation of man consisted in seven Stars: that Christ suffered not indeed, and that there was no resurrection of the flesh. *Aciliades* refraining the Use of God's Creatures, was reformed by *Attalus* the Martyr. *Archontici*, Hereticks in *Palestine*, referred all things unto Man's Powers. They said, *That Sabbath* was the God of the Jews, and the Devil the Son of the Sabbath. *Tatianus* the Scholar of *Justin Martyr* gave original to the *Encratites*, so called from Continency. For they abhorred Marriage, forbade the Use of living Creatures, offered Water instead of Wine in the Sacrament, and denied that *Adam* was saved. *Severus*, of whom were named the *Severians*, added to the opinions of *Tatianus*, reviling *Paul*, rejecting his Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles. He said, That a Woman was of the Devil, that Man from the middle upwards was of God, and beneath of the Devil. *Apelles*, *Pontinus*, and other *Marcionites*; about this time also disturbed the Peace of the Church.

97. There were also certain Hereticks of *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* called *Pepæzians*, as also *Quintilians* and *Priscillians*, because they said, that Christ in form of a Woman being the Bed fellow of *Quintilla* or *Priscilla*, revealed unto her Divine Mysteries. Women were Priests among them, and their sacrifices were alike to the *Montanists*, of which Sect they seem to have been, seeing also his Prophetesses were of the Town *Pepeca*. *Artogryta* were Hereticks which offered Bread and Cheese in the Sacrament. *Adog* denied Christ to be the Word, condemned *John's* Gospel, and said, that *Corinthus* the Heretick wrote the Revelations. *Theodotus* a *Montanist* through Sorcery took his flight towards Heaven, but down he fell and died miserably. *Adamites* deviled a Church after the fashion

of

of an hor-house, to keep them from cold for the space of an hour, or Service time: they were all naked, Men and Women: Virgins preached unto the rest: their Church they called *Paradise*, and themselves *Adam and Eve*. (a) *Florinus* and *Blasius* tell from the Church, and taught at *Rome*, That God was the Author of Evil, whom *Irenaeus* confuted. (b) *Theodotus* a Tanner, denied the Divinity of Christ: He was the first Author of the Heresy of *Artemon*, for which cause *Viator* Bishop of *Rome* excommunicated him. *Artemon* his Disciple accounted Christ but a bare naked man. He lived in the time of *Victor* and *Zephyrinus*. His Companions were *Aclepiodorus* and *Natalius*, who repented and fell at the feet of *Zephyrinus* Bishop of *Rome*, for Abolition. (c) *Marcianus* the Heretic maintained an Heterodox Opinion, out of the pretended Gospel of *Peter*, whom *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch* confuted. (d) *Noetus* denied there were three Persons, saying, All three were one. He called himself *Moses*, and said, *Aaron* was his Brother. He said, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, suffered in the Flesh.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of *Pertinax*, and the exposing of the Empire to sale; the Death of *Maximinus* the first elected Emperor without Consent of the Senate; the space of 45 years.

THE Soldiers having murdered *Pertinax*, got them to their Camp, and set the Empire to Sale, Proclaiming, That they would prefer him that should offer most. Two there were found who bade Money for it: First *Sulpicianus*, a man of Consular Dignity, Governor of the City, and Father in Law to *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus* of the same Degree, a great Lawyer, and exceeding rich. The Soldiers being jealous left the former should have an intention to punish them for the Murder of *Pertinax*, accepted the offer of *Julianus*, who promised what they would ask, having, as he said, treasures of Silver and Gold. Being by a Ladder received up to the Wall, and so into the Camp, he promised to restore the Honours and Statues of *Commodus*, to grant them what Liberty they enjoyed under that Prince, and to give them more than they could ask or expect; he was carried into the Palace, the people by the way cursing and upbraiding him with his purchase. Having thus invaded the Empire, he gave himself up to all Luxury, but being unable to perform his promise to the Soldiers, lost their favour, and fell into the contempt of all men, the People desiring another Prince. At this time *Pescennius Niger* was Governor of *Syria*, who as well for the greatness of his Place (his Province containing all from *Phoenicia* unto *Euphrates*) as for his Popularity, was most eminent: him did the People extol, and they implored his assistance. He being glad of this opportunity, easily persuaded his Soldiers to accept of him for their Emperor, and entertained Ambassadors which now had recourse to him as the lawful Prince. But then giving himself up to idleness, he neglected to settle and confirm his Estate by going to *Rome*, and (what was more) by drawing the Army in *Illyricum* to his side, and to loſt all.

2. At this time governed both the *Pannonias* *L. Septimius Severus*, an African born, a man forward and crafty, who seeing the Roman Empire thus obnoxious to every man's Catch, resolved to venture for it amongst the rest, especially in regard that of those two who had seized on it, the one was negligent and secure, the other hated and despised. Being also encouraged by some dreams, he first of all inveighed against the *Prætorian* Bands which had killed *Pertinax*, whom knowing to be much beloved by his Soldiers, he highly extolled him, and easily persuaded them to revenge his Death, who once was Lieutenant of the Forces in *Illyricum*. Then presently (though he pretended he sought it not) was he saluted Emperor, and took upon him the name of *Pertinax*, which he knew was acceptable to all. After this he marched with great speed to *Rome*, the *Italians* (who ever since the days of *Augustus* had not been used to War) receiving him in all places, and *Julianus* his Soldiers very slowly providing for resistance, though he had now

now distributed to them all the Money he could by any means compass. *Severus* conveyed his Soldiers in a disguised manner into the City, which was full of them, privily armed, ere *Julianus* or the People were aware; whereupon *Julianus* wrote to him, to signify he was willing to receive him, into participation of the Empire, and afterwards desired he might resign it. For the Senate seeing him so timorous, and the other now at hand, being called together according to the ancient Custom by the Consuls, decreed death to him, and the Empire to *Severus*. *Julianus* held the Dignity seven Months, having purchased death at an excessive rate.

Severus obtained it.

3. *Severus* having thus obtained the Empire, that he might not at first crack his credit by falsifying his word, got those Soldiers into his Power that he slain *Pertinax*, and making them be stripped of their Military Cloaths, he banished them a hundred Miles from the City. Then entering the Court, he promised great things to the Senate, professing his intention was to govern after the Precept of *Marcus*, and not only to take the name, but also disposition of *Pertinax*, although there were some who so well knew him, that they could not be deceived. After this he prepared for an Expedition against *Niger*, but fearing to leave an Emulator at his back, he endeavoured to prevent him. This was *Clodius Albinus*, who at this time governed *Britain*, was of *Patrician* rank, and had a strong Army at his Command. He flattered him with the title of *Cæsar*, beseeching him, as the fittest person, to take care of the Empire, for that he himself grew old, and his Children were Infants. *Albinus* overjoyed that he should obtain what he had desired, without any trouble, fooled himself in his vain confidence, especially for that *Severus* had written to the Senate in the same strain, had ordered Money to be stamped with his Image, erected him some Statues, and did him Honour otherwise, to deceive him.

4. *Niger* much troubled at his coming towards him, took care for securing the passages into *Asia*, gathered together all the Forces in those Parts, obtained aid from the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Kings, seized on *Byzantium*, and fortified the straits of the Mountain *Taurus*. *Severus* therefore directed not his course towards *Byzantium*, but marched for *Cyzicus*, where *Æmilianus* General to *Niger* met him, and either for that he was over-matched, or desirous to save his Children (whom *Severus* as also others of his Adversaries had got into his hands) betrayed his trust, and lost his Army. Then did *Severus* invade *Bithynia*, wherein they of *Nicomedia* revolted to him, but the Inhabitants of *Nice* stuck close to *Niger*: thence he proceeded into *Galatia*, and so into *Cappadocia* to pass over *Taurus*. The passage was so fortified and defended, that no hope there was of breaking through, till abundance of Rain-water falling down from the Mountains broke down the Wall, whereupon the Defendants fled. Then came *Niger* with an Army very numerous, but not to be compared with the Legions of *Illyricum* for Skill and Valour; and they met at *Issus*, where *Darius* was overthrown by *Alexander*. Here *Niger* had the same fortune in a great and bloody Battle, after which going back to *Antioch*, and being pursued by a Party of Horse, his Head was cut off, having brought himself to this end by his delay and idleness. *Severus* having thus removed him, now cast his Thoughts towards his friend in *Britain*.

Suppleness of Niger.

5. He now consulted how he might secure the Empire to his Family, which could not be done as long as *Albinus* continuing *Cæsar* had some title to it, and to whom in his absence the great ones had demonstrated their affections, as to a man of great Nobility, and far more worthy of the Sovereignty than he who at present possessed it. He therefore resolved to remove him out of the way. By open War he thought it not convenient to do it, and therefore at first attempted his Design by Treachery, sending some, who under colour of bringing Letters, should make him away. *Albinus* having warning to beware of him, this succeeded not, so that he betook himself to force, and with incredible expedition returned into the West. *Albinus* terrified at his hasty retreat, made all possible Provision for resistance, and passed over into *Gaul*, where after many skirmishes they joined in a pitched Battle near *Lugdunum*. Victory at the first so far inclined towards *Albinus*, that *Severus* cast off his Robe, and hid himself, but by the coming in of *Æmilius*, who designed to destroy them both, and set up for himself, the fight was so changed, that *Albinus* was routed, and flying to the City, there had his Head struck off. Then returned *Severus* to *Rome* with all his Army, which to reward, he not only bestowed Money upon them, but also such Privileges, which though to him they might procure respect and service; yet proved the bane of the Commonwealth.

Ceccece For

For the Soldiers having formerly through the looseness and neglect of some Emperors, contracted sloth and covetousness, were thence more animated to violate the Sovereignty, to depose, and set up whom they pleased. Now he adding more fuel to this flame increased their allowance of Corn, gave them license to wear Rings of Gold as Knights, and to Marry and maintain Wives, which broke in pieces the Reliques of the ancient Discipline, and effected, that we shall hear more of them upon very sad occasions.

His success in the East.

6. He made another expedition into the East, to be revenged upon such as had assailed *Niger*. Piercing into *Arabia* he besieged *Arre* the Metropolis of the *Arabi*, but found such entertainment as glad he was to retreat without any thing performed, and only by chance, as some say, saved his Reputation. For in his return being driven by Tempests into *Parthia*, he was constrained to Land near *Gressipon*, the chief City where *Arabanus* the King then resided. *Arabanus* struck with the fuddeness of the thing, fled amazed, and *Severus* taking the City with ease, got great Treasures, with multitudes of Captives, and returned to *Rome* in a Triumphant manner, having more by good fortune than policy achieved this Enterprize. When he had done these great things abroad, and (considering the Princes by him defeated, and the wonderful Expedition he used at all times) had approached near unto the greatest Military glory of the most famous Captains, he lay idle at home, or, spending his time in judicial affairs, he let fall the vizard of goodness, which in the beginning he had put on. His extraordinary covetousness increased his innate cruelty, to that under pretence of taking off his Enemies, he put to death unheard forty three Persons of chiefest Rank. In despite of the Senate, he Canonized *Commodus* for a God, cast *Narcissus*, who fringed him (as he had deserved) to the Lions, called himself his Brother, and to his Son *Basianus*, whom he made Partner with him in the Empire, he gave the Surname of *Antoninus*. His cruelty was also extended to the Church, against which he raised the fifth Persecution in the Tenth year of his Reign, wherein perished many.

His Vices.

The fifth Persecution.

Coming into Britain.

7. *Severus* after the overthrow of *Albinus*, sent first *Heracianus* to seize upon *Britain*, and to rule it: then *Virius Lupus* as Proprietor and Lieutenant (whom *Ulpian* the Lawyer calleth *President of Britain*) who being wearied with the Inroads and Insolences of the *Marae*, sent for the Emperor himself over. He was glad of this occasion, not only for desire of glory, but also to draw away with him his two Sons from the City, where they gave up themselves to licentious rioting, and exercised irreconcilable enmity betwixt themselves. The *Britains* sent Ambassadors to him to beg Peace, but he detained them till he had made sufficient Provision for War, and then dismissed them without granting their requests. Leaving his Son *Geta* (whom at his arrival he also created *Augustus*) in the hithermost part of the Province (which continued in obedience) for the civil Jurisdiction and Administration of affairs there, he himself with *Antoninus* went into the further parts, where being busied in cutting down Woods, making Bridges, and drying up the Meers, he fought no Battle, but what with the Enemies Ambuscadoes, and with Sickles, lost Fifty thousand Men, according to *Dio*. *Herodian* writeth, That the *Britains* found him weak enough, being able to retreat where the *Romans* could not follow by reason of the Fens, which the Natives easily passed, being naked, very nimble and skilful in the places, so that by Ambuscadoes laid in the *Caledonian Forest*, and through the unwholeness of the Meerish Grounds he lost many Thousands of his Men, but he forced them to Peace with delivery of a good part of their Country and their Arms. For these Victories he stamped certain pieces of Money with this Inscription, *Victoria Britannica*, assumed the Surname of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his Son *Geta* was also Surnamed *Britannicus*, as appeareth by his Coins, saith *Cambden*. But shortly after they revolted, whereupon he brake out into such a rage, that he gave his Soldiers charge to make a general Massacre of them all, and returning, though much tormented with the Gout, against them raised a Wall a hundred and thirty miles in length cross the Island, so leparate betwixt the *Barbarians* and *Romans*, which *Basianus* afterwards increased. When he had in some sort repressed the Rebels, he sickned, not so much out of any bodily Distemper, as for grief, and sorrow of mind, by reason of the desperate and unreclaimable demeanour of his Son *Antoninus*, who once or twice gave the attempt to kill him with his own hand. These were his last words:

Here he died.

A troubled State of the Commonwealth I found in every place, but I leave it in peace

peace and quietness even amongst the *Britains*. He died at *Eboracum*, now called *York* (having tried as he* laid all sorts of lives, and condemned all of vanity)* *Omissa sunt et* on the day before the *Nones of February*, having Reigned Eighteen years, and almost lived Sixty fix. *A.V.C. 964. A.D. 211. Q. Epitidius Rufus and Pomponius Bassus being Consuls.*

8. *Severus* his Body was in a Military fort carried forth by his Soldiers to the funeral fire, and honoured with a solemn Jutting and Running at Tilt, performed by his Sons and Soldiers. He was also Canonized a god after the ordinary manner of the *Apostheos of the Roman Emperors*, which being not formerly touched, it's convenient in this place to describe, as we have it from *Herodian*. A custom like unto this, the *Romans* have to consecrate those Emperors that die, their Sons or Successors surviving. And whosoever are thus honoured, be canonized, and registered in the Roll of their Divi, or gods. During this Complement they hold a general mourning through the whole City, and the same mixed with a festive Solemnity. For the dead Body they bury with a Sumptuous Funeral, according to the manner of other men. But they frame an Image of wax, resembling in all points the Party deceased, and lay the same openly at the Entry of the Palace, upon a most ample and stately bed of Ivory erected on high, and covered with Cloth of Gold. And verily that Image is clothed with a Pale colour like unto a sick man. About the Bed there sits a good part of the day the whole Body of the Senate on the left hand, arrayed in their Blacks; and on the right hand certain Matrones honorable by the Dignity of their Husbands or Parents. And there is not one of them seen to wear any Gold about them, nor to be adorned with Jewels, but clad in white and slender Garments, they represent Mourners. This they do for seven days together: during which time the Physicians rest daily in bins to feel his pulse, and consider of his Disease, and thereupon as of their Patient judicially pronounce, that he groweth worse and worse. Then when he seemeth to be dead, certain of the nobles, and most choice young men, as well of Senatorian as Equestrian Rank, take up the Bed, and carry it through the *Via Sacra* into the old Forum, where the Roman Magistrates were wont to lay down their Offices. Here on both sides are certain Steps raised in manner of Stairs; upon which on the one hand are placed a quire of Boys of noble birth and Patritian dignity, and on the other a Company of Women of noble Parentage, Singing in commendation of the deceased Prince, Hymns and Sonnets turned to a solemn and mournful Note.

9. These things done, they take up the Bed or Hearse again, and carry it out of the City into the *Campus Martius*, where in the broadest place thereof a frame or turret four square, with equal sides, is raised, and made in manner of a Tabernacle, of no other matter than great pieces of Timber. Now this within is all filled with dry fuel: but without, adorned with rich Hangings interwoven with Gold-wire, with divers Ivory Portraits of Imagery, and sundry curious Pictures. Over this frame stood another somewhat less; but in form and furniture like unto the former, with Windows and Doors standing open. And so a third, and fourth Turret, smaller every one than that next beneath it, and others like it still one after another, till you come to the last, which is the least of all the rest. The manner of this Building you may compare to those Lanthorns, or light Towers standing by Haven-sides, and commonly called Phari, which give light by fire in the night time, and direct Ships at Sea in their course to safe Harbours. The Hearse then being mounted up into the second Tabernacle, they get together Spices, and Odours of all sorts, as also all the sweet smelling Fruits, Herbs, Juices, and Liquors, that the whole World will afford, and thereon pour them by heaps. For there is no Nation, City, or State, nor any Person of Rank and Quality, but strive every one to bestow in honour of the Prince, these last Gifts and Presents. Now when there's a mighty heap of Spices raised, and the whole Room is therewith filled, then all of Knight's degree first ride about the edifice, marching in a certain measure: and therewith in their courses and recourses observe a Warlike kind of motion round, in just measure and number. Chariots are also driven about by such, as sitting in them are clothed in Purple, and represent all the famous Roman Captains and Emperors. These things thus performed, he that succeedeth in the Empire takes a Torch, and sets it to the Tabernacle: then all the rest on every side put fire under, and every place being filled with the dry fuel and Odours, instantly are taken with a vehement fire. Then presently from the left and least Tabernacle, as from some high Turret, when the fire is put underneath, an Eagle is let fly, which is believed to carry the Princes Soul up into Heaven. And so from that time forward the Emperor is adored amongst the rest of the gods.

CCCCC A

to Severus

had the Name of *Africanus*, viz. *Sextus Cælius Africanus*, commonly called *Sextus Cælius*, and another simply so called, both who lived before the time of *Alexander*. As for *Pomponius*, he reached (when ever he lived) the Seventy eighth year of his Age, and spent all his time in the study of the Law, and other Parts of good Literature, being much pleased with that Saying, That although he had one foot in the Grave, yet did he desire still to Learn.

The Excellency of the Writings of them and others, out of which the Pandects were taken.

15. These and many more mentioned in the *Pandects*, were the great and Reverend Sages of the Law, out of the Writings of whom were Collected such Books as are come to our Hands, and have the force and efficacy of Law from Imperial Stamp and Authority. They were Persons induced with all manner of good literature, and what ever could render them accomplished. Their Writings were not only words, nor only matter, but words and matter both; being lofty and judicious in respect of the one, and elegant, ingenious, rhetorical, and copious in reference to the other. They did not circumscribe the Law within the narrow bounds of Forms and Cautions; but as their business was to discern betwixt *Just* and *Unjust*, *Equitable* and not *Equitable*, *Lawful* and *Unlawful*, they took in all manner of knowledge whatsoever, conducing to that great and difficult Design, and thought it a point of Dishonesty as well as Ignorance, to be unfein in any thing which tended to the Safety of Men, and the Profit of the Commonwealth. For the Elegancy of the Writings of those who were more ancient, we have *Cicero* a Competent Judge; who usually Joyns the Commendation of Eloquence, with that of the Knowledge of the Law. And as for these of later times, the Writings of whom Compose the *Pandects*, or *Digests*, *Lawrentius Valla*, one as able to pass his Censure in point of Elegancy and good Latine as any other, thus expresseth himself in their behalf. 'I lately read over and over Fifty Books of *Digests*, taken out of most of the Writings of Lawyers, and I did it both willingly, and with great Admiration. First, Because it's hard to say, whether they excel in Diligence or Gravity, Prudence or Equity, various Knowledge, or excellency of Language; In the next place, every one of these Perfections do so abound in all of them, that it's hard to say in whom they most prevail. And this increaseth the Wonder, that they lived some of them some Ages distant, although all of them after *Cicero*, and therefore in some ways they differ from him, as all do who wrote after *Virgil* and *Livy*. Of *S. Sulpitius*, and *Mutius Scævola*, nothing is extant, although of a later *Scævola* there be something. As for the most ancient Lawyers, therefore, how Eloquent they were, we cannot judge, having nothing left us to read of all they wrote. But to speak of those Writings which are come to our Hands, in mine Opinion, nothing can be added or taken from them, nor only in respect of Eloquence, which yet that Subject doth not greatly bear, but also of the Purity and Elegancy of the Latin style, without which, all Learning is blind and illiberal, especially in the Civil Law. Thus much *Valla* write in behalf of their Language, as for their Matter, and the excellency of that reason contained in their Writings, the Practice of the Christian World bears witness to it, almost all Kingdoms and States receiving them for Law at this very day.

Bishop.

16. In the first year of *Severus* (that we may continue our method concerning Ecclesiastical matters) died *Pictor* Bishop of *Rome*, on the fifth of the *Calends* of *August*, and *Zepherinus* succeeded; the fifteenth Bishop of that See, according to *Damasus*. In the last of *Antoninus Bassianus*, *Zepherinus* died, on the seventh before the *Calends* of *September*. The See was vacant five days. Then succeeded *Callistus*, who therefore was elected the day before the *Calends* of *September*, on the first *feria*. After *Dios* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, whom the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches had ordained after the departure of *Narcissus*, Germanian succeeded, and after him *Gordian*, in whose time *Narcissus* showed himself again, as if he had been risen from the dead, and was intreated by the Brethren to enjoy his Bishoprick, being much marvelled at for his departure, for his Philosophical course of life, and especially for the Vengeance and Plagues of God poured upon his accusers. And because for his great age he was not able to supply the place, *Alexander* Bishop of *Cappadocia* was joyned with him, and governed alone after his death. In the Church of *Antioch*, *Astlepiades* was Bishop after *Serapion*, about the first year of *Caracalla*, and was succeeded by *Phileas* about the last of that Prince's Reign.

Tertullian.

17. Upon *Zepherinus* Bishop of *Rome* falleth very foul *Tertullian* a Presbyter or Priest of *Carthage* in *Africa*, for that he was more severe against such, as through fear had sacrificed to Idols, than against Whoremongers and Adulterers; wherein not without cause truly (saith *Capellus*) but yet without measure he blameth *Zepherinus*, and the whole *Roman* Clergy, the manners of whom were even now very corrupt, if we may believe *Tertullian*. But really not so much out of hatred to their Vices, as out of prejudice to the truth he calleth the *Roman* Clergy *Psychicks*, as well in his Book de *puticitia*, as in that de *monogamia*, which he thus beginneth, *Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Psychici ingerunt*. He pretendeth therein only to condemn second Marriages, but indeed most of his Arguments respect both first and second, although he himself had Married a Wife, and retained her in his Presbytery. But Marriage which he had learnt of the Orthodox to approve, he learnt of *Montanus* to despise, to whom he would have more revealed than to the Apostles, because they as yet (or for certain the Church) could not bear the yoke of fastings and celibate which *Montanus* brought in, and he as a *Montanist* would inculcate. This humour at length so possessed him, that neither content with the title of *Christian*, nor that of *Presbyter*, he put on the Philosophy, *Pallium*, as a token of a more austere life, wherein he would be eminent, not only amongst *Christians*, but also *Montanists*. The *Africans* either being amazed on laughing at this Novelty, he wrote an elegant but most obscure Book de *pallio*, which before being miserably lacerated, hath been of late days restored by the most learned *Salmastius*. He wrote his Book De *prescriptionibus* about the eighth year of *Commodus*, as *Capellus* gathereth, because in the end thereof making a Catalogue of Hereticks, he mentioneth *Theodotus* (who was censured by *Vitalis* Bishop of *Rome*, for holding Christ to have been a meer man) but not *Artemon* the Heretick who appeared shortly after.

18. His Book De *corona Militis* acquainteth us with the occasion of the Persecution of the Christians, in the Reign of *Severus*. The Emperor ere he marched into the East (in that Expedition wherein he overthrow the *Partians*) made his elder son his Partner in the *Triumphant* Power, and by his liberality pleased the People formerly enraged by the many Punishments he inflicted. By occasion of this liberality as it seemeth a Christian Soldier holding a certain Garland or Crown in his hand, as if it were wickedness for him to let it on his head as the rest did, was asked why he did so, and answered, That he was a *Christian*. This was the occasion of the Emperor's rage. About the fifteenth of *Severus*, he wrote against the *Marcionites*, whom he so impugned, as yet underhand he inculcated his *Monianism*. For saith he: *Amongst us spiritual reason derived from the Comforter, persuadeth in the Faith single Placitum*. But we must not forget, that about the fourth of *Severus*, he wrote a most excellent *Apology* for the Christian Faith. At the same time with *Tertullian* flourished *Clemens*, called *Alexandrinus*, because a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, the Scholar of *Pantemus*, and Matter of *Origen*. *Eusebius* mentioneth him, and *Pantemus* in the second of *Severus*, at which time it is probable he wrote his *Stromata*; for not intending his Chronology beyond the time of *Commodus*, he seemeth not long after his death to have begun that Work.

Clement Alexandrinus.

Minutius Felix.

At this time also lived *Minutius Felix* an eminent Lawyer, and the Author of that excellent Book, intituled *Octavius*, which, as *Lactantius* writeth, doth declare how fit an asserter of the truth he might have been, had he applied himself wholly to that Study. This Book being intended as an *Apology* for Christian Religion, acquainteth us what thoughts the Heathen at that time had thereof, as also do the *Apologies* of *Justin Martyr*, the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus*, and especially that of *Tertullian*. We have already shewn the rise and increase of Christian Religion, we have delivered the series of the most eminent Bishops and Fathers thereof, as also of the several Hereticks which from within disturbed the peace thereof. We have also given an account of the several fiery Trials the Faithful underwent. But what opinions the Infidels had of Christians and Christianity, of what crimes they accused them, whence their hatred proceeded, whereupon the Emperors grounded their bloody Edicts: what the Primitive Saints did in the mean time, how they behaved themselves under these pressures, how they carried it towards their Enemies, how they stood affected in duty towards their Princes; in sum, what their conversations both as Men and Christians were, is most worthy to be considered, and those things in short out of the *Apologies* aforementioned, and other Authors, we shall endeavour to discover.

An inquiry into the condition of Christians.

The reason of the prejudice of Heathens against them.

Malignant slanders concerning the manner of their worship.

19. The first thing that the Heathens cavilled at in Christianity (besides what occasion was given by Hereticks whom the Church abominated) was the Newness of it. (a) St. Paul seemed to them to be a fether forth of new gods. And there was an ancient Law at (b) Rome which forbid introducing new Ceremonies into Religion, as worshipping strange Deities, unless approved by the Senate; and this was an inviolable Law, which binding Emperors as well as others, *Tiberius* could not, as he desired, receive *Jesus Christ* amongst their gods; for the Senate would not approve of a God they did not know. This prejudice (which yet in Idolatry often effected nothing amongst the Romans) was increased by a misapprehension of our Lord and Saviour's Sufferings; his being Crucified, made them despite both him and his. Hence (c) *Tacitus* telling the original of the *Christians* will let the World know, that *Christ* from whom they derived their name, was *Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus*. And hence *Trajan* (d) in his discourse with *Ignatius*; when he would mean *Christ*; called him *Crucifixus*, the Crucified, in way of contempt. This contempt was increased into disdain; by reason that *Christ* would have no other Gods (as they accounted them) thaners with him in worship, and this disdain was heightened to rage, when Christians preaching this saving Doctrine, declaiming against Idols; proving the Heathen gods to be devils, and striking at the root of Paganism; endeavoured to draw even the whole World from Superstition, and Idolatry to an ancient and universal: *Tu* say, *we do not worship the Gods*, saith (e) *Tertullian*. This was accounted a Crime of Sacrilege, and worthy of death; much more than to curse others from doing it. *Quid, homines (suscipitis enim me impetum suffragat orationis liberis exercebant) homines (inquam) deplorat, illicita ac deperata falsionis grassari in Deos nonne ingemiscendum est*: saith (f) *Cicilius*, as he is brought in by *Mintius*. Hereupon the Christians were accounted *Atheists*, and it was a Custom to cry out against them, where the Greek tongue was used (g) *Alpe* *the* *Atheists*; which words they would have (h) *Polycarp* utter as a sign of his Recantation. 'This by reason of the malice of Devils (who were worshipped under the names of the several gods) did render them so highly impious in the opinion of the vulgar, and so enraged the multitude against them, that (b) if *Tiber* ever flowed, if Nile watered not the plains; if (i) *Terra* Heaven stopped its course, and did not pour its rains here below, if there were Earthquake, Famine, or Plague; they would immediately cry out Christians ad Leones, Cast the Christians to the Lions, as the cause (in their opinion) of all the calamities that arrived in the World, and all the evils that people suffered.

20. Prejudice and hatred being risen thus high, invented false accusations, and caught hold of idle Surmises, nothing ill seeming incredible concerning those that are already odious. (a) *Athenagoras* saith, that three things they objected against Christians: *Atheism*, *They* *the* *heathens*, and the *Capitulation of Oedipus*. The two latter (whereof as much as concerned *They* *the* *heathens* and *Oedipus* we have spoken above in their due places) (b) *Tertullian* thus explaineth: 'The Crimes pretended against us (the horror of which makes us pass for wicked in the opinion of the people) are, that we meet together to Sacrifice a Child; that after we have taken away his life by a barbarous superstition, we devour his body, and when we have eaten the flesh of this innocent, we commit Incests. They add, that we have Dogs, which serve to overthrow the Candles, and doing the Office of those infamous Merchants of Modesty, make us lose all shame in taking the lights from us; and covering our actions under the veil of darkness, embolden us to seek the Use of ungodly, and sacrilegious pleasures. *Calicius* maketh beginners initiated by the Blood of an Infant, which they all licking up, and dividing his Members amongst themselves, by so horrid a Ceremony confirmed their league, and the Covenant of their mutual secrecy. 'These *Sacra* (saith he) are more abominable than all Sacrilege. And as for their feasting 'is known sufficiently, all speak of it in all places; the Orator also of our *Certens* doth witness it: They meet together to eat on a set day with all their Children, Sisters, Mothers, Persons of every Sex, and every age. There, after much eating, when the feast is now grown hot, and the heat of incestuous lust is kindled by drunkenness, the Dog that is tied to the Candlestick is provoked, by casting a piece of meat beyond the length of the string by which he is bound, to a violent leap. Thus the conscious light being overthrowen and put out, &c. so he proceedeth to the same purpose, but in worse terms. And *Justin Martyr* in his Conference with (c) *Tryphon* the Jew, demandeth (c) *Page 227* of him after this manner: 'Do you also believe concerning us that we devour men,

men, and after meat the lights being put out, use wicked and promiscuous Copulation? Lastly, *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Antioch* in his third book (d) to *Antolycus* (d) *Page 119* against Calumniators of Christian Religion, summeth up what we have already said, in these words: 'They say that our Wives are common, and accuse us that we use promiscuous Copulation. Besides, they lay to our charge that we do not abstain from our own Sisters, but rashly dare to violate those with incestuous lust. But this is most cruel and brutish of the Crimes they object against us, when with an impious mouth they prate, that we eat man's flesh: neither do they cease to traduce our Religion or Doctrine as of yesterday, and detestate of all truth, which neither we ourselves, if a controverfie arise, are able to defend with clear demonstrations. Further, they lay that our Doctrine is nothing but folly, and meer toys.

21. That malice which invented these impious adjuncts of Christian Religion; found out a suitable object of worship; for the Romans had so far forgotten their own ancient Custom of serving their Gods without Images, or resemblances (for *Numa*, as *Plutarch* telleth us, and the ancient Romans for many years admitted no Images in their Temples, because the Deity cannot be made out by any external resemblance) that they thought it impossible for any Religion not to be guilty of Idolatry towards some visible thing. Hence came that Fable related by (a) *Tacitus* (an Author guilty of malice against both Jews and Christians) (a) *Page 119*. 'That the Jews consecrated the Image of an Ass, because (forsooth) being pressed sorely with thirst in the Deserts of Arabia, certain wild Asses shewed them the Fountains where they were wont to drink; although this Author, who saith he lies not, writeth, that *Pompey* having taken *Jerusalem*, and entered into the Temple to see the mysteries of the Jewish Religion, saw there no Image at all. (b) *Tertullian* conceiveth, that from this tale sprung that conceit that the Christians (the Religion of whom was drawn from that of the Jews, and succeeded it) they worshipped the Effigies of an Ass. 'I hear, (saith *Cicilius*) that they worship a Consecrated head of an Ass, the most filthy of all sorts of Cattel, I know not out of what foolish persuasion; a Religion worthy of, and descended from, such manners. But he goeth further, and relateth a Report, that the very object of their worship should be obscene. (c) *Tertullian* further writeth, that some were of opinion they worshipped the Cross, and *Cecilius*, from the ignominious Death of our Lord, and this instrument of it, argueth to the Infamy of Christian Religion in an abominable manner. *Tertullian* in the same place telleth us, 'That some with more apparent reason believed the Sun to be their God, and sent them to the Religion of the Persians, herein suspecting them for so doing, because when they prayed, they turned themselves toward the East. [And after an answer to this I yet addeth:] 'The Calumnies invented to cry down our Religion arose to such excess of impiety, that not long ago in this City, a Picture of our God was shewed by a certain infamous Person that got his living by exposing to the sight of the people, wild beasts: who by a strange faculty gotten by him to avoid their bitings, making Use of his craft, shewed also the aforesaid Picture to all Comers, with this Inscription thereon, *This is Onocrotus the God of Christians*. This supposed God of the Christians pretended by him had the Ears of an Ass, an hoof on one of his feet; carried a Book, and was clothed with a Gown: we laugh at the barbarousness of this name, and the extravagancy of this figure. Such were the Blasphemies of Pagans against Christian worship, and as an Argument for them, they produced the secrecy of Christian meetings, which their own cruelty and rage had made necessary. 'They (d) talked of nothing more than the excess of the Tables of the Christians. And after all this they (e) objected; that they were not any way profitable in the commerce of the World. (d) *Page 119*. (e) *Page 119*.

22. As to their outward demeanour, they accused them of Sedition as well as Atheism. Let (a) *Tertullian* speak up on what frivolous grounds: 'You say we worship not the Gods; nor for the welfare of the Emperors, offer sacrifices to them. The one of these two Crimes whereof you accuse us, must necessarily follow upon the neck, or in consequence of the other: for, being resolved to render no manner of worship to your Deities, we must necessarily in like manner be resolved not to sacrifice at their Altars, whether for our selves, or for what person soever it be. Hereupon you conclude us guilty of Sacrilege and High Treason. *Pliny* was wont, as appeareth from his Epistle to *Trajan*, to try Christians by Supplications made to the Images of the Gods, and amongst these to the Emperor's Picture by Frankincense and Wine. This burning Incense was an ordinary trial in all ages. They were also counted singular and iaculous, for that they would not swear

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by the Fortune or Genius of the Emperors." This the holy Martyr (b) Polycarp was (b) Epiph. Eccl. bidden to do by the *Proconsul* a little before his Suffering. These prejudices and false opinions being heightened and irritated by the malice of Devils, who found themselves nearly concerned therein, procured wonderful enmity and malice in the hearts of Pagans against the Faith.

23. 'Is it not strange (a) Tertullian that the hatred wherewith this name is pursued, in such manner blinds the minds of most men, that when they witness the probity of a Christian, they mix in their discourse as a reproach, that he hath embraced this Religion. One faith, truly, he of whom you speak is an honest man, if he were not a Christian, and his life would be free from blame. Another, Do you know such a one, who had the reputation of a wife and discreet man? he is lately turned Christian. [Again] "These People by an extreme blindness of hatred speak to the advantage of the name Christian, when they strive to render it odious. For, say they, How pleasant, and of what a good humour was that woman? How sociable and jovial was that man? This pity they should be Christians. So they impute the amendment of their lives to the Profession of Christianity. Some of them also purchase the aversion they carry against the name Christian, which we bear, with the price of what is most precious to them, rather desiring to lose the sweetness of life, tranquillity of mind, and all sorts of Commodities, than to see in their houses that which they hate. A man who heretofore had his mind full of jealousy, can no longer endure the company of his wife; what assurance forever he hath of her chastity, after once he perceives her to be turned Christian, and parts from her now when her actions full of modesty have extinguished all suspicions wherewith he was heretofore moved. A Father who of a long time endured the disobedience of his heathenish Son, resolves to take from him the hope of succeeding him in his inheritance for turning Christian, when at the same time executing his commands without murmuring. A Master that used his Slave gently when his carriage gave him some cause of distrust, now puts him far from him for being a Christian, when he hath most assurance of his fidelity. 'Tis committing of a Crime to correct the disorders of a man's life by the motions of an holy Conversion to the Christian faith, and the good which is produced by so happy a change works not so powerfully in the minds of men, as the hatred they have conceived against us. Indeed this hatred is strange; and when I consider that the name of Christian only makes it to be so, I would willingly know how a name can be Criminal, and how a simple word can be accursed? Thus much (and enough I suppose) to discover hatred it self."

The sad effects thereof.

24. And the fruits of hatred abundantly manifested themselves. 1. In fastning Christians to Crosses and pieces of Wood. 2. Hanging them up as publick spectacles unto all men upon Gibbets. 3. Piercing their Bodies with Irons. 4. Cutting off their heads. 5. Exposing them to the rage of wild Beasts. 6. Throwing them into flames. 7. Condemning them to work in Mines; and 8. Confining them to Islands; "All which sorts are expressed in one (c) Chapter of Tertullian (c) cap. 12. Apology. In another (d) place he thus writeth, "How often do those people being our Enemies, of their own accord, without your Authority, assault us with stones, or burn us? They are verily so enraged against us; that during the furies of the *Bacchanals*, they spare not even Christians that are dead, but trouble the Rest of their Graves, they violate their Sepulchres which are as Sanctuaries of the dead, they draw forth their Bodies not to be known whose Bodies they are, after mangled by them, which with extreme inhumanity they tear, and drag in the streets. (e) [Elsewhere.] "How many are there among you, O ye People, that are this way greedy of the blood of Christians? and also among you, O ye Magistrates, after you appear such Judicious by the severity you treat us with, whose Consciences I would strike with true reproaches of having procured the death of your own Children? Yet if you did but simply put them to death, it were something; but by a strange excess of cruelty you throw them into the water, you expose them to the rigour of cold and hunger, and the rage of Dogs; you will not take their lives away with the sword, because too gentle a death, and which men of the age of discretion had rather suffer, than any other that hath violence in it."

25. But, when the time of Persecution drew towards an end, then especially did the Devil rage with variety of torments against the Primitive Saints. (f) Epiph. Eccl. b. 1. Besides those formerly mentioned, (d) Serapion was thrown down, and had his neck

neck broken. Some having their flesh rent in pieces with the lash of the whip; some were broyled upon Gridirons; others having their skins razed, and scorched being tied by one leg were hanged on Trees with the head downwards. They pulled out the right eyes of others, fearing the empty place, and fawing off the left legs of others, feared their hams, and condemned them to the mines, which usage was accounted Clemency. Some they scourged to death, cut out their tongues, and strangled them. One *Apphianus*, being all disfigured with stripes, had his feet wrapped in flax coyled all over, which being set on fire, it ran over his flesh and consumed it, and pierced into the marrow within the bones, so that his whole body distilled like to melting wax. Three days he was suffered to remain in Prison after this torture, and when by reason of his wounds he was ready to yield up the ghost, then was he thrown into the Sea. Others were forced by buckling, josting, and buffeting, to kill one another. Others of mens estate were gelded and condemned to the quarries. Others were tormented grievously and chastised with imprisonment and fetters, of which number was *Pamphilus*, of all my familiars my dearest friend, a man who among all the Martyrs of our time, faith *Eusebius*, excelled in every kind of virtue. He had his sides mangled with sharp razors, and then was ordered to be kept in the noisom stench of the close Prison, where the rest of the Confessors remained, till at length he was put to death, being a Presbyter of the Church of *Cæsarea*, concerning whose life *Eusebius* wrote three books, and for his familiarity with, and affection to him, had the surname of *Pamphilus*. This variety of the torments of Christians, appeareth from several passages in the seventh and eighth Books of his Ecclesiastical History, which so far exceedeth all inferior Punishments, or (that I may speak in the phrase of Lawyers) the diminutions capitis, that we need not mention how Christians were denied the title of (b) Roman Citizens. But one kind of punishment far more grievous than the rest there yet was, which more tormented Christians than all other tortures put together: and that was the loss of their chastity. This Engine battered the fort of *Origen's* constancy, who chose rather to sacrifice to Idols than be abused by an *Ethiopian*, as *Suidas* writeth. (c) Tertullian giveth us another instance, that we may enquire no further. "And indeed a few days since, (a) (he) you condemned a Christian maid to be rather prostituted to an infamous corrupter: of her chastity, than to be exposed to the rage of a Lyon; you acknowledge there is no punishment nor kind of death, which is so intolerable to Christians, as the loss of their chastity."

(c) Tertul. Apol. l. 36.

(c) Apol. c. 11.

26. Such was the entertainment Christians found in this World; now let us see how far they deserved it, as to their demeanour, and carriage; for there is no need to speak here to the two first objections. "The Heathens (a) believe a man could not make profession of Christianity, without being tainted with all sorts of Crimes, without being an Enemy to the gods, to Princes, to the Laws, to good Manners, and to Nature; and that a Christian could not be acquitted, unless he denied himself to be such an one. But their carriage was so quite contrary to all these surmises, except that concerning the worship of Heathenish vanities, or Devils, under the name of gods, that they only were the Servants of the true God, they only were free from all sorts of Crimes, were the best friends and Subjects of Princes, of the Laws, good Manners, and Nature, and truly affirming themselves Christians, might justly in this respect have been acquitted from these accusations. "They (b) assembled together by troops in their Prayers to God, as if thereby they would carry by force the grant of whatsoever Prayers were presented to him, this being a violence agreeable to him; they prayed to him for the Emperors, their Ministers the Magistrates that had the exercise of their Power, for the State, the tranquillity of the Empire; and the retarding of the general dissolution that must put an end to all things. They assembled together to read the Holy Scriptures, and they read them according to the condition of the times; what served either to admonish or confirm the faithful. "In effect, the Scriptures nourished their faith, lifted up; and assured the confidence they had in God, nevertheless they ceased not to confirm their discipline by the strength of Precepts they continually repeated. In these Assemblies, (a) Tertullian, for the former are also his words) we make exhortations and threatenings; and exercise Divine censure, which banisheth Sinners, and excludes them from our Communion; we judge them with very much circumspection, because we know that God is in the midst of us, and sees what we do; and certainly this is a great foretelling of the judgment that God will one day pronounce against

The unblameable demeanour of Christians in their Assemblies.

(b) item ibid. c. 39.

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against the wicked, when the Church moved with the enormity of their Crimes, darts out upon willful Sinners the Thunderbolts of Excommunication, and deprives them of the participation of it's Prayers, it's Society, and all sorts of holy Commerce with it.

27. 'In our Assemblies there are Bishops that preside, and have Authority over all the faithful committed to their charge; they are approved by the Suffrages of them whom they ought to Conduct, and it is not Bribes that acquire them this honour, but Testimonies of their good life. For in the Church of God nothing is done by the allurements of Gifts; if there be among us any kind of Treasure, the Money laid up makes our Religion not ashamed. And every one contributes a little Sum at the end of the Month, or when he will; but it is if he will and can; for none are constrained to give. If we get any Alms it is of good will; riches gathered in this manner, are as the pledges of Piety; we do not confound them in eating and drinking with excess; we make not Use of them for the foul and loathsome exercise of Gluttony: but we employ them in feeding the poor, burying them, in comforting poor Orphans, in helping old men who have spent their best days in the service of the Faithful, in helping the poor that have lost by Shipwreck what they had, and in assisting them that serve in the Mines, are banished into Islands, or shut up in Prisons, because they profess the Religion of the true God, that during the time they suffer for the Confession of his Name, they may be nourished by the stock of the Church. But it's a strange thing, that this charity among us gives occasion to some to blame us. See, say they, how they love one another; this astonisheth them, because they hate one another. See say they, how they are ready to die one for another; but as for them they are ready to kill one another. [A little after.] As we live with the same intelligence, as if we had all but one Spirit and one Soul; we have nothing in particular but our Wives, of all things in the World there is nothing but Wives, whereof we reject Community; and on the contrary among them of their Wives only there is a Community with other men. [Again.] Now seeing we live together with so much Charity, that all our Goods are common, why should they wonder if we make good cheer: for it's one of the excesses you reproach us with: besides the infamous Crimes whereof you accuse our Repasts, you charge it with Prodigality.

28. In the same place: "But you need but consider the name given to our Repasts, to know the quality thereof. They express themselves with the same word that signifies *Love* with the *Greeks*; whatsoever the cost is that is made, it is profitable, for they gain always in this expence, because it hath Piety for its foundation. It's a sweetness wherewith we comfort the want of the poor, but we do not treat them as you these infamous Gluttons, who glory in selling you their liberty for the price of their good bits, wherewith they fill their Bellies in the midst of a thousand indigencies. But we will have the least served with our goods, because they we know, amongst all men, are the most acceptable unto God. Then seeing our Feasts have to honest end, consider what our Discipline should be in the rest of our Actions, even those which more concern the Duties of Religion; it permits nothing that is dishonourable, nor far from Modesty. Before we go to Table we are fed with Heavenly Meat, which is the Prayer we make to God; we eat as much as is necessary to satisfy one's appetite, we drink as much as is permitted to persons that have a care of their Purity. They that sit there, take their refection with so much Temperance, as they may remember they are obliged to worship God even at night. They entertain one another as People that know God hears what they say. After the Repast done, they have washed their hands, and lighted the Candles, they are invited to praise God, and sing Psalms taken out of the holy Scripture, or Hymns every one composed according to the capacity of his mind. By this it may be known, if they have committed any excess at Table; as the Repast began with Prayer, so it ends; they go forth not in divers Troops to defile their hands with the Blood of Men, nor in several Bands running in the Streets, not to do insolencies; but with the same care they had in coming in, preserve their Modesty and Chastity.

29. Finally, Christians retire with so much staidness, that we may very well see they are not fed so much with corporal Meats, as the substance of Heavenly and Holy Discipline. Certainly, it were but reason that this Society of the Christians should be reputed unlawful, if it were like to that the Laws forbid; it were but good reason it should be condemned, if it were not different to that

which deserves to be condemned; if one would reproach it with the same things wherewith they accuse factious Societies. But tell me, Did we ever assemble to procure the hurt of any one? we are the same in a body, as when separated: as we are in particular, so we are in general: that is to say, in whatsoever estate we are found, we injure no body; when any Virtuous or Godly People are associated, when any Pious or Chast Persons assemble together, their Union should not be called a Faction, but a lawful Society. Thus *Tertullian*, to whole words, as to the harmless carriage of the Christians in their Assemblies, Apostates witnessed, as appeared from what *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan*. As for the Crimes supposed to be committed by them, they ever challenged any witness to be produced of them, and sufficiently confuted the vain reports in their Apologies. They laughed at the fiction of the Afflic head, and such like stuff, and as for worshipping Croffes, *Ossavius* in his answer to *Cecilius* saith, *Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus. Croffes we neither worship nor wish for.* Neither did they meet for Seditious ends, as for the alteration of Governments, destruction of Princes, or changing of Magistrates. Though they, rather than any of late time, might pretend to Saintship, yet did they not make it an advantage to raise themselves; whereby they laid no claim to the Riches, Power, or Dominion of the World, they did not hold, That temporal Dominion was founded in Grace, nor that the true and spiritual Kingdom of Jesus Christ destroyed the Right and Interest of earthly Princes. They made no Insurrections, covered on Rebellious Designs with the name of Religion, neither did by violence attempt a Reformation; although they were so many Thoulands, as in all probability they might have born down all before them; though they filled all Places, consisted of all Degrees, and hereby shared in all Interests, in Power and Intelligence, and by their Combinations might have taken their Opportunities, and easily by force of Arms made way for their Designs, yet obedience to their Princes, they ever held most inviolable by the Principles of their Religion, and made Use of no other weapons than Prayers and Tears, though for their own Safety and Preservation. Hear to this purpose what Challenges *Tertullian* makes to such, as if he had had not truth on his side, would have been sufficiently ready to infance wherein the Christians offended, which they yet never adventured to do.

30. In the midst of all these outrages have you observed that these People, who (as you think) have framed so strange a Conspiracy; and on the other side might be animated enough for revenge, by the Punishment wherewith you take away their lives, endeavoured any thing against you to resent the evil treating they have received? Think you that they want an Occasion? when in one Night only a small number of Torches would be enough to satisfy their Revenge, if with us it were permitted to render evil for evil; but God forbid we should do so. A Religion that is all divine, ought not to revenge by the Infatigation of Men, and must not think it strange to suffer that which is made Use of to prove them. If we would declare against you as open, rather than pursue you as secret Enemies, might we not have Forces and Troops enough? It may be the *Moors* and *Marcomanni*, the *Perthians*, or whatsoever People they are shut up in the bounds of the Country they inhabit, make a greater number of Men, than they that are spread throughout all the Universe, and have no other Limits than that of the World. Our Religion is but of late, and we fill already all that your Power acknowledgeth, Cities, Fortresses, Isles, Provinces, the Assemblies of the People, the Armies also, the Wards and Tents of *Rome*, the Palace, the Senate, and the Publick places; Finally, we leave you but the Temples. What Wars were we not able to undertake with what readiness might we not arm our selves, although we should be the weaker? we that suffer our selves so willingly to be killed, if in our Religion it were not rather lawful to let our selves be killed, than to kill others; we could also make War against you without taking up Arms, by casting out selves into a revolt; it were enough not to live with you, and to separate our selves, our Divorce would print Shame in your foreheads. For, if Christians, who make so great a multitude of all sorts of Persons, should abandon you, to retire unto some Country of the World dispersed from all Society; truly the loss of so many Citizens, of what condition soever, would disparage your Government, and also our retreat would be a rude Punishment to you; without doubt this solitude that would remain with you, this silence of all things, this

They were good and Loyal Subjects.

Heret. Apolog. 57.

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'general astonishment of Nature, even as if all the world were dead, would frighten you, you might go seek Subjects to Command, there would remain to you more Enemies than Citizens: now you have more Citizens than Enemies, because there are a greater number of Christians among you.

31. Thus we see their peaceable demeanour; how their minds stood affected towards their Princes, let *Tertullian* also inform us: 'As for us, in the Prayers we make for the Emperors, we call upon the Eternal God, the true God, the living God, &c. [In the same place.] It is to him to whom we Christians address our Prayers, make them with hands opened and lifted up, because Innocent, the head bare, because no cause to be ashamed when we pray to God: There is none telleth us the words we are to say, because it is our heart that speaketh, rather than our Tongue. We pray for all the Emperors, and ask of God that he would give them a long Life, that their Empire enjoy a profound Peace, their House happy Concord, their Armies be innumerable, themselves assisted with good Councils, the People remain in their Duties, no trouble arise in the World against their Authority. In Conclusion, we forget nothing the Prince can wish for, either as a Man, or as an Emperor. [A little after:] 'While we implore the Grace of God for the Emperors with our hands lifted up, and stretched towards Heaven, let Irons pierce us, let us be put on Gibbets and Crosses, Fires consume us, Knives cut our Throats, Beasts devour us: A Christian while in Prayer lifting up his hands to God, is in a condition fit to receive all sorts of Punishment; and therefore continue, O Magistrates, be affected to Justice; ravish our Souls while they are in Prayers for the welfare of the Emperors, and make a Crime of Truth and the Service of God. [In the following Chapter:] We intreat them who believe our Religion takes no care of the preservation of the Emperors, to examine the Laws of our God, to read our Books which we hide not, and which by divers accidents fall into other hands than ours. They will learn there, that it is commanded by a superabundant Charity, to pray to God for our Enemies, and to wish good to them that persecute us. Now, have we greater Enemies, and ruder Persecutors, than those who make offended Majesty the ground of the Crime they impute unto us? Holy Scriptures content not themselves with this Commandment; they have another more precise and clearer. Pray, say they, for Kings, Princes, and Powers, that you may live in Peace in the midst of Publick Tranquillity. [In another place:] But why should I stay longer in making known with what sense of Religion and Piety Christians honour Emperors? It sufficeth to say, we are obliged to render them our Duties, as to whom our Master hath commanded us so to do.

32. As these Primitive Saints were good Christians in the exercise of their Religion, and dutiful Subjects towards their Princes, so also good Men, free from vice, and adorned with Virtues, or if any were noted to be of contrary practice they were disowned, and the Censures of the Church cut them off from its Society. "We speak as boldly (saith *Tertullian*) of the Christians you put to Death, for we have an unprovable Testimony of their Integrity, which we take also from your Registers. You who are employed every day in judging those that are kept in Prisons, and who terminate their Processes by the Sentences you give against them, of all the Malefactors accused before you of so many sorts of Crimes, is there any of them charged with Murder, Robbery, Sacrilege, and other faults, to whom they impute also that he is a Christian? either, when Christians are presented to be punished as Criminals, because they are Christians, is there any amongst them whose life is like that of other Prisoners? all the Malefactors wherewith your Prisons are so filled, that they are overcharged, are of your Religion, they are also of your Religion, that make the Mines grogne under the weight of their strokes, they are the wretched Creatures of the same Religion you are, wherewith the wild Beasts fill their Bellies. All those poor Criminals which your Citizens keep to make them cruelly kill one another before a bloody People, have the same opinion you have of the Deity. Finally, among all those wretched Creatures there's not one Christian, unless he be charged by justice, because of his name Christian: Or if there be a Christian found attainted of the same Crime, he hath no more the name Christian, because he hath lost that divine quality in losing his Innocency. [Elsewhere.] But some will say, even among us there are

People

'a People that give themselves the liberty of doing evil, that free themselves from subjection to our Laws, from any whatever exact observation of what is legally commanded by us. It is true there are some such, but so soon as they fall into this disorder, we hold them no more for Christians. The fear of God, and purity of his Precepts constrained them to this holy demeanour; for opinion of Men and their Rules, as this our Author observeth, cannot reach the heart, nor procure that Virtue which is truly good. "The admirable fruits their Doctrine produced (the knowledge whereof became Publick by the Commerce they had in the World) made so down-right a Conflict with rude Incredulity, that to defend herself she was forced to say, That their Profession had no Divine matter in it, but was only a Sect of Philosophy, that obliged Christians to rank themselves there in the exercise of Moral Virtues.

33. Though there was some diversity of Opinions amongst them, yet as we shewed before, they maintained mutual Love; and that herein they were highly eminent as to all Pious Effects, is already evident. *Origen* in his Work against *Celsus* (wherein he especially answereth to Celsus raised against the Author and Doctrine of Christian Religion) takes off that prejudice that might arise from diversity of Opinions, by a Comparison of this difference with the numerous (or rather innumerable) Sects of Heathen Philosophers. *Tertullian* layeth the great guilt of Heresie upon such, who being animated with the Spirit of Philosophy, infected the Purity of the Gospel with the corruption of their own Opinions. In the same place he acquainteth us what was the Primitive touch-stone of Doctrines most worthy now to be considered. "These People (saith he) that are separated from us, have violated the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we beat down their errors by this only exception, That the true rule of Truth is, that which hath been taught by our Master, and transmitted to us by those holy Persons who had the happiness to hear his Word, and receive his Divine Institutions; we shall shew in another place, that all which is not conformable to this rule, hath been invented by new Doctors, who came not till after the blessed Companions of the Son of God.

34. All these excellent qualities in those Holy Persons, might have sufficed to stop the mouths of Calumniators, and had weight sufficient to have moved the minds of all Men to the Truth. But that Victory which Christians obtained over Devils, might much more have convinced them of the Power which was Superior to that of their false Gods. "Christians were wont to drive away these Devils from the Bodies of Men, forced them to confess that they were no other than Devils, and that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, and his way the true Religion. [As to the former, first hear *Tertullian*.] But if we were not near you, who would snatch you away from these secret Enemies, whose Malignant Operations make so strange a confusion in your Minds, and so horrible an alteration of your Healths? I have heard speak of the possession of Devils, wherewith you are tormented; from whence we deliver you freely, and without reward; if we had the Spirit of Revenge, it were enough to satisfy us, that these corrupted Spirits might, at all times seize on your Bodies, and that entrance therein were always open to them. But as you do not think of that you ought, viz. to fear a Protection, you cease not to declare a People to be your Enemies, who do you no hurt, whose assistance is so absolutely necessary for you. It is true, we are Enemies, yet not of Men; but of their Errors. [In another place.] As for Devils or Genies, we are wont to conjure them, to drive them away from the Bodies of Men, wherewith they are seized, and render them not the Honours due to God only, by swearing by them. [*Justin Martyr* in his first Apology.] Many possessed with Devils throughout the World, and this your City, whom many Exorcists, Incanters, and Conjurers, could not cure. Many of our Men through the Name of Jesus Christ crucified under *Pontius Pilate* have healed, and now also do heal, disarming and driving out of Men those Devils that had possessed them. [In his Dialogue with *Trypho* the Jew.] *Kαὶ τὸ πρῶτον*, &c. For in the Name of this the Son of God, the first-born of every Creature, and born of a Virgin, and made a Man subject to Suffering, and crucified by your People under *Pontius Pilate*, who died, arose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, every Devil adjured is overcome and subdued. [In another place of this Apology.] And now we who believe in Jesus Christ our Lord crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, adjuring all Devils and Malignant Spirits, have them subject under our Power. He affirmeth the same thing in other places.

35. That

They were Eminent for love and unity of Affection.

They forced Devils out of Bodies, and to confess the Truth.

And good Men.

Apoc. c. 47.

Apoc. c. 37.

chap. 31.

Page 45. Latin spirit.

Page 311.

Page 302.

35. That Christians constrained Devils to confess themselves such, and to acknowledge the Truth of the Gospel, in this matter hear also *Tertullian*: "If a man should bring before your Tribunals one that were truly possess'd of a Devil, if a Christian should command him to speak, this wicked Spirit will confess that he is a Devil, with as much Truth as he saith falsely at another time he is a god. ^{Ap. cap. 23.} let them present any one of these they believe to be wrought upon within by a Deity; that in the Ceremony of the Sacrifices they offer on the Altars have the Virtue of a God, in scenting the smell which goes out of the Sacrifices; who with force belch out words out of their stomachs; within breathing declare Oracles; if this Heavenly Virgin that promiset rain; if this *Æsculapius* who teacheth the Secrets of Physick, who preserves the Lives of them that must lose the same soon after, confess not by the mouths of these Impostors, the feigned Inspirations of whom deceive the World that they are but Devils; if the presence of a Christian takes not from them the boldness of lying, we are willing, that in the same place you shed the Blood of this Christian, and punish him as a wicked Person. [In the same Chapter:] Now seeing by our means your gods discover to you that they are no gods, and that all the other to whom Men erect Altars, are none in like manner; but this at the same time they make you know, who the true God is, if it be this only God whom we that are Christians worship, if we must believe of him what the Christians believe, if he must be served as their Laws ordain. When you conjure your gods in the Name of Jesus Christ, Do they ask who is that Jesus Christ? Do they call the History of his Life a Fable? Do they say he is a Man of the same Education as other Men? That he was a Magician? That after he was dead, his Disciples took away his Body privately from the Sepulchre? And that he is now in Hell? Say they not rather, he is in Heaven? That he must descend to the terror of all the World? with horror to the Universe? with the Lamentation of all Men but Christians? and that he shall come down on the Earth full of Majesty, as the Virtue of God, the Spirit of God, the Word, Wisdom, Reason, and the Son of God?

36. Whence Christians came to be so strong, as to wrest these Confessions from them, hear him in the same place. "Now all the Power we have of them, is the Name of Jesus Christ who gives it us, it is the threatening we give them of the evils God is ready to pour on their heads, and which one day Jesus Christ must declare unto them. As they fear Jesus Christ in God, and God in Jesus Christ, they are under the Government of the Servants of God and of Jesus Christ: so by the only touch of our hands, and breath of our mouths, the Devils seized with fear at the sight of the Flames that environ them are forced to obey us, to come out of the Bodies they possess, in despite of them, and with murmuring to suffer this shame in our presence. You that are wont to believe them when they lie, believe them when they speak of themselves. None will tell a lie to get shame by it, but rather to gain honour; one will sooner believe them that confess against their own Interest, than those that deny to their Advantage. These Testimonies which we have of your gods make Men to be Christians; for we cannot give a full Belief to what they say, without believing in Jesus Christ our Master. Your gods kindle in our hearts the Faith which the Holy Scripture teacheth us, they strengthen our Hope, and confirm us in the assurance we have of our Salvation. As for you, to honour them, you offer them also the Blood of Christians; and if it were permitted them to lie when Christians interrogate them, and labour to make you know the Truth by their Confession, they would take good heed of discovering your Errors to you, as well for keeping the Profit they have of them, and the Honours you render them, as for the fear they might have, that in becoming your selves Christians, you drive them away as we do, from the Bodies they torment with so much rage. [In the beginning of the following Chapter:] "We need nothing but the acknowledgment we have from your gods, when we make them confess they are no gods, and when they answer us, there is no other God than the only God we serve, to purge us from the Crimes of High-Treason and Impiety to the Roman Religion.

37. No wonder then that these impure Spirits enraged at Christians, sought all manner of ways to destroy them. But yet in their Deaths they overcame them, and in all sorts of Indignities and Tortures triumphed over their implacable Adversaries; for, *The Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church.* That this

Where he
had this
strength a-
gainst them.

was so indeed, *Tertullian* also informeth us, the veracity of whom, as to these things alleged is unquestionable, because appealing to his Adversaries, he muil needs in behalf of his cause produce such things as were most certain: the contrary whereof would have Apologized sufficiently for what he laboured to confute. We shall with the last words of his excellent Apology conclude this most delightful Subject. "But do what you please, all Inventions the most exquisite Cruelty can advise you unto, are to no purpose, so far are they from Profitting you, that contrarily they draw all the World to our Religion. The oftner you make an Harvest of the Christians, the oftner their Number increaseth: their Blood is a Seed which dies not on the earth, but puts forth prosperously. Many among you have laboured to perfwade men to suffer constantly Pain and Death, (as *Cicero* in his *Tusculans*; *Seneca* in his Treatise against casual things, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callinicus*;) but Christians have better taught Constancy, by the Examples they have given, in supporting patiently so many Evils, than all the Philosophers with all their Discourses. This same obstinacy, wherewith you reproach us, is an excellent Mistress of Truth, which we believe: for who is there not that striveth with Contem-^{plation} to seek what it is, who, after his search made, comes not on our side? who having embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ, desires not to suffer for him, that by his sufferings he may get the Infinite Treasures of the grace of God, And that in the price of his Blood, they may obtain the Pardon of their Faults? for the Remission of all our Sins, is the assured recompence of our Punishments. This is the reason that when they read your Sentences of Death unto us, we render you thanks; because by an happy Emulation that meets between the Judgments of God, and the Judgment of Men, at the same instant when you condemn us here below, God pronounceth our Absolution in Heaven.

They tri-
umphed over
their Enemies
in their very
Sufferings.

38. The Soldiers being at a Stand after the Murder of *Antoninus Bassianus*, were without an Emperor for two days. Then hearing that *Artabanne*, the *Parthian*, was coming to revenge the injury offered to him, they made choice of *Arantius* one of their Principal Officers, but he excused himself by his Age, and the Dignity was conferred on *Macrinus*, by the especial inducement of the Tribunes, who alone were conscious of the fact towards *Antoninus*. He gave a Bartel to *Artabanne*, and made incredible slaughter of Men for two days, during which time, the *Parthian* knew nothing of his Enemies Death, but on the next day being certified thereof by *Macrinus*, he received the Captives with the Spoil taken in his Country, and making a League with the *Roman* Emperor, departed into his own Kingdom. *Macrinus* returning to *Antioch*, by Letters gave the Senate an account of his Success, and endeavouring to remove all prejudice which might arise from the obscurity of his Birth, promised to Rule with as much Moderation as any. He was cheerfully owned, not so much out of respect to himself, as hatred towards his Predecessor. During the time he Reigned, things were well reformed, but lying idle at *Antioch*, he gave up himself to Pleasures, and keeping there the Soldiers against their Inclination, thereby drew contempt and hatred upon himself, which wrought his Destruction.

Macrinus suc-
ceeded *Sev-*
erus.

39. *Maja's* *Phœnician*, Sister to *Julia* the Wife of *Severus*, had two Daughters, *Soemias* and *Mammae*. The former had a Son named *Bassianus* fourteen years old, and the later one called *Alexianus* two years younger. Both these Boys were Priests of the Sun, in the *Phœnician* Language called *Hellogabalus*, and the elder being the Chief, was also a Youth of an excellent Beauty, and for it was very much admired by the *Roman* Soldiers. Their Grandmother *Maja* hereat took occasion to affirm (whether truly or otherwise) that they were both the Sons of *Antoninus*, who had been familiar with both her Daughters, dwelling with her under the same roof. Having got great store of Wealth by living at Court in her Sister's time, she promised large Sums to the Soldiers, in case the Empire could be devolved upon one of them. The Soldiers hearing of, neglected it, only he sent *Julianus* with a Party against the Revolters, but this Party allured with the sight of the Boy and Money together, cut off their Captain's Head, and sending it back to *Macrinus*, were also received into the Camp. After this a Bartel was fought in the Confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, wherein *Macrinus* having the worst, fled towards *Italy*, but was taken at *Chalcedon*.

E e e e e

Chalcedon,

Chalcedon, where he fell Sick of his Journey, and his Head was struck off after he had Reigned about fourteen Months. He was more sharp towards his Soldiers than was suitable to his condition, being otherwise also very fevere, so as he burnt Adulterers quick, with their Bodies joynted together. He was slain in the Fifty fourth year of his Age, together with his Son *Diadumenianus*, to whom he had given the title of *Cæsar*.

Heliogabalus.

40. *Antoninus Heliogabalus* succeeding *Macrinus*, continued still in his Office of Priest, wearing the Ornaments belonging to it, and Dancing continually in that Antick Habit. He gave up himself to all finelness, luxury, and uncleanness, and killed many that talked against his courses. He Married the Image of *Pallas* (which never had seen light, except when the City was burnt, since its bringing from *Troy*) unto his god, as also that of *Urania* (by which the *Ancients* meant the Moon) reported to be brought out of *Phœnicia* by *Dido*. He built a sumptuous Temple for his god, who was brought into it in a Chariot adorned with Gold and Precious Stones, the Priest himself leading the Horses, and going backward all the way. He painted his Face though he had much Natural Beauty, wore Pearls in his Shoes, never Supped under the rate of Thirty pounds, was drawn by Dogs in a Chariot up and down the Palace, always late either amongst Flowers or sweet Odours, and when he Journeyed had no less than Six hundred Carriages in his Train. Being told by the *Syrian* Priests that he should die a violent Death, he provided Silken Halters, Golden Knives, and a Turret floored with Gold and Pearl, saying, his Death should be costly and luxurious, that it might be said, *No man died in such a sort*. Of his Mother he was so fond, that he would do nothing without her, and carried her with him into the Senate-house. But these courtes occasioned the Ruine of them both.

41. His Grand-mother fearing these courtes would bring him into contempt with the Soldiers, prevailed with him, though otherwise heady enough, to adopt *Alexander* his Cousin German, that all might not miscarry together with him. She perswaded him to it, by shewing how thereby he might provide for his Pleasures and attendance on his god, the other taking care of State-Affairs. He fought to train up *Alexander*, now called *Alexander*, in his own way, and *Mamma* having provided him Tutors, able Men to bring him up in good literature, he either put to Death or Banished the chief of them, as corrupting his Son. He preferred none but Players to Publick Dignities, and gave the Governments of Provinces to the filthiest amongst his Slaves. By these things he drew more and more upon him the hatred of the Soldiers, who all inclined to *Alexander* as a youth of good hope, who also had Money from his Mother for a bait, without which all had been nothing. *Antoninus* knowing this, endeavoured all ways to Poison him, and this succeeding not, he gave out he was dead, to see how the Soldiers would take it, who hereupon mutined. To appease them, he took him along with him in a Chariot beautified with Pearl and Gold to the Camp. Here was *Alexander* saluted and honoured alone, no respect being given to *Heliogabalus*, who being incensed thereat, went about to animadvert upon such as made acclamations, but the Soldiers catching at this advantage, slew him, together with his Mother, and those that accompanied him, their two Bodies being tumbled up and down the Streets were at length cast into *Tiber*. He thus died, having lived Eighteen years, and reigned Five; *A. V. C. 975. A. D. 222.*

Alexander.

42. *Alexander* then was received as Emperor, and ruled with great Moderation and Clemency, being kept from ill Company by *Mamma* his Mother, and otherwise of his own inclination abhorring Blood, so that in all his time not any one was put to death innocent and unheard. He carried himself with great courtesie towards all; nay, *Camillus* attempting new Matters, he only thanked that he was willing to receive that burthen which good Men refused. His Saying was, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris. What thou wouldst not have done to thy self, do not to another.* Although the Peace which *Macrinus* had made with the *Parthians* was disgraceful to the Roman Empire, yet it pleased not the *Parthians*, who thought the perfidioufness of *Bassianus* deserved much greater Punishment. Thence arose dissatisfaction, contempt, and hatred amongst the Subjects of *Artabanus*; the issue whereof was, that *Artaxares* or *Artaxerxes* stirred up the *Persians* to the recovery of their ancient Honour, and translated the Kingdom from *Artabanus*, and the *Parthians*, upon himself, in the fourth

*Olymp. 250.
ann. 2.
V. C. 975.
A. D. 222.
Consulte Heliogabalus, ubi supra.
Lampid. in Alexand.
Eutropius l. 8.
Fest. Ecclij.
Hist. l. 6. cap. 18.
Grægorius lib. 7. cap. 18.*

year of this *Alexander*, Five hundred thirty eight years after *Alexander* the Great, or rather in the Five hundred thirty eighth year of the *Seleucida*. Not content herewith, he sent to *Alexander* to demand whatsoever the *Romans* had taken from the *Persians*, and having a great ambition to recover what ever had belonged to that Empire, invaded *Meopotamia*, giving out he would reduce all *Asia* unto his Power. *Alexander* was constrained to march against him, and so repelled and weakened him, though with great loss of his own Men, that for divers years no more was heard of him. By his Lieutenants he prospered in the Wars of *Mauritians*, *Ilyricum*, and *Armenia*, but being called for against the *Germans* who waisted *Gall*, either because he was despired for want of Success in this Expedition, for his Severity, or rather for that the Soldiers loved to fill in troubled waters, he was Traiterously Murdered, together with his Mother, and *Maximinus* was set up in his stead. *Mamma* his Mother, was first instructed in Christian Religion by *Origen*, whom she called to her at *Antioch*, but afterwards learnt of the *Gnosticks*, 1. Openly to deny what she privately owned, and 2. to keep, and worship Images of Christ. She instructed her Son in the same Doctrine, who would have made a Temple for Christ, and was Prohibited, faith *Lampadius*; that is, would have made one, if he could have done it with the good will of the *Romans*. *Ulpian* the great Lawyer was his chief Justice, and was slain by the Soldiers. *Paulus* also, *Pomponius*, and *Modestinus* flourished in his time, which abounded with able Men of this Profession. *Alexander* was slain in *Gall* near *Montiacum*, on the fourth before the Nones of *October*, having lived Twenty nine years and reigned Thirteen. *A. V. C. 988. A. D. 235. L. Catilius Severus*, and *L. Ragonius Quintianus* being *Consuls*.

Maximinus
made Empe-
ror by the
Soldiers.

43. *Maximinus*, by whose procurement *Alexander* was Murdered, was born in *Thrace*, his Father being a *Goth*, and his Mother an *Alone*. Being at first an Herdman, he was for the valnes of his Body made a Soldier, and by degrees was preferred in the Army. He had been set over the new raised Soldiers, to Train, and Exercise them, and by his great Valour, and enduring all labour and toil together with them, procured their favour, and hereby his own Rise. As he was a Man of stupendous Bulk, and proportionable Diet, so also of Avarice and Cruelty, to the later whereof he was the more provoked by a Conspiracy of two; which were discovered ere they took effect. He overthrew the *Germans*, and waisted their Countrey, threatening also to subdue all the Northern Nations as far as the Ocean, and had his other carriage been answerable to his Valour, he might have enjoyed time and opportunity for the Performance of much. This occasion of revolt from him was first given in *Africk*, by his Officer at *Carthage*, whose rapacity so far incensed certain young Men, that they killed him; and compelled *Gordianus* the *Proconsul* to take upon him the Purple, who being of the Age of Eighty years, was joyfully owned both by Senate and People. But he going about to revenge private Injuries, destroyed himself, by constraining *Cæpelinus* who governed *Mauritania* to come upon him with an Army, wherewith being worsted he hanged himself, his Son having perished in the Fight at the Age of Forty six. They scarcely enjoyed the Title Thirty six days.

Herod. lib. 7. 8.

Cæpelinus
Emperius lib. 9.
Grægorius lib. 7.
cap. 19.

Gordianus.

Maximus and
Balbinus.

44. The Senate, that they might have some to oppose against *Maximinus*, chose two Emperors, *Maximus* and *Balbinus*; but the People not being satisfied therewith, and being desirous to have a Prince out of the stock of *Gordianus*, they gave the Title of *Cæsar* to *Gordianus* his Grandson by his Daughter, a Boy of Thirteen years of Age. A little after it happened that two old Soldiers who had belonged to *Maximinus*, going to the Senate-house to hearken for News, were slain by two Senators, which thing raising a great Tumult, the Soldiers in Town set the City on fire, whereby a great part of it was burnt down, and got them to their Camp. *Balbinus* was appointed to take care of *Rome*, and *Maximus* went into *Italy* to raise Forces against *Maximinus*, who now marched for *Rome*. Finding no resistance at the *Alps*; he accounted himself most sure of Victory, but found so much at *Aquileia*, as stopped his Journey; for the Inhabitants furnished by the commodiousefness of the place with all sorts of Provisions most stoutly defended themselves. They threw down so much scalding Pitch and Sulphur upon his Soldiers, that they were not able to continue the Storms, and the Women, 'tis said, cut the hair from their Heads to make Provision for Bow-Arings. This unexpected Opposition drove him to such a rage, that having no Power to torment the *Emilijs*,

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he exercised his fury upon divers of his Captains whom he put to Death, as if through their laziness and neglect the Town stood out. This Cruelty, together with the scarcity of Victuals in the Camp (for the Besiegers were so besieged that all Provisions were cut off from them) induced such of the Soldiers, as had their Wives and Children at Rome, to conspire against him. Together with him fell his Son, such an one as himself, whom he had named *Cæsar*, the Soldiers crying out, That of an ill Litter not a Whelp was to be expected. He also persecuted the Church by the sixth Persecution, commanding that Governors only, and the Principal Ministers of our Saviour's Doctrine should be put to Death. But to such an end came he, being the first Emperor created only by the Army without consent of the Senate, after he had reigned three years, A. V. C. 991, A. D. 238.

*Engh. Hist. L. 4.
c. 29. c. 34
in Chron.*

Bithopia.

45. Now to our continuation of Ecclesiastical matters. In the first year of *Alexander*, or the last of *Heliogabalus*, the day preceding the *Ides of October*, *Cultus* Bishop of Rome was crowned with Martyrdom. The See was vacant six days, and then succeeded *Urbanus* the Seventeenth Bishop, according to *Damasus*, on the Twentieth of *October*, and first *Feria*. In the Tenth of *Alexander*, on the Eighth before the *Calends of June* died *Urbanus*. The See was vacant Thirty days, and then *Pontianus* succeeded on the Eighth before the *Calends of July*, the sixth *Feria*. In the first of *Maximinus*, *Pontianus*, being banished into the Island *Sardinia*, there died, on the Thirteenth of the *Calends of December*, and *Asterius* succeeded him, who in the year following, on the Third of the *Nones of January*, was crowned with Martyrdom, because he had diligently gathered an History of the Martyrs, and laid it up in the Church. The Seat was vacant Thirteen days, and then was *Fabianus* elected, on the Seventeenth of *January*, and the first *Feria*, being the Twentieth Bishop of Rome, according to *Damasus*. And about the *Eleventh year of *Alexander*, *Heraclius* who once was *Origen's* Usher in the School of *Alexandria*, was Bishop of that See, where he continued Sixteen years.

*Damasus.
Engh.*

* *Engh. Hist.
L. 6. c. 1526.
35.*

CHAP. VII.

From the Death of Maximinus the first created Emperor without Consent of the Senate, to the Monarchy of Constantine the first Christian Emperor, who reformed Religion, and translated the Imperial Seat to Byzantium, the space of Eighty six years.

THE news of *Maximinus* his Death being brought to Rome, filled the City with extraordinary joy, having taken *Maximus* as he was Lifting Men in Italy, who thereupon went to *Aquileia*, and received the Army, to which he pardoned all things past. Then returned he to Rome, where he and his Collegue managed Matters with Discretion enough, could they have agreed betwixt themselves; but the one being jealous of the other, and both endeavouring to grapple all the Power into their own hands, thereby wrought to themselves sudden Destruction. The *Prætorian* Bands hated them both, as created by the Senate, and resolved, for the removal of such an Indignity offered to the Army, to make them away, which *Maximus* understanding, would have sent for the Guard of *Germans*; which he knew both to be faithful to him, and able to resist the Power of the other; but *Balbinus* suspecting that he intended something against himself, would not suffer it; and so the Soldiers entering the Palace hated them out, and after all sorts of Indignities offered to their Persons, upon report that the *Germans* were coming, flew them both. Now knowing no fit Person whom they might prefer, and being assured it would be very acceptable to the People, they made choice of *Gordianus*, who had been formerly *Cæsar*. At his beginning so great an Eclipse of the Sun happened (April 2. on the second *Feria*, as *Cappellus* agreeeth with *Mulierus*) that the Day seemed to be turned into Night, and nothing could

*Hered. Capitul.
Julianus L. 1.
Engh. L. 9.*

Gordianus.

could be done in Houses without Candles. *Sabinianus* in *Africa* attempted new Matters, but was slain. *Gordianus* being yet very young, undertook an Expedition against the *Perfians*, over whom *Sapor* in his Third year began to Reign, A. D. 238. having succeeded *Artaxerxes* their first King. By the good Conduct of *Mistheus* his Father-in-Law he prospered very well, but he being slain or made away, the Soldiers not enduring the rawness of *Gordianus*, transferred the Sovereignty unto *Philip*, and killed him, after he had Reigned six years. It's observed, that all those Nine that flew him perished by their own hands, their own Swords, and the very fame with which they destroyed him.

*Dr. Julius
Philippus.*

2. *Julius Philippus* was by Birth an *Arabian* of *Trachonitis*, his Father being a notable Captain of Thieves in that Country. He made his Son partaker with him in the Imperial Dignity. In his fourth year fell out the 1000th of Rome, which was celebrated with great Pomp, and all manner of Games, from April 21 to April 21 of the following year. *Ensebius* reports of him, that he was the first Christian Emperor, and that being desirous to join with the multitude in the Ecclesiastical Prayers, he could not be admitted till he had first rendered an account of his Faith, and joyned himself with such, as for their Sins were examined, and set in the place of Penitents; therefore because he was faulty in many things, faith the Historian, he willingly obeyed, and declared by his works his sincere and religious mind towards God. The Martyrologies will have him and his Son converted by occasion of the Solemnity of the 1000th year, and being Baptized by *Fabianus* Bishop of Rome, after confession of his Sins, to have been admitted to the Communion. But faith *Cappellus*, if any of this had been true, would the Senate that was so set against the Christians have reckoned him amongst the gods? At least would not *Decius* have objected this as a Crime against him? The *Scythians*, in his time infesting the Empire, he repelled by his Lieutenants. *Marinus* raising a Commotion in *Pannonia*, he sent *Decius* to quiet the Soldiers, who put the Purple upon him. *Philip* then led an Army against this Usurper, and they met at *Verona*, where the old Emperor was defeated and slain, which News coming to Rome, his Son a Child of Twelve years of Age was Murdered by the *Prætorian* Bands, after they had reigned about five years.

Decius.

3. *Quintus Trajanus Decius*, as *Orsius* calleth him, was born in *Pannonia*. according to the Custom he assumed his Son into participation of the Empire. He quieted at his beginning, some motions in Gaul, but raised a great one against the Church, being Author of the seventh Persecution, out of hatred to *Philip*, or as others say, having conspired against *Philip*, out of hatred to Christianity; by his Edicts many were put to most cruel Deaths. He received his reward after a short time; for now the *Goths* (originally Inhabitants of *Scanzia*) invaded *Thrace*, and other places, both by Land and Sea, because such of them as served in the Wars had been defrauded of their pay. At the desire of the Senate, to which he commended the Commonwealth in his absence, he marched against and overthrew them in several Battels (notwithstanding that he lost his Son and *Prifcus* Governor of *Philippi* revolted) but had perfected his Victory, but that he was betrayed by *Gallus Hostilius* Governor of the lower *Mæsa*. He persuaded him to fight in a Fenny Ground, and then revealed his intention to the Enemy, by whom he was beset, and was swallowed up in a Bog, so as his Body could never be found. He was courteous enough to all but Christians, and gave satisfaction to Senate and People. He reigned two years and an half.

Gallus.

4. *Vibius Gallus Hostilius* succeeded him, both in his Empire, his malice towards Christians, and his punishment. He clapped up an ignominious Peace with the *Goths*; unto whom he promised Money, a thing scarcely heard of before amongst the Romans; and this not being long kept, the *Goths* and *Scythians* made Incursions into *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Thessaly*, and also into *Asia*, making great spoils in all places. Many other Nations after their example rebelled, and made havock of the Provinces: the *Partians* also pierced into *Armenia*, and thence expelled *Tiridates* the King. The *Scythians* proceeded so furiously, that they seemed to carry all before them, till that *Emilianus* a Moor, and who commanded the Legions in *Pannonia*, by promises drew on his Soldiers against them, and so repelled them, that he invaded their Country; for which Service he was saluted Emperor by this Army. *Gallus* hearing of this, went presently against him, but was slain, together with *Volusian* his Son and Partner in the Empire. Such was the end of him who persecuted this Church of God, and chased away such holy Men as prayed for his peaceable and prosperous Estate.

Emilianus.

*Engh. L. 9.
Pompon. Latin.
Pictor.*

The Persecutions of the Christians in the days of *Decius* and *Gallus* ^{Enph. Hist. l. 7. cap. 30. & 31.} were accompanied or followed with a most grievous Pestilence, which so vehemently raged, that there was scarcely any Province, City or Houfe, but was almost waited and ruined by it. *Gallus* and *Volusian* his Son reigned little more than one year.

Valerianus.

5. *Emilianus* enjoyed the Dignity not long, for another Army near the *Alpes* creating Emperor one *Valerianus*, a Man of noble descent, his Soldiers, left they should incur any danger or trouble, killed him after three Months. *Valerianus* ^{Olymp. 258. an. 1. 1006.} then taking the Government upon him in *Rhætia*, the Senate at *Rome* gave the title of *Cæsar* to *Gallienus* his Son. He was at first very courteous to the Christians, and so familiarly embraced them, that his Palace was filled with Professors of the Faith; but afterward, he was persuaded by the Master of the *Egyptian* Sorcerers to slay them, as Enemies to their Art, and hinderers of its operation in their preference; so that he raised the eighth Persecution, wherein many perished. But God avenged the cause of his Saints upon him; for going against *Sapores* the King of the *Persians*, he was taken Prisoner, and could not be released, notwithstanding the intercession of the *Persian's* Confederates, who alleged, that the *Romans* the more they were overcome, the more vehemently they ever resisted. *Sapores* kept and used him as a stool to tread on when he got on Horse-back, and at length pulling his skin over his ears, tortured him to death. *Gallienus* ^{Orosius l. 7. Europ. lib. 9.} his Son, who all this time had reigned with him, terrified heretofore, stopped the Persecution of the Christians; but many of the *Romans* who had been the instruments of the Emperor's Cruelty, being to be punished as well as he, many Nations fell like a flood upon the *Roman* Empire, *Gallienus* giving up himself to all wantonness and luxury. The *Romans* ever running, *Rhætia* and part of *Italy*, came as far as *Ravenna*, the *Allemani* also waiting *Gall* pierced into *Italy*, *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus*, and *Asia*, were overwhelmed with an Inundation of the *Goths* and *Scythians*. *Dacia* beyond *Danubius* was perpetually lost, the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ* seized on *Pannonia*, and the *Parthians* having got into their hands *Mesopotamia*, made Incurfions into *Syria*.

6. *Gallienus* neglected these motions, answering always concerning these matters, as if notwithstanding them the Empire might flourish and do well enough. He thus little minding the Commonwealth, the Soldiers almost in all places chose them Emperors; so that at this time there were no less than thirty Tyrants. The most notable of these upstarts was *Posthumus*, who reigned in *Gall* with great commendations ten years; he used much Moderation, expelled the Enemies, and recovered Provinces. All those Thirty fell at length, either fighting with one another, or with the Emperor. But *Gallienus* at last, being contemned, was slain, having reigned six years together with his Father, and nine by himself, A.V.C. 1021. A.D. 268. His Successor was *Flavius Claudius* a *Dalmatian* born, according to his own desire, and the will of the Senate, who killing of the *Goths* and other *Barbarians*, to the number of Three hundred and thirty thousand Men, and sinking Two thousand Vessels, the Senate decreed him a Golden Shield to be set up in the Court, and a Statue in the Capitol; but to the great loss of the Commonwealth, he was slain at *Syrmium*, when he had scarcely reigned two years. Into his place was advanced *Aurelius Quintillus* his Brother, an excellent Person; but being too good, they that set him up pulled him down, because they could not bear his gravity and strictness, killing him the seventeenth day after, at *Aquileia*. Then reigned *Valerius Aurelianus*, born either at *Syrmium* or some place in *Dacia*, of mean Parentage. Being by *Claudius* appointed to drive the *Goths* out of *Thrace*, he was after his death faluted Emperor. He was an excellent Soldier, and restored the Empire well nigh to its former bounds. He drove out the *Goths* from about *Danubius*; then returning to *Rome*, and there punishing some Seditious Persons, he marched into the East, to reduce those parts to their former Obedience.

7. In the days of *Gallienus*, the *Persians* having subdued *Mesopotamia*, and invaded *Syria*, one *Odenatus* an Inhabitant of *Palmyra*, a City of this Country, gathering together a Company of Boors, fell upon them, and so ordered his affairs, that he beat them out of *Syria*, recovered *Mesopotamia*, and incamped before *Ctesiphon* the Metropolis. Being slain after this Conquest, *Zenobia* his Wife in right of her Children kept Possession of the East, together with *Egypt*. *Aurelianus* now going against her, in his way, in *Illyricum*, *Thrace*, and other places, defeated such Enemies as he met, and then entering *Syria*, after some trouble and danger,

danger, overthrew, and took the Queen her self near *Antioch*, and then recovered all her Dominions. But after his departure the Inhabitants of *Palmyra* killed his Garrison and revolted, which calling him back, he destroyed both the City and them therein, sparing neither Sex nor Age, and after this recovered *Egypt*. Then returning into the West, he bent his endeavours against *Tetricus*, who reigned in *Gall*. *Tetricus* being vexed by his Seditious Soldiers, desired him, whom he termed *Invincible*, to rescue him from such evils, and betrayed his Army into his hands. *Valerian*, growing proud upon such success, first of all *Romans* set a Diadem on his head, and adorned himself with Gold and Pearl. He began also to persecute the Christians; but undertaking a War against the *Persians*, he was slain betwixt *Byzantium* and *Heracleæ*, through the malice of his Secretary, in the sixth year of his Reign. In his first year, *Hormisdas* the third *Persian* King began his Reign, which lasted but one year. Him succeeded *Varanes*, and Reigned three years, and him followed *NarSES*, who continued twenty eight. In his first year also died *Plotinus* the *Platonist*, who deriding all Religion, perished through the just Judgment of God by a filthy and painful Disease, although he had chosen a pleasant and wholesome place wherein to live in *Campania*. Now also flourished *Porphyrius* his Scholar, who of a Christian became a great Enemy to Christianity, and wrote Fifteen Books against it, to which *Eusebius* answered in thirty, of which twenty were extant in the time of *Jerome*, but at this day not one.

8. There was an *inter-regnum* after the Death of *Valerian* for eight Months, the Senate and Army striving courtship the one with the other, at length the Senate made choice of *Tacitus*, a man of Consular Dignity, who in his sixth Month died of a Fever at *Tarsus*. The Senate desired him, that in case he should die presently, he would not leave his Children his Successors, but some man of approved worth and valour, as the necessity of the State required. This man was *Probus*; yet notwithstanding, *Florianus* the Brother of *Tacitus* invaded the Empire, but was cut off by *Probus* near *Tarsus*, within the space of two or three Months. *Probus* unwillingly receiving the burthen upon him, managed the Government with great commendation. He recovered *Gall* out of the hand of the *Francones*; a people of *Germany*, which now first seized on it, after many bloody Battels, and after this was engaged in Civil Wars. For *Septimius* was saluted Emperor in *Egypt*, who was overthrown also, and killed also against his mind, and the same success he had against *Proculus* in *Gall* and *Bonofus* a *Britain* born. He overthrew the *Sarmatians*, subdued several barbarous Nations about *Thrace*, by the terror of his name only, quiered all *Asia*, and forced the *Parthian* King to desire Peace, which he granted. Returning afterward into *Thrace*, he planted several barbarous People within the *Roman* Empire, whereof some revolting, he chastized and reduced them. Now all things flourished exceedingly through Peace and Security, which made him something slight the Soldiers, who thereupon, as he was marching through *Illyricum* against the *Persians*, murdered him at *Syrmium*, though he fled for safety into a fortified Tower. That Saying undid him, *Si visceris non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*, a speech of great Despair for the Soldiers. Witty and sharp speeches fallen from Princes have often given fire to Seditions. Surely, saith the most Learned *Viscount* of St. Albans, *Princes had need in tender matters, and ticklish times, to beware what they say: especially in those short speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.*

9. Mr. *Aurelius Carus*, of the Province of *Narbon* in *Gall*, succeeded him, who, when he had created *Cæsar* his two Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, restrained the *Sarmatians*, that upon the death of *Probus* threatened Italy. But going against the *Persians*, after he had recovered *Mesopotamia*, and taken the two noble Cities of *Parthia*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Cocbe*, he was slain by a Thunder-bolt in his Tent near to the River *Tigris*. Of his two Sons, *Numerianus* was with him, and *Carinus* was left behind to look to *Gall*. *Numerianus* returning out of the East as Conqueror, and lying sick in his Litter, was killed by *Arimus Aper* his Father-in-Law, who gaped after the Empire. Scarcely after some days was this wickedness detected by the stench of the Carcass, and then the Author of it being also discovered, *Valerius Diocletianus*,

ianus, who governed the Family of *Carus*, was chosen Emperor, and rewarded *Aper* as he had deserved. On the Fifteenth before the Calends of *December*, and ten days after, he entered *Nicomedia* in Purple. From the beginning of this *Diocletian* the *Egyptians* began a new *Æra*, fetching its Rise from the new Moon of *Thoth* the preceding Month (*August 29*.) which they called the *Æra of Grace*, for some reason or other. *Capellus* observeth, that the fluctuating and vitious Chronology of *Baronius* henceforth beginneth to be right. For thinking, faith he, that he exhibited the years both of the true, and received *Æra* of Christ, in truth, he exhibited neither the one nor the other. Beginning the *Æra* of *Diocletian* from the 284 year of our Lord, it's true, and right, so that it be understood of the received, not of the true *Æra* of Christ: and the same is to be said concerning the years of the following Emperors. But after this, *Carinus* and *Diocletian* fought for the Sovereignty, and *Carinus* after much ado was slain by his own Soldiers for his lasciviousness, which made an end of a bloody and laborious War.

to. *Diocletian* then enjoyed the Dignity alone; but great stir arising in *Gall*, *Carausius* also, who was set to defend the Sea-Coasts from the Invasion of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, rather taking part with them than otherwise, he was constrained to create *Cæsar*, *Maximianus Hercules*. He suppressed the motions in *Gall*, but commanding *Carausius* to be killed, this man put on the Purple, though a man of mean condition, and seized upon *Britain*. *Ashillens* rebelled in *Egypt*, *Africk* was in trouble, and *Nasir* King of *Persia* invaded the Eastern parts. *Diocletian*, awakened with these dangers, promoted *Maximianus* to be *Augustus*, and they two adopted for *Cæsars* *Maximianus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus*, who Married *Theodora* the Wife's Daughter of *Hercules*; and by her had six Sons, as the other, the Daughter of *Diocletian*. *Carausius* valiantly held *Britain* for seven years, and then was slain by *Allectus*, who having kept possession of the Island three years, was overthrown by *Asterodorus*. *Constantius* fighting against the *Allemans* in *Gall*, at first was worsted, but afterwards got a great Victory, wherein Sixty thousand of them are said to have been slain. *Maximianus Hercules* reduced *Africk*. *Diocletian* himself besieging *Ashillens* in *Alexandria* eight Months, at length slew him therein, gave up the City to be plundered by the Soldiers, and vexed all *Egypt* with Proscriptions and Slaughters. *Galerius* was overthrown by the *Persian* King, and fled to *Diocletian*, who received him with great disdain, and made him run in his Purple Robe for some miles before his Chariot. *Galerius* much moved by this disgrace, recruited his Army throughout *Illyricum* and *Mæsa*, and returning against *Nasir*, routed his Army, took his Camp, his Wives, Sisters, and Children, many of his Nobles, and great Treasure, wherewith returning into *Mesopotamia* unto *Diocletian*, he was then received most honourably; for he had taken *Cressphor*, subdued *Assyria*, and recovered those five Provinces beyond *Tigris*, which revolted from *Tajan*.

11. After this were the *Carpi*, *Bastarnæ*, and *Sarmatians* overthrown; and divers other Nations quieted. *Diocletian* now suffered himself to be called Lord, and worshipped as a God. He in the East, and his Collegue in the West, raised against the Christians the most heavy Persecution that ever yet had hapned, both for length and cruelty. The Soldiers were first begun with, whereof all such as would not sacrifice to Devils, were castrated; but the Persecutors proceeded to such cruelty and rage that some were Crucified, others Burnt alive, others roasted with slow Fires, and others pulled in pieces by having their Limbs made fast to boughs of Trees, which being brought together for that purpose, were afterwards suffered to return to their natural Position. Some were starved to death, many slain with the sword, and many devoured of wild Beasts. Some were head alive, others beaten to death by hot burning Iron Rods, and some returned to Prison after their Torments; there to languish away. Women were hung naked by one foot, and some had their Breasts feared: no Sex, no Age, no condition was spared. A terrible Earthquake followed in *Syria*, which destroyed many Thousands about *Tyre* and *Sidon*. But in the second year of this Persecution *Diocletian* perswaded his Collegue, though unwilling, That they both might resign the Empire to the two *Cæsars*; so that he being seized with a foul Disease, after he had almost reigned twenty years, put off the Purple at *Nicomedia*, and *Maximianus Hercules* the same day at *Milain*.

Origenes ubi fæ-
p. cap. 25.
Euseb. lib. 9.
Epist. Refut.

Origenes at fæ-
p. 1.
Euseb. Eccl. 9.
lib. 8. c. 23.
&c.

The tenth
Persecution.

The former withdrew to *Salene* into his own Countrey; and the later into *Lucania*.

12. *Diocletian* was still buffed and perplexed with Wars during his Reign, and well might be wearied and content to resign the Empire; and yet he was also extraordinarily taken up with making Laws, being consulted and Petitioned by multitudes of Persons upon occasion, whose Names are set to his Answers, still extant in *Justinian's* Code. And his Rescripts are rather more numerous than those of any Prince mentioned and recorded for Laws in that Code, except it be those of *Justinian* himself. But they, and those of other Princes till *Constantine*, generally concern the Rights of Private Persons, and belong to the *Jus privatum*; and therefore are not by us to be handled or considered, who write an History, not a Book of Law. And those Answers are generally directed and inscribed to private Persons consulting; whereas those made by *Constantine*, and his Successors, as they much appertain to the *Jus publicum*, and consequently are Historical, so are they directed to the *Præfetti Prætorio*, or other great Officers or Governors, either serving at Court, or in the Provinces.

The Rescripts
of Diocletian
very nume-
rous.

*Maximianus
Galerius*, and
*Constantius
Chlorus*.

13. The two *Cæsars*, *Maximianus Galerius*, and *Constantius Chlorus* became *Augusti* after the resignation of their Fathers-in-Law, and first of all others parted the Empire between them. To *Constantius* fell *Gall*, *Britain*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Africk*; to the other *Illyricum*, with *Greece*, and *Asia*. *Galerius* created *Cæsars* his Sister's two Sons, *Galerius Maximinus* and *Severus*. The East he appointed to *Maximinus*, and intended *Italy* for *Severus*; if he could but take it from *Constantius*. For this purpose he kept at *Rome*, as *Theodoretus* *Constantine* the Son of *Constantius* by *Helena* a British Woman, as some say, which he put away when he Married the Daughter of *Maximianus*. But *Constantine* made an escape to his Father, who died at *Tork* in *Britain* not long after; on the 25 of July, in the third year of his reign, he and his Collegue both the sixth time being *Con-*
stantius
Olymp. 271.
Jul., in the 1058 year of the City, the 306 of the ordinary *Æra* of Christ, the first
ann. 1.
P. C. 1058.
A. D. 306.
year of the 27 Olympiad ending. His Son *Constantine* in *Britain* was now saluted Emperor.

14. The Image of *Constantine* was exhibited at *Rome*, according to the Custom. But *Maxentius* the Son of *Maximianus Hercules*, as *Zosimus* writes, thinking it intolerable that he who was born of a Concubine should have his Matters succeed according to his Desire, and he the Son of an Emperor should lie neglected, and his Father's Dominion go to others, with the assistance of *Marcellianus* and *Marcellus* Tribunes of the Army, and *Lucianus* who provided Hog's Flesh, allowed by the Treasury to the Roman People, and of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, whom he obliged by great Promises, took the Title of Emperor upon him. *Abyllus* *Præfett* of the City endeavoured to hinder their Proceedings, but was killed by them. Against him did *Maximianus Galerius*, send his Nephew *Severus*; but *Maxentius* corrupted most of his Men, and drew to his side *Anullinus*, the *Præfettus Prætorio*, and thereby easily overthrew him, and forced him to fly to *Ravenna*. These things coming to the ears of *Maximianus Hercules*, he was concerned for *Maxentius* his Son, and leaving *Lucania* came to *Ravenna*, whence perceiving that *Severus* could not be driven out, the place was so strong and so well victualled, he circumvented him by Oaths, and perswaded him to go to *Rome*; in the way whither, when he came to the *Tres Tabernæ*, he was seized by some whom *Maxentius* had sent to intrap him, & strangled. Now was *Maximianus Galerius* as much concerned in behalf of his Nephew, as *Maximianus Hercules* was for his Son, and he resolved to move from the East, and revenge his Death upon *Maxentius*, but coming to the Coasts of *Italy*, and finding his Soldiers not firm unto him, he returned into the East without a Battle. *Maximianus Hercules* being disturbed with these disorders, repaired to his old Collegue *Diocletian*, who then lay at *Carnuntum* a Town of *Gall*, faith *Zosimus*, for which *Sigonius* writes, *Carnuntum* a place of *Illyricum*, and endeavoured to perswade him to resume the Empire, and not suffer that which they with so great labours had preserved, to be exposed to the youth and madness of those who had seized it. But *Diocletian* would not consent, preferring his Quiet before business, and perhaps, *Zosimus* tells you, foreseeing how things would be disordered; as he was a man most observant of Religion. Poor Christians, indeed, found he was of Paganish Superstition and Idolatry, to their cost:

*Maxentius
Ultras.*

Diocletian re-
solved to re-
sume the Em-
pire.

Origenes
Eccl. 1. 10.
lib. 10.

Constantius
Olymp. 271.
Jul.
ann. 1.
P. C. 1058.
A. D. 306.

Zosimus lib. 2.

fffff

15. Hercules

Maximianus
Hercules doth
it.

And dies.

Alexander ut-
furps in Africa.

Is taken and
put to Death.

Constantine
from Gall
moves against
Maxentius.

15. *Herculus* this way frustrated; went toward the *Alpes*, having taken *Ravenna* in his way, to meet with *Constantine*: And being naturally unquiet and unfaithful, thought to cheat him by giving him his Daughter in Marriage. Thereby he engaged him to pursue *Maximianus Galerius*, now quitting *Italy*, and to circumvent even *Maxentius* his own Son. Finding that he would obey him, he departed, and indeavoured to recover the Imperial Power, hoping to beget a quarrel betwixt his Son-in-law, and his Son. While he was indeavoured to bring this about, *Maximianus Galerius* being much acquainted with one *Licinius*, created him Emperor, purposing by him to make War against *Maxentius*; but died in the mean time of a Wound which was incurable; and then *Licinius* managed his own Matters. All this while was *Herculus* employed in drawing off the Soldiers from his own Son, and when by *Largesses* and miserable requests he had got them over to himself, then began to deal in the same manner with his Son-in-law, and tampered also with his Soldiers. But he was prevented by his Daughter *Faustina*, who revealed all to *Constantine* her Husband; at which Discovery, falling into despair, he died at *Tarzus* of Sickness; as *Zofimus* writes, but as *Sigonius* hath it from others, was strangled at *Marcellis* by Command of *Constantine*: *Maxentius* by his Death freed from former Inconveniences thought himself secure, and sent some into *Africa*, and to *Carthage* to carry about his Pictures. The Soldiers in those Parts out of love to the memory of *Galerius*, would not permit this to be done, and afterward hearing that he was about to undertake an Expedition to chastise them, departed for *Alexandria*, but meeting with such Forces as they were not able to over-power, returned to *Carthage*. Now did *Maxentius* resolve to go into *Africa*, and be revenged on them, but the Haruspices discouraging him from what they saw by their Birds, and he fearing that *Alexander*, who in *Africa* exercised the Office of *Præfatus Prætorio* might withstand him, thought it safest to deal first with him, and demand of him his Son for an Hostage. *Alexander* suspecting that he would deal perfidiously, denied to lend his Son, whereupon *Maxentius* employed some to take an advantage and make him away. This being discovered, the Soldiers were glad of the occasion; and rebelling, delivered the Purple to *Alexander*.

16. This *Alexander* was a *Phrygian* by descent, a Coward, slow to all Business, and besides, an old Man. At this time a Fire happened in *Rome*, it's uncertain, *Zofimus* saith, whether from the Air or the Earth, and the Temple of Fortune was burnt. Great Concourse being made to quench it, a certain Soldier spake some Blasphemous words (Thus Writers term them) against the Divinity, and was killed by the multitude, out of Piety to it. Hereupon the Soldiers fell into a Mutiny, and were hardly kept from destroying the City, their fury being appeased by *Maxentius*. Now did he look for some pretence to make War upon *Constantine*, and pretending to grieve for the Death of his Father, of which he was the Cause, purposed to take the way leading to *Rhetia*, as nearest to *Gall* and the *Illyrican* Regions; for he dreamt that he should seize upon *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, by the assistance of the Military Officers of those quarters, and of the Forces of *Licinius*. But he resolved first to settle matters in *Africa*, and for this purpose he sent over *Rufius Velusianus* his *Præfatus Prætorio*, with whom he joyoned *Zenas*, a Man most famous for his Skill in War, and his gentleness of disposition. By them *Alexander* was easily mastered, taken, and put to Death. The War being in this manner composed, a large opportunity was afforded to Calumniate; and all in a manner who were in *Africa*, considerable for Birth or Wealth, were accused as having sided with him, and none were spared, some being killed, and others deprived of their Estates. And a Triumph there was at *Rome*, for those mischiefs that were done at *Carthage*, and *Maxentius* in *Italy*, and in the City carried all things on, as suited with his Lust and Cruelty.

17. *Constantine* having the man formerly suspected, now found more reason to beware of him, and prepared to make War against him. At this time he had his Abode in *Gallia Belgica*, at *Collein*, where in his second Consulship, and that of *Licinius*, he composed matters about the Tributes of *Gall*, and granted Indulgence to Arraers, particularly through *Lugdunensis Prima* (for now there were two *Lugdunenses*, though afterwards four) amongst the Cities, of which was *Augsfordonum*, an Inhabitant whereof *Eumenius* an Orator, gave him thanks in a Panegyric still extant. Having arrived at the seventh year of his Reign, he moved against *Maxentius*, who was in his sixth, from *Gall* into *Italy*, in the Months of *August* and *September*, at the later end of which he there arrived.

From

From this Month, the eighth before the Calends of *October*, and his arrival and making War against *Maxentius* is the Original of the Indictions to be reckoned, of which mention is made in the Code of *Theodosius*. The first Law of this Code concerning Tribute, and directed to *Antonius Marcellinus*, the President of the Province of *Lugdunensis Prima*, was made this year also, by *Constantine*, and dated at *Collein* on the first of *July*, as *Gothofred* shewes. *Zofimus* writes, That having raised Forces out of such barbarous People as he had subdued, as also from amongst the *Germans*, other *Celtick* Nations, and the *Britans*, to the number of Ninety thousand Foot, and Eight thousand Horse, he moved from the *Alpes* into *Italy*, where, such Towns as yielded he hurt not at all, but such as stood out he reduced by force. With *Maxentius* who was furnishing himself with far more numerous Forces, Eighty thousand *Romans* and *Italians* joyned, and as many of the *Tyrrhenians* as inhabited the Sea-Coast. The *Carthaginians* also sent him an Army of Forty thousand, and the *Sicilians* furnished him with Men; so that all his Forces consisted of an Hundred and seventy thousand Foot, and Eighteen thousand Horse.

18. Such were the Forces on both sides, when *Maxentius*, the more to provide for his Security, caused a Bridge to be laid over the River *Tiber*, so divided in the middle that it might be drawn asunder, and the sides parted upon occasion; and he commanded the Workmen, that when they should see the Army of *Constantine* upon the Joyn of the Bridge, they should draw back those Irons that held it together, and dissolve it, that as many as were thereon might fall and be Drowned. In the mean time, *Constantine* comes before *Rome*, and incamps himself in a large plain, very convenient for Horse. *Maxentius* being Befieged, farthest to his Gods, consults the Extispices concerning the Event of the War, and searcheth the *Sybilline* Books, wherein he finds an Oracle, That he who should design things tending to the detriment of the *Roman* People should perish by a miserable Death. This he applied to himself, as fighting against those who attempted to take *Rome*; and the Event shewed the truth. For when he had led his Forces out of the City, and passed the Bridge which he had Built, an infinite number of Owles flew and filled the Walls, which being seen by *Constantine*, he Commands his Men to be drawn out. The Armies facing each other, he sent his Horse to Engage the Cavalry of the Enemy, and then gave the Sign to his Footmen. A Bloody Engagement following, the *Romans* and *Italians* their Associates, were slow in venturing their lives, hoping to be freed from a Cruel Tyranny; but of the rest fell an innumerable Multitude, as well trodden down by the Horse as killed by the Foot of *Constantine*. As long as the Horse made resistance, some hope remained to *Maxentius*; but it being beaten, he with the rest thought it best to fly over the Bridge into the City. With the weight of them that fled the Bridge was forced asunder, and *Maxentius* falling down with the rest of the Multitude, perished in the River. The noise of the Victory being brought into the City, none of the Inhabitants durst rejoice, for fear it should prove false; but when the Head of *Maxentius* was carried in upon a Pole, they changed their folly for gladness. *Constantine* after this Success, punished a few of those that had been most familiar with *Maxentius*, but took off the *Prætorian* Soldiers, and demolished the Holds where they were wont to lye. And when he had settled matters of the City, removed to the *Celtæ* and *Galles*. Thus writes *Zofimus*.

19. Others confirm, that in the sixth year of his Tyranny, the very day whereon he had Usurped, the third after he had parted from *Rome*, he was overthrown near the Bridge called *Pons Milvius*, by *Constantine*, and by the fall of it was precipitated and drown'd. The day following *Constantine* entered *Rome*, where he staid about two Months, viz. the later part of *October*, all *November*, and the latter part of *December*. As for what he did while in the City, he restored *Aradius Rufinus* to be *Præfatus*, who upon *Maxentius* his quitting it, had been put out, and *Amnius Annuleanus* placed in his stead. And *Maxentius* being now subdued, as the Custom had been of other good Princes his Predecessors, he took care for Suppression of Informers, by Penalties inflicted on them which he had formerly ordained, which also he enforced the following year, according as *Victor* the Historian testifies of him. That he silenced Calumnies by most severe Laws. Having settled matters at *Rome*, he went to *Milan*, where he Married to *Licinius*, his Sister *Constantia*, having formerly promised her to him when he had a mind to engage him against *Maxentius*. The year following, we find *Constantine* also at

Ffffff 2

Milan

L. i. Sin. cen-
sa Cod. Th. lib.
11. tit. 2.

Bradenus
Hercules ut-
furps in Africa.

Who is over-
thrown and
drown'd.

Vide Chris-
tiana Cod.
Theod. ad
A. d. CCC. XII

Licinius Mar-
cus the Sifter
of Constantine.

L. i. de pœni-
tis. Cod. Th. lib.
11. tit. 10.

Milan in the Month of *March*. This year he took care for the Affairs of *Africk*, both as to Religion by giving Incouragement, and granting Immunities to Christian Clerks and Churches; and also by settling the Country after the great disorder there raised, by means of *Maxentius*. Having settled matters in *Africk* and *Italy*, he departed from *Milan*, and went into the Lower *Germany*, where, returning to *Triers*, he repressed the *Franks*, and other *Barbarians*, who would have passed the *Rhine*, and continued there in the Months of *November* and *December*, making several Laws for Reformation of Abuses.

They fall out.

20. In the mean time Disorder arose betwixt *Licinius* and *Maximianus*, or *Maximinus Caesar*, the Son of *Maximianus Galerius* his Benefactor, and it grew so high, that it proceeded to a War, wherein at first *Licinius* had the worst, but presently again he recruited, and engaging in another Battle, put *Maximianus* to flight, who taking his way for *Aegypt*, came to *Tarsus*, and there died. By this means came the Empire to be devolved on *Licinius* and *Constantine*, who also after a little time fell out, not for that *Licinius*, you must know, gave any just Cause, but because *Constantine* seemed, according to his Custom, to have observed Agreements with little Truth and Fidelity. So *Zosimus* is pleased to write, and begin his Game of Calumnies against *Constantine*, with what Success we shall see largely hereafter. But besides this seeming, or appearing to break Covenants, he adds, That he would also have drawn some Nations subject to *Licinius*, from their Obedience. Therefore their Discord increasing, they both provided to decide the Controversy by the Sword. *Licinius* gathered his Forces together at *Cibalæ*, a Town of *Pannonia*, seated on an Hill, to which lay a way up of the breadth of five Furlongs, but at the end of this passage was a vast Plain, where he incamped himself, near to which adjoynd a deep Fenn. *Licinius* drew out his Forces in length under the Hill, for the strength of his Wings; and *Constantine* ordered his Battle at the Mountain, and placed his Horse in the Front, left the Enemy should fall on a sudden on his Foot, which was slow in motion. Having this Advantage, he fell with violence upon *Licinius* his Men; and a Fight was fought, *Zosimus* had almost said, sharper than any other. Both having spent their Missile Weapons, for a long time they disputed it with their Swords and Pikes. When the Battle had continued from Morning to Night, the Right Wing wherein *Constantine* Commanded, had the better. Therefore *Licinius* his Legions seeing him leaping on Horseback, and prepared for flight, durst not stay any longer in that place, nor Sup, but leaving their Sheep and Cattle, and all their Baggage; and taking only so much Meal along with them, as would serve to drive away hunger that Night, in all haste they came with him to *Sirmium*, a City of *Pannonia*, washed on both Sides by a River, which empties it self into *Ister*. *Licinius* staid not here, but broke down the Bridge, and made all the haste he could to get into *Thrace*, and there to Reinforce his Troops.

Licinius is worsted at Cibalæ.

21. *Constantine* having taken in *Cibalæ*, *Sirmium*, and all other places in that Tract, which *Licinius* had forsaken, sent to pursue him Five thousand Legionary Soldiers; but they not knowing the ways through which he fled, could not reach him. He repaired then the Bridge over *Savus*, which *Licinius* had broken, and marched after him, and coming into *Thrace*, found him again incamped on a Plain. The same Night he arrived, he put his Men into order of Battle, and gave Orders they should be ready against the Morning; and *Licinius* then drew out his Men also, being assisted by *Valens*, to whom he had given the Title of *Cæsar*, after his flight from *Cibalæ*. The Armies upon facing each other, plied it with their Arrows, and those and other Missile Weapons being spent, engaged with their Pikes and Swords, which while they were doing, that Party which *Constantine* had sent to pursue *Licinius*, appeared from an Hill, and were now ready to join with their Companions, and to compass their Enemies. But *Licinius* his Men valiantly received them, and bore up against them all, and after an innumerable Company was slain on both Sides, and they were on equal terms, the Sign was given, and the Armies parted asunder. The day following, they agreed to enter into a Mutual League and Society, the terms of which were, That *Constantine* should hold *Illyricum*, and other Nations thereabouts; as, *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Mæsia*, *Macedonia*, all the Tract of the *Danube*, and *Grece* or *Achaia*. To *Licinius* were to remain *Thrace*, and the *East*, and other Provinces; as, *Mæsia Minor*, *Scythia*, *Afia*, and the rest. It was agreed that *Valens*, the lately created *Cæsar* being accounted Author of these Mischiefs, should

They make an Agreement.

should be removed. This done, and the Agreement confirmed by Oaths, *Constantine* conferred the Dignity of *Cæsar* on *Crispus* his Son, by *Minervina* his Concubine, who was grown up to be a youth, and on another called *Constantinus*, born not many days before at *Arles*; and to *Licinius* also, the Son of *Licinius*, was given the same Dignity.

Constantine visits several Countries.

22. This War and League following upon it, happened in the CCCXIII year of our Lord, and the Consulship of *Volsianus*, and *Avianus*, as *Guthred* proves from a certain Law, dated on the beginning of *March* at *Thessalonica*, where *Constantine* then resided, and therefore those Parts must then have been in his Power, and the Division been made. Having staid here, and at *Heraclea* some time, he removed from *Macedonia* into *Mylla*, *Dacia*, and the Upper *Pannonia*, as appears by various Constitutions he made for the Advantage of Christian Religion, and removing of Grievances and Abuses. After this he Travelled into *Italy*, being found by a certain Law to have been at *Aquileia*, in the middle of *July*. From *Aquileia* he removed to *Rome*, where, how he employed himself, is to be shown in another place; and thence he went to *Milan*, this being in the fourth Consulship of himself, and the fourth also of *Licinius*. Into the following, wherein *Sabinus* and *Rufinus* were Consuls, fell the Celebration of his *Decennalia*, it being the Tenth year of his Reign. At the beginning of it he had his Abode in *Gall*, at the City of *Triers*, and thence removed to *Piemont*, and *Arles*, where was born to him of his Wife *Fantia* another Son called *Constantine*, who shortly after was also created *Cæsar*. This City of *Arles* being Demolished, he repaired, and some think that he gave to it the Name of *Constantina*. But now he removed out of *Gall*, whither he never returned, being found at the beginning of *December* at *Serdica*, in *Dacia*. He had much augmented his District, which at first contained but *Gall*, *Spain*, and *Brittain*; and now his Affairs called him Eastward. This year died *Diocletian*, at the beginning of *December* at *Salone*. The next year in the Consulship of *Gallicanus*, and *Bassus*, *Crispus*, young *Constantine* his Brother, and *Licinius* were made *Cæsars* on the first of *March*; and in this year, in the month of *August*, *Constantinus*, another Son of *Constantine* seems to have been born. The Father lay some time at *Serdica*, and at *Sirmium*, as appears by some Laws.

He overthrows the Sarmatæ.

23. For the year next following, being of our Lord the CCCXVIII. *Crispus Cæsar* was Consul, together with *Licinius*, who bore that Title now the fifth time; and *Constantine* is found to have been at *Sirmium*. And for the four following years, he was either in *Pannonia*, at *Sirmium*, and *Sebaria*; or in *Dacia* at *Serdica*, and *Naissus*, except he pleased to make an Incursion to *Aquileia*, which was near to *Pannonia*. For he was engaged in War with the *Sarmatæ* for four years, at *Campona*, *Margus*, and *Bononia*. For this War he called the Sons of Veteran Soldiers into the Field, of whom many throughout *Italy* declined the Service. *Zosimus* writes, That hearing how the *Sarmatæ*, who lived upon the Fen of *Mæotis*, passed over *Ister*, and harassed his Dominions, he led his Forces against them, and the *Barbarians* met him under Conduct of *Raufmodus* their King. In their way they fell upon a certain Town which was defended by a Garrison strong enough, and had Walls made of Stone at the bottom, and Wood at the top. They thought they should easily become Masters of the place, if they could but burn what was at the top, and they cast fire on it, and plied with Arrows those that came to make defence. But they within by tumbling down Stones, and otherwise improving the advantage which the higher place afforded, killed many of them, and *Constantine* now came in View, fell upon their backs, killed many, took more, and put to flight the rest. *Raufmodus* having lost the greatest part of his Forces, took Boat, and passed the *Ister*, with a resolution again to invade the *Roman* Pale, which *Constantine* understanding, passed the River after him, and fell upon the *Barbarians*, who had fled to an Hill that was full of Wood, where he slew many; and amongst the rest, *Raufmodus* himself. Many he took alive, and received to mercy the Multitude which yielded to him; which done, he returned to his Quarters, with a great number of Captives. Those he distributed into the Cities, and came to *Thessalonica*. Here he made an Haven, where formerly none had been, and again prepared to make War against *Licinius*. Thus *Zosimus* writes of him.

L. 1. De filiis Min. apertis.

24. All this while he endeavoured to reform the Manners of the *Roman* People, and reduce them to Piety, Humanity, Peace, and Concord, as well by Edicts directed to the People, as by Constitutions sent to *Bassus* and *Maximus*, Præfects of

Takes care for
Reformation
of Abuses.

of the City. He moderated the power of Masters over their Slaves, made Professors secure against violent Intruders, and prevented fraudulent Donations. He restrained the levity of Divorces, and gave strength to lawful Contracts and Marriages, and was agreeable to the Sanctuary of that Religion which he Professed. He cut off from the Laws many Ambages, and Snares thereby, from the Necks of the Subject, by another most merciful Edict directed to the People, and exposed to the View of all men at Rome. He published Laws against the ravishing of Virgins, against the levity and temerity of Accusations, and against the Use of Concubines, all which proceeding from his Zeal to propagate that Sanctity which Christian Religion requireth, are to be treated of in that Part of this Work, which is solely appropriate to Ecclesiastical Affairs. But his great care for the Encouragement of Physitians, Grammarians, and other Professors of Learning, we cannot in this place omit, whereby is made evident what *Villor* writeth concerning him, That he nourished good Arts, and especially the Studies of Learning, as on the contrary, it is written of *Licinius*, that he was an Enemy to Learning, which through his Ignorance he termed Poison, and the publick Plague, especially the Industry of the Law; and no wonder it was when *Constantine* was very Learned himself as *Sext. Aurelius Vittor* published by *Schottius* doth testify; if now it be lawful to commend him, or say with that Author, that for this, and other Virtues, he was extolled. And as he was Learned himself, he took care that his Children should be well seen in good Letters, for which purpose he provided them of the best Masters that were to be found.

He is very fa-
vourable to
Physicians and
Professors.

25. Now he that loveth Learning, loveth also the Learned, and such as would have either themselves or others instructed, will study to encourage and reward them that are to do, or have already done it. *Constantine* shewed himself of this mind by three several Constitutions made in favour of such Persons. He confirmed whatsoever Privileges had been granted by his Predecessors. For, *Vespasian* had first of all others allotted Salaries to Professors, and gave them Immunity from Quarter and Personal Services, which *Hadrian* confirmed; But these were but Personal Services. *Constantine* now made them free not only from Personal, but Patrimonial; so as their Possessions should not be liable to Charges in Cities where they inhabited, and yet if they pleased they should obtain the Honours thereof, as to be *Duoviri*, *Aediles*, *Refectores*, *Gyrasarchae*, *Priests*, *Flamines*, *Legati*; but so as to take or refuse them, whether they pleased. More than this, he prohibits that they be incurred by any, or forced to appear by violence in Courts of Judicature, under a Penalty of an Hundred thousand *Nummi* to be levied for the Treasury by the Magistrates (as the *Decemviri*) and *Quinquennales* of the *Municipia*, or Cities, who upon default were to forfeit the like Sum. In case a Slave do them any Injury, he commands that he be whipped by his Lord, before him whom he injured; and if the Lord was consenting, he shall pay Twenty thousand *Nummi*, and his Slave be left for a pledge till it be paid to the Treasury. Afterwards he granted to the *Archiatrs*, or the Physicians of the Palace, and the *Exarchiatrs*, That they and their Sons should be free from all Duties belonging to the *Cupidiles*, *Senatores*, *Comites*, and *Perfectissimi*; so as not to be forced to the Payment of Gold or Silver, Finding of Horses, or other Services incumbent on these Persons. And other Immunities he granted to Physitians and Professors after the Founding of *Constantinople*; of which at that time we shall speak.

L. 1. de Medicis
et Professoribus
C. de his lib. 13.
tit. 3.

26. After the Finishing of the War with the *Sarmatae*, for joy thereof Games were Celebrated, called *Ludi Sarmatici*, in the later end of *November*, and beginning of *December* following of the fourth year. At the beginning of the next, *Constantine* was at *Thessalonica* in *Macedonia*. When there he lay, the *Goths*, breaking through the Limits which were neglected, wasted *Thrace*, and *Mysia*, but for fear of him again retreated, having obtained Pardon by restoring Captives; and such of them as were taken Prisoners, were distributed throughout the Cities. After this he returned to *Thessalonica*, and in *February* following were Games Celebrated at *Rome*; called *Ludi Gothici*. But taking notice how by the Negligence of the Soldiers upon the Limits, those of *Thrace* and *Mysia* had been broken through by the *Barbarians*, to provide against their Incurfions and Depredations, he sent out a severe Constitution in the Month of *April*, whereof we are hereafter to speak. Now this War against the *Goths*,

gave

Goths, gave occasion to another War against *Licinius*. *Thrace* and *Mysia* had been wasted by them, and they had been repressed by *Constantine*. This *Licinius* complained of, as against the Agreement that the Quarters that were Subject to him should be medled with by another Person: And sometimes sending submissive Letters, but otherwise proud and haughty, he excited the Indignation of *Constantine*, who was also angry with him; for having lately banished all Christians out of his Palace, as an Anonymous Author writes, formerly published by *Simondus*, and since by *Valesius*, together with his Edition of *Amianus Marcellinus*. He adds, That in the mean time while both prepared for another Civil War, *Licinius* raged in his District against his Subjects with Wickedness, Covetousness, Cruelty, and Lust; Killing many for their Wealth, and corrupting their Wives. *Zosimus* still making *Constantine* the Aggressor, tells us, That he provided two hundred Gallies, which carried thirty Oars apiece; and of Ships of Burthen above two thousand; of Foot-Soldiers an hundred and twenty thousand; and of Horse and other Forces belonging to his Navy, ten thousand more.

Constantine and
Licinius again
prepare for
War.

27. *Licinius* hearing of his Preparations, sent Messengers about to divers Nations, to provide both a sufficient Navy and Land-Forces. Accordingly were sent him without delay from *Aegypt*, eighty *Triremes*, as many by the *Phoenicians*; by the *Ionians*, and the *Apatick Dorienles* sixty; thirty by the *Cyprians*, twenty by the *Carians*, thirty by the *Bithynians*; and the *Africans* furnished him with fifty. He had of foot almost an hundred and fifty thousand; and of Horse fifteen thousand, sent out of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. The Navy of *Constantine* lay in the *Piraeus*, and that of *Licinius* in the *Hellespont*. *Licinius* lay at *Hadrianople* in *Thrace*. *Constantine* sent away for his Fleet, which had been for the most part raised out of *Greece*, and marched with his Land-Army from *Thessalonica*, and incamped himself on the Banks of the River *Hebrus*, which on the left hand watereth *Hadrianople*. The Author lately mentioned writes, That he sent his Son *Crispus* with a great Fleet, to seize on *Asia*, against whom *Amandus* was employed by *Licinius*. That *Licinius* had seized the Roots of an high Mountain about *Hadrianople*, with a vast Army, and that thither marched *Constantine* with all his Forces. *Zosimus* makes this Mountain two hundred Furlongs from *Hadrianople*, where the River *Tonus* joyns with *Hebrus*, and then for many days, he saith, the Armies faced each other. But *Constantine*, taking notice where the River was the narrowest, had this Device: He commanded his Soldiers to cut Wood from the adjoining Mountain, and joyned them with Ropes together, as if he intended to make a Bridge, and by it to pass over his Forces. Having thus amused the Enemy, he ascended the Mountain, and in the thick Woods where they could not be discovered, placed five thousand Archers, with Eighty Horsemen. This done, he took with him twelve Horse, and passing over *Hebrus* where it was narrowest, fell suddenly upon his Enemies. Some now were slain, some ran with all speed, and others gaped and stared at this so unexpected an Onset; for a mighty Slaughter followed after the rest of the Horse, and the whole Army had passed the River. Thirty and four thousand Men were slain, and at Evening *Constantine* took the Camp; *Licinius* being fled with as many as he could get together toward his Fleet. The next Morning, such as had betaken themselves into the Mountain, or Valleys, yielded to *Constantine*, together with such as *Licinius* had left behind. Such an account *Zosimus* gives of *Constantine* his Victory, something odd. The other Writer faith in short, That the War being drawn on, though his Men were put to difficulties, by his Military Discipline and Felicity, he overthrew the confused and disordered Army of *Licinius*, receiving a slight Wound in his Thigh.

Constantine ob-
taineth a great
Victory.

28. *Licinius* betook himself to *Byzantium*, and thither *Constantine* pursued him, and Beseiged the City. He sent for his Fleet, which from the *Piraeus* was come into *Macedonia*; of which his Officers advised to engage in Fight only Eighty of the Swiftest, which carried Thirty Oars apiece, because of the straitness of the *Hellespont*. This small number was despised by the Admiral of *Licinius*, whom *Zosimus* calls *Abantus*, and *Sigonius Abas*; and he doubted not but easily to Master it with his Two hundred Gallies. But coming to Fight, the Commanders of *Constantine* joyntly fell upon their Enemies, whereas he fell on without Order, and by reason of their multitude, his Ships fell foul one of another, and were exposed to be easily Sunk and Destroyed by the Enemy. Many men being lost, the Fight was broken off by the intervening of Night,

and

and the one Party took in to the Port of *Eleus* in *Thrace*, and the other into that of *Ajax*. The day following, when a vehement Wind blew from the North, *Abantus* got his Ships out of the Port of *Ajax*, and prepared himself for another Engagement. But the other Gallies of thirty Oars which staid behind, being now come to *Eleus*, he began to despair of the great number of *Constantine's* Ships, and to doubt whether he should set upon them. Now about Noon did the Wind turn about into the South, and so great a Tempest arose, that it drove the Fleet of *Licinius*, lying on the *Ashatic* Coast, upon the Shoar, or upon Rocks, and with an hundred and thirty Vessels perished five thousand Men, *Licinius* in the Vessels having Transported part of his Soldiers into *Affia*, because *Byzantium* was crowded with People. *Abantus* now being fled with four Ships into *Affia*, and the Sea Fight thus ended; when also the Vessels were come into the *Hellepont*; which brought Provisions for *Constantine's* Army, they all departed with the Fleet to *Byzantium*, to joyn with those that besieged the City, to compals it in both by Sea and Land. As for the Forces of *Licinius*, they not daring to much as to look upon them, got Vessels, and departed to *Eleus*.

29. *Constantine* prepared Mounts and Turrets, and all things requisite for insuring the Siege; at which *Licinius* being affrighted, resolved to quit the place, and with the best resolved of his Men to go to *Chalcedon*, a City of *Bithynia*, where he hoped to raise more Forces; and renew the War. Going thither by Boat, he created *Cæsar Martinian* his *Magister Officiorum*, to have a Companion of his Fortune, and sent him to *Lampacus* to hinder the Enemy from passing from *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*; he himself bestowing his Men in the Hills and Straits about *Chalcedon*. In the mean time, *Constantine* having a multitude of Ships of all sorts, but fearing that those of Buthen would not be able to come near the Shoar of *Bithynia*, prepared light Vessels and Boats, and passed over his Army to the *Sacred Promontory*, as it was called, at the Entrance of *Pontus*, and two hundred Furlongs distant from *Chalcedon*. There on certain Hills he incamped himself, whom though *Licinius* perceived to be Master of *Bithynia*, yet being a man exercised in all Dangers, he sent for *Martinian* away from *Lampacus*, and encouraging his Soldiers; drew out of the Town to give Battel. A cruel Battel was fought betwixt the Town and the *Fannus*, wherein *Constantine* had by far the better, who falling with violence on the Enemy, made such Slaughter, that of an hundred and thirty thousand Men, scarcely thirty thousand escaped. This being done, they of *Byzantium* opened their Gates, and received him; which also did the Citizens of *Chalcedon*. *Licinius* thus beaten, with the remainders of his Horse, and a few Foot fled to *Nicomedia*.

30. At this time a *Persian*, *Hormisdas* by Name, of the Royal Family, fled over to *Constantine* upon this occasion: When the *Persian* King's Father, was Celebrating his Birth-day, this *Hormisdas* came to Court, bringing along with him great store of Venison. But it so happened, that such as were entertained at the Feast, neither rose up to do him Reverence, nor shew'd him any other respect, at which being Angry, he threatened them with the Death of *Marfai*. Most of them understood not that Speech, as foreign, but a certain *Persian*, who had lived in *Phrygia*, and had heard the Story of *Marfai*, told the rest what it was that *Hormisdas* meant. They remembering his Threats, when his Father died, made his younger Brother King, contrary to the Law, and putting Chains upon *Hormisdas*, kept him Prisoner on a Hill near the City, till by the Invention of his Wife he was delivered. She opened the Belly of a large Fish, and therein put a File, and sowing up the Belly again, gave the Fish to a Trusty Eunuch, and bad him charge her Husband not to eat the Fish when any one was by, that he might make use of what he should find in it. This done, she loaded some Camels with Wine and Provisions, and therewith Feasted those that kept him. While they were busie at making Merry, *Hormisdas* opening the Fish, found the File, wherewith he filed off his Fetters, and putting on the Habit of an Eunuch, passed through the middle of them being Drunk, and taking one of the Eunuchs along with him, escaped away to the King of the *Armenians*, his Friend, and by his assistance got safe to *Constantine*, who received him with all Honour and Respect imaginable.

31. But *Constantine* pursued *Licinius* to *Nicomedia*, and there also Besieged him. He now knowing he had not strength to grapple with him, despaired of any

any Success in Arms, and coming out of the City, presented himself as a Suppliant to *Constantine*, and offering him the Purple, called him *Emperor* and *Lord*, and begged his Pardon for what had passed. For he had promised his Life to his Sister the Wife of *Licinius*; and that by Oath. As for *Martinian*, he delivered him to those of his Guard to be slain. Thus much writeth *Zozimus*, concerning this War betwixt *Constantine* and *Licinius*. The Anonymous Author, lately named, writes; That the day following the Victory at *Chalcedon*, the Wife of *Licinius* came to her Brother's Camp, and begged her Husband's Pardon, which was granted: That *Licinius*, now a private Man, was admitted to *Constantine's* Table; and that *Martinian* had his life granted him at this time, though afterwards he was put to Death. But so became *Constantine* Monarch of the *Roman* Empire, in (or toward) the Nineteenth year of his Reign; wherein his two Sons; *Crispus* and *Constantius* were Consuls; the third Consulship of whom fell into the CCCXXIII year of our Lord.

32. In the second year of *Decius*, was *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome* crowned with Martyrdom, on the fourteenth of the Calends of February. The See was vacant for one year, and then was chosen *Cornelius*, whose election displeasing some, *Novatus* ordained against him: *Novatianus*. The year following *Cornelius* was Martyred, on the eighteenth before the Calends of October; and *Licinius* succeeded him, who shortly after was banished. In the second of *Galienus* was he Beheaded, and after a vacancy of thirty five days, *Stephen* succeeded on the Ninth of April the first *Peria*, who interceding for *Basilides* condemned by the *Spaniards*; they defended their Rights against him, and condemned his Usurpation against the *Africans*, as appeared from *Cyprian's* Epistles, as also that the boldness of the *Roman* See, was now checked by all the Provinces. After three years *Stephen* was Beheaded by the command of *Alexander*, and *Sixtus* succeeded him; who being Beheaded, when *Laurence* the Deacon was Fied to death by the command of *Valerian*, *Dionysius* succeeded. After him came *Pellex*, and then *Eutychianus*, who being martyred in the first of *Carus*; after Nine days *Caius* succeeded, December 16. *Caius* was crowned with Martyrdom in the twelfth of *Diocletian*; and after eleven days *Martellinus* succeeded, who through fear offering incense to Idols, when he denied it, was rebuked by the acclamation of a multitude of witnesses, confessed his fault, and afterwards redeemed his credit by suffering Martyrdom. *Marcellus* succeeded him. After *Marcellus* succeeded *Eusebius*, and then *Miltiades*, then *Sylvestre*, who was Bishop at the time of the Council of *Nice*, in the twentieth year of *Constantine*.

33. After *Alexander*, *Mandianes* was Bishop of *Jerusalem* until the reign of *Galus* and *Volusianus*, after him *Hymerius* till the time of *Aurelian*. Then followed *Zambdas* and *Victorinus*; according to (a) *Eusebius*, who writeth, That the See of (c) *Jerusalem* was always honoured, and the Succession continued unto his own days. After *Hermion*, *Macarius* was Bishop and was present at the Council of *Nice*. In the Church of *Antioch* after *Phileas* succeeded *Zebinus*, and then *Babylas*; who died cap. 9. 13. in Prison, in the Persecution under *Decius*. Him followed *Fabius*, him *Demetrius*, and him *Paulus Samosatenus* the Heretick, who denying the Divinity of the Son of God, was excommunicated, and deprived by the second Synod held against him at *Antioch* in the days of (c) *Aurelianus*. And when he would neither depart the Church, nor avoid the house, the Emperor was besought (the first application to the Prince in this Nature by the Christians) to interpose and command by Edict, that such should have the house as agreed in Doctrine with the followers of the Bishop of *Rome* and *Italy*. *Domnus* was by the Synod appointed to succeed him, after whom followed *Timens*, *Cyrillus*, *Dorotheus*, *Tyrannus*, *Vitalis*, *Philologus* a Martyr, and (d) *Eusebius*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. He fell into the Heresie of *Sabellius*, who being the Scholar of *Noetus*, taught that the three Persons of the Trinity were but one; but they differed, in that *Sabellius* said not the Father to have suffered. He was deposed by a Council held at *Antioch*. *Eusebius Pamphilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* confuted him. After his deposition the See was vacant eight years. In the See of *Alexandria* after *Heracles*, *Dionysius* the Scholar of *Origen* was Bishop, in the third year of *Philip*. He reporteth in (e) *Eusebius* the Peril he stood in, and the Persecution he suffered under *Decius*. He wrote of the *Alexandrian* Martyrs to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*; and to *Novatus* the Heretick; who being a Priest of *Rome*, fell from his Order, and calling his Sect *Cathari*, would not admit unto the Church such as fell after Repentance, and he abhorred second Marriage. *Dionysius* also wrote to *Hermionian*, to *Steven*, and *Xiflus* Bishops of *Rome*, unto *Philemon*

Licinius flies from Byzantium to Chalcedon.

There receives another great Overthrow.

How the flies to Constantine.

bishops.

Sicut. Schol. 1. 1. cap. 9. 13.

(c) Euseb. 1. 1. c. 29. 30.

(d) Euseb. 1. 1. c. 29.

(e) Euseb. 1. 1. c. 29. 30.

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Philemon a Minister of *Rome*, and unto *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*. He confuted the Book of *Nepos* the *Chilist*, and confounded in open Disputation *Coracius* his Disciple. Hitherto this error of the *Millenaries* propagated by *Papias*, had many of the Fathers that adhered to it, who yet held, That Christ when he came was to do his own work, without any prejudice to Earthly Princes in the mean time. Some observe, That *Dionysius* striking at this error, traduceth the *Apocalypse*, as also defending the distinction of Persons against *Sabellius*, seemeth to make three Effences. Many betook themselves to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, that he would reclaim him, and obtained it. After he had governed the Church seventeen years he died, and *Maximianus* succeeded him, whom followed *Theonas*, and him *Peter*, who was martyred under *Diocletian*. Him succeeded *Acillius*, and then came *Alexander*, who was at the Council of *Nice*. He by preaching of the Trinity somewhat curiously, gave occasion to *Arius* one of his Clergy to fall from the Faith, as *Socrates* informeth us. * L. 1. 5. 5

34. In the fifth year of *Philip* whilst *Fabianus* was Bishop of *Rome*, *Donatus* the Bishop of *Carthage* died, and *Cyprian* succeeded him by consent of all men except *Felicitus*, who, whilst the Heathens invaded his Patrimony, endeavoured to deprive him of his Bishoprick. *Felicitus* was ordained Bishop by *Novatus*, who also ordained *Novatianus* against *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*. Yet *Cornelius* favoured *Felicitus* against *Cyprian*, and would have taken Cognizance of their business, whereupon *Cyprian* vehemently rebuketh him, and denies that any one beyond the See hath Right to pass Judgment upon any Matters concerning *Affrick*. And a little after, the Pride of the *Roman* See was reprehended by all those of the Provinces, an occasion being given about *Basilides*, who being censured in *Spain*, complained to *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*. *Cyprian* was several times driven into Exile. (a) *Eusebius* maketh him to have erred in Rebaptizing Hereticks. In the fourth of *Valerian* died *Origen* seventy years old, a man of admirable Parts, most austere life, indefatigable industry, and stupendious Learning, but of impure Doctrine. *Jerome* sheweth how full of portentous Errors his Book *magis apocryphus* is. (b) *Augustin* saith, he held the Devil at length should be delivered from Hell, and associated with the Holy Angels, and for this, and other things, especially for holding alternate or successive blessedness and misery for ever, the Church did reject him. *Pamphilus* wrote an Apology for him. But his works are to be read with especial care, and especially his Commentaries upon the Scripture, concerning some of which *Theodore* (c) *Beza* passeth this censure: *Certe hoc ausum dicere si hoc sunt Origenis cuius titulum praeferunt, hunc hominem fuisse scholam Diaboli utrumque Apostolicae Doctrinae evertendae destinatum*; for he evaporateth the solid and substantial Doctrine of the Gospel, into Allegorical, and airy Notions.

35. But, God having exercised his People by many a fiery trial, was pleased to preserve the bush unburned, and at length to grant them Peace by *Constantine*, who proved a nursing Father to the Church, taking away all Penal Laws against them, and enacting new ones, not only for their preservation, but convenience and comfort.

FINIS.

The Method and Order of this first Volume, whereby some mistakes as to Chapters and Sections may be corrected.

BOOK I.

Chap. I.

From the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the first Empire. P. 1.

Chap. II.

The Babylonian Empire, from the first founding of it, to its utter destruction by *Cyrus*. P. 10.

Contemporaries with the Babylonian Empire.

Chap. III.

Of Sacred History, viz.

SECT. I. From the time of *Phaleg*, and division of the Earth, to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, P. 27.

SECT. II. From the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, to the death of *Solomon*, and the rent of the Kingdom. P. 34.

SECT. III. From the rent of the Kingdom, to the destruction of the Kingdom of *Judah*. P. 45.

SECT. IV. The Kingdom of *Israel*, from the revolt of the Tribes, to their final Captivity under *Salmannasser*. P. 57.

Chap. IV.

The most ancient Kingdom of Egypt. P. 61.

Chap. V.

The most ancient State and Condition of Greece, with a description of its Kingdoms and Commonwealths. viz.

SECT. I. The State of Greece in general. P. 75.

SECT. II. The Sicyonian Kingdom. P. 77.

SECT. III. The Kingdom of Argos. P. 78.

SECT. IV. The most ancient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Athens. P. 92.

SECT. V. The most ancient Kingdom and Commonwealth of Lacedaemon. P. 105.

SECT. VI. The most ancient Kingdom of Corinth. P. 120.

SECT. VII. The ancient Kingdom of Thebes. P. 123.

Chap. VI.

The Original and Kingdom of Rome viz.

SECT. I. The Original of the City of Rome. P. 127.

SECT. II. From the building of the City, to the destruction of the Kingdom. P. 132.

BOOK II.

Of the Persian Empire and the affairs of the World Contemporary with it. P. 177.

Chap. I.

The Persian Empire; viz.

SECT. I. From the beginning of the Empire of *Cyrus*, to the death of *Cambyses* his Son and Successor. P. 177.

SECT. II. From the death of *Cambyses*, to that of *Xerxes*. P. 181.

SECT.

A T A B L E.

SECT. III. *From the death of Xerxes, and beginning of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, containing the space of one hundred and three years.* p. 206.

SECT. IV. *From the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the beginning of Ochus, to the death of Darius Codomannus, the space of thirty two years.* p. 238.

SECT. V. *The Policy, Customs and Manners of the Persians.* p. 262.

Contemporaries with the Persian Empire.

Chap. II.

The affairs of the Gracians amongst themselves. viz.

SECT. I. *Of such things as happened from the beginning of this Empire, until the expedition of Xerxes.* p. 287.

SECT. II. *Of such things as fell out amongst the Gracians from their Victories at Plataea and Mycale, until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the space of forty eight years.* p. 299.

SECT. III. *From the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, to the ending thereof, the space of twenty seven years.* p. 310.

SECT. IV. *From the end of the Peloponnesian War, to the reign of Philip King of Macedonia, the space of forty four years.* p. 343.

SECT. V. *From the beginning of the reign of Philip King of Macedonia, to the Monarchy of Alexander his Son, the space of thirty one years.* p. 370.

Chap. III.

The affairs of Sicily, viz.

SECT. I. *The first Names and Inhabitants of this Island, with a relation of such things as preceded the Persian Empire.* p. 386.

SECT. II. *Of such things as were Contemporary with the Persian Empire.* p. 391.

Chap. IV.

The affairs of the Romans, viz.

SECT. I. *From the banishment of Tarquinus, and first change of Government, to the alteration made by the Decemviri, the space of fifty seven years.* p. 435.

SECT. II. *From the Creation of the Decemviri, to the War of Privernus,*

which fell out the same year that Darius Codomannus died, the space of one hundred and twenty one years. p. 458.

B O O K I I I.

Of the Empire of the Macedonians, and Affairs of the World Contemporary with it.

Chap. I.

From the beginning of the Monarchy of Alexander to his death, the space of six years and ten months. p. 545.

Chap. II.

Of such things as happened after the death of Alexander, amongst his Captains, till their Canonizing of his Empire into their particular Kingdoms, and taking the stile and title of Kings upon them, the space of seventeen years. p. 559.

Chap. III.

From Alexanders Captains taking the title of King, to the death of Seleucus the survivor of them, the space of twenty four years. p. 569.

Chap. IV.

The Macedonian Kingdom, from the death of Seleucus, to the Captivity of Perseus, and end of this Kingdom, the space of one hundred and thirty nine years. p. 574.

Chap. V.

The Asian and Syrian Kingdom, from the death of Seleucus, to the reducing of Syria into the form of a Roman Province by Pompey, the space of two hundred and twenty years. p. 594.

Chap. VI.

The Egyptian Kingdom, from the death of Ptolomy the Son of Lagus, to the death of Cleopatra, and the reducing of Egypt into the form of a Roman Province, the space of two hundred and fifty four years. p. 628.

Contemporaries with the Empire of the Macedonians. p. 650.

Chap.

A T A B L E.

Chap. VII.

The Judæan Kingdom, or Principality of the Asmoneans, from the departure of Antiochus Sides from Jerusalem, to the Reign of Herod an Alien, being by Birth an Idumæan, the space of ninety eight years. p. 650.

Chap. VIII.

The Affairs of Sicily, from the death of Timoleon, to the Sicilian, or first Punick War, the space of seventy three years. p. 668.

Chap. IX.

The Affairs of the Romans, viz.

SECT. I. *From the War of Privernum, to the first Punick War, wherein the Romans first set foot out of Italy, the space of sixty six years.* p. 681.

SECT. II. *From the first Punick War, to that with Antiochus the Great, in which the Romans first invaded Asia, the space of thirty seven years.* p. 690.

SECT. III. *From the War with Antiochus, and the Invasion of Asia, to the destruction of Carthage, after which the Romans degenerated through security, the space of forty five years.* p. 711.

SECT. IV. *From the destruction of Carthage, to the War with Mithridates which afforded the occasion to the first Civil War, the space of fifty eight years.* p. 718.

SECT. V. *From the War with Mithridates, and the first Civil War, to the Combination of Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, termed by Varro, Triumvirate, which proved the ruine of the Popular Government, the space of twenty eight years.* p. 728.

SECT. VI. *From the beginning of the Triumvirate or first Triumvirate to the Civil War betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, the space of eleven years.* p. 746.

SECT. VII. *Concerning the Civil War betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, to the Absoluteness of Julius Cæsar, the space of five years.* p. 798.

SECT. VIII. *From the Absoluteness of Julius Cæsar to the end of the second Triumvirate and the Absoluteness of Octavius Cæsar or Cæsar Octavianus, the space of fifteen years.* p. 832.

B O O K I V.

The Roman Empire.

Chap. I.

From the Absoluteness of Cæsar Octavius surnamed Augustus to his death, the space of near forty four years. p. 775.

Chap. II.

From the death of Augustus, to that of Tiberius, the space of twenty two years and upwards. p. 831.

Chap. III.

From the death of Tiberius, to that of Nero, the last Emperour of Cæsars Family, the space of twenty years. p. 848.

Chap. IV.

From the death of Nero, to that of Domitian, the last of the Family of Vespasian, the space of twenty seven years. p. 866.

Chap. V.

From the death of Domitian, to that of Pertinax, and the exposing of the Empire to public sale by the Soldiers, the space of ninety seven years. p. 880.

Chap. VI.

From the death of Pertinax, and exposing the Empire to sale, to the death of Maximinus the first elected Emperour without consent of the Senate, the space of forty five years. p. 926.

Chap. VII.

From the death of Maximinus the first elected Emperour without consent of the Senate, to the Monarchy of Constantine, who reformed Religion, and Translated the Imperial Seat to Byzantium, the space of eighty six years. p. 946.

A T A

A TABLE.

The first NUMBER sheweth the Page, the second
the PARAGRAPH.

The Reader is desired to take notice, that through the Printer's Mistake, the Folio's from 775 to 850. are double, and distinguished by a Parenthesis thus () and observ'd throughout the Table. As also that by the same mistake, the Titles of a few Chapters and Sections are something altered from the Copy, but so, as not in the least to pervert the Sense or method of the Work.

A.

Aron, 33. 19. dieth at the age of one hundred and twenty three 37. 10.
Abas King of the Argives Ruled twenty three years, 81. 9.
Abiah succeedeth Rehoboam, 49. 3. Reigneth three years: and dieth, ibid.
Abimelech (the last Son of Gideon) maketh himself King, 42. 26. slayeth his seventy Brethren, and was dispatched by his Armoured-Bearer, being first wounded by a woman, ibid.
Abraham born, 27. 3. cometh into Canaan, 28. ibid. recovereth Lot and all the Booty from the four Kings, ibid. 5. sojourneth in Egypt, ibid. 4. why called an Hebrew, ibid. 6. Abraham and Sarah, 29. 7. his name changed, and the Signification thereof, ibid. 9.
Abialom Rebelleth, ibid. 46. 39.
Achelaus Son of Agellaus succeedeth his Father, 106. 5. dieth without Issue, and leaveth his Kingdom to his Brother Lycurgus, ibid.
Accident remarkable by Fire, 378. 23.
Achilles General in the Alexandrian War 645. 39. is slain, ibid.
Achilles is treacherously slain by Patris, 89. 31.
Acoris King of Egypt, strengthneth himself against Artaxerxes, 233. 82. &c.
Acritus King of the Argives, driven out by his Brother, 947. at last they agree and Acritus was kill'd by a blow with a Quin, ibid.
Acilius the Consul defendeth Antiochus at Thermopylae, 711. 3.
Aetius Clausus his story, 424. 21.
Adam expell'd Paradise, 1. 3.
Adrastus a Sicyonian King, 78. 3.
Adrian the Emperor succeedeth Trajan: 888. 19. quietteth all beyond Euphrates and Tygris, and

groweth popular, ibid. 20. writeth a Book of Tactics, 889. 21. giveth his Soldiers good Example, ibid. 23. reformeth them, 890. ibid. goeth into Britain, ibid. 29. his Travels, ibid. 25. he hateth the Antiochians, 891. 26. his various humours, 892. 27. he was skillful in Astrology and other Sciences, ibid. 28. taketh Lawyers, as disciples, into his Council, ibid. 29. his Laws, 893. ibid. studieth popularity, 894. 31. calleth many Cities by his own Name, ibid. maketh the Advocatus Fisci, ibid. hath a vast Memory, ibid. 32. obtaineth the friendship of his Neighbours, and how, 895. ibid. taketh care about Elabir, and regulateth Expenses at Feasts, ibid. 33. contradieth a longings, and sheweth his Cruelty, ibid. 34. adopteth Varus, who dieth, 896. 35. and after him Antoninus, 896. 35. maketh a great Alteration in the Government, ibid. 36. concealeth his humors, 898. 40. his Character, 899. 43. his Letter on behalf of the Christians, ibid. 44. he dieth, ibid.
Æaces succeedeth his Father Syloson in Samus, 289. but is soon depos'd, ibid.
Ædilis Curulis created, 434. 44. & 474. 41. and why so called, ibid. their Office, 435. 45. six of them made at Rome in one year, 833. 3.
Ægeus Governor of Athens begetteth Theseus on the Daughter of Æthra, 94. 7. throweth himself from a Rock headlong, 95. 12.
Ægialea. a City, so called from Ægialeus, 77. 1.
Ægialeus the first King of Sicyonia, ibid.
Ægydrus, or Ægynus King of Sicyonia 77. 1. Reigneth thirty seven years, ibid.
Ægina, an Island, in Sinuatus and Circuti, 292. 18.
Ægipetanus by giving Earth and Water to Darius incense the Grecians, 293. 19.
Ægypt, a very ancient Kingdom 70. 29. not
H h h h h

A T A B L E.

the gift of the Nile, as was generally fancied, 71. 29.
 Egyptian Antiquities far exceed the Novelty of the Græcians, *ibid.* Colonies pretended to the Egyptians, *ibid.* 31. their Hero-glyphicks 72. 32. they communicated Knowledge to the Greek Poets and Philosophers, *ibid.* 33. their ancient Government, 73. 35. the divisions of the Land and Inhabitants, *ibid.* 36. the Courts of Justice, *ibid.* 37. Particular Customs, *ibid.* 41. Ridiculous Superstition, 75. 42. Revolts, 27. 3. they recover Egypt, *ibid.* 5. are defeated by Artaxerxes, 233. 89. and their Country made a province after the death of Cleopatra, 844. 39.
 Ælius (Gallus) Invadeth Arabia, 792. 41.
 Æmilianus, Commander of the Roman Legions in Pannonia, 947. 4. is made Emperor, but enjoyeth it, but three weeks, *ibid.* 5. and then is slain by his Soldiers, *ibid.* 948. *ibid.*
 Æmilius (Paulus) the Consul, subdueth Persæus, 715. 15.
 Æneæ arriveth with his wandering Trojans in Italy, 128. 3. succedeth Latinius and Reigneth four years over the Latines 129. 6. is overthrown in a Battle with Mezentius, and never seen more, though Honoured with a Chapel dedicated to him under the Title of Jupiter Indiges, *ibid.*
 Ætarnum, or Treasury at Rome, 421. 13.
 Ætna breaketh out into flames, 316. 10. again in the time of Hiero, 397. 14. as also fifty years after.
 Ætolians refuse to make a Peace, 587. 24. forced to it by Philip, 588. 36.
 Africa, a horrid Pervilence there, 723. 14. how Affairs went in that Country, 806. 40.
 Agamemnon, adopted by Atreus, his Uncle, who obtained Mycenæ &c. 87. 25.
 Agathocles, his original, 668. 1. made a Colonel, and loveth in Italy, *ibid.* is endanger'd at Gela, suspected to effect Tyranny, banished, recalled, and made General, 669. 2. causeth a Massacre of the Syracusans, *ibid.* 3. taketh the Office of Captain General with- out a College, *ibid.* is overthrown by the Carthaginians, 671. 6. refuseth to Invade Africa, *ibid.* 7. being landed he burneth his Ships, which at first daunted the Carthaginians, whom he overthrew, 672. 8. prospereth to admiration in Africa, 673. 10. his Fortune changeth by a Mutiny of his Soldiers, *ibid.* 12. yet he quetheth them, and defeateth the Carthaginians, 674. *ibid.* obtaineth another Victory against them, 675. 13. taketh upon him the Title of King, *ibid.* 15. returning from Sicily, his Affairs go down the Wind, both there, and in Africa, 675. *ibid.* maketh a Massacre in Syracuse, *ibid.* 16. despairing of his success in Africa, he intendeth to fly with his youngest Son, Heracles, 676. 17. is bound in golden Fetters, but loose, 677. 18. his horrid Cruelties towards Ægefta, *ibid.* 19. he rageth against the Italians, 677. 20. entereth into Society with Demetrius Poliorcetes, *ibid.* 22. thinketh of another Expedition into Africa, but is prevented by Menon, 678. 23. who poisoneth him, *ibid.*
 Agelas succedeth Bacchis in the Corinthian Kingdom, 121. 3. Governeth thirty years, *ibid.*

Agellus succedeth Dorillus in Lacedæmonia, 106. 5. Invadeth Asia, 226. 50. is called home through the means of Tithrautes, 228. 66. taketh part with Nectanebus, King of Egypt, 237. 96. obtaineth a Victory against the Leaguers, overthrown Argia, 350. 17. relieveth the Achæans, 351. 81. defendeth Spodrias, 356. 31. undertaketh a fruitless Expedition against the Boeotians, *ibid.* 32. dieth, 367. 61.
 Agellus, Brother to Agis carrieth the Spartan Kingdom by the Assistance of Lyfander, 347. 8. is sent into Asia, *ibid.* 9. is Eclipsed by Lyfander, *ibid.*
 Agelopolis, King of Lacedæmon, is sent against the Argives, 351. 19. against the Olynthians, 354. 27. dieth, *ibid.*
 Agilæus succedeth Isdon in the Corinthian Kingdom, 121. 3. Governeth thirty seven years, *ibid.*
 Agis succedeth Eurythides, from whom the Kings of this Family were called Agidæ, 106. *ibid.*
 4. he dieth, *ibid.*
 Agis, the Spartan King, invadeth the Argives, is desperately blamed, 325. 46. severely sentenced 326. *ibid.* redeemeth his Credit according to his promise, *ibid.* is repulsed from Athens, 338. 80. and dieth, 346. 8.
 Agrippa Panus at Rome, 442. 63. repulsed thirty years after his making with another, 454. 90. Tumults happen about them, 455. 92. but are diverted by War, *ibid.* 93.
 Agrippentum is taken, 691. 3. and destroyed, *ibid.*
 Agrippa (Vipsianus) his Parents, 692. 5. his Advice to Octavius Cæsar, *ibid.* an answer to his Arguments drawn from the Greeks, 778. 8. from the Romans, 779. 10. gaineth the love of the people, 791. 37. adorneth the City with several Works, 792. 39. among the rest perfecteth the Pantheon, his disagreement with Marcellus, Augustus his Son-in-Law, 793. 42. is sent into Syria, *ibid.* made Governour of Rome, 795. 47. and Marius, Julia, Augustus his Daughter, *ibid.* his performances in Spain against Cantabrig, 797. 50. Moderation, *ibid.* Example follow'd by the Romans, 800. 57. returneth from Syria, and is sent into Pannonia 801. 60. in his way falleth sick at Campana and dieth, *ibid.* his Commendation, 802. *ibid.*
 Agrippa Posthumus, the Son of Agrippa by Julia, 802. 60. born after his death, *ibid.* his Extravagancies, 822. 99. would not be reclaim'd, therefore is proscrib'd, his Estate confiscated, and person banished to Placcalia near Cortica, *ibid.*
 Agrippa, the Grand-son of Herod the Great, by his Son Aristobolus, King of the Jews, is by Philip the Tetrarch 849. 2. his Dominions are enlarged by Claudius, 851. 8. *ibid.* he dieth eaten up with Worms, *ibid.*
 Agrippa, the Son of Agrippa, but seventeen years old, when his Father dieth, 851. 8. his youth hindr'd his enjoyment of the Kingdom of Judeæ, and therefore Cuiuspius Fadus was made Governor thereof, *ibid.*
 Agrippina, Daughter of Germanicus, is married to her Uncle Claudius, 854. 16. whom she poisoneth 856. 21. falleth at odds with her Son Nero 858. 24. and is made away by him, 859. 27.
 Ahab, King of Israel, receiveth his Death-wound,

A T A B L E.

Wounds fighting against Ramoth-Gilead, 50. 5.
 Ahaz succedeth his Father Jotham, 52. 12. dieth having Reigned sixteen years by himself, *ibid.*
 Ahaziah succedeth Joram, who scarce Reigned one year, 51. 7. was slain by Jehu, *ibid.*
 Alani, Invade Media and Armenia, 875. 23. Alba destroyed, 141. 20.
 Alcibiades, when a Child, his Advice to his Uncle Pericles, 309. 31. marcheth into Peloponnesus, 325. 45. being suspected, he is sent away, and recall'd, 328. 55. his Advice against his own Country, 331. 62. he flieth from the Spartans, *ibid.* 63. desireth to return to his Country, *ibid.* 64. giveth the Athenian Ambassadors, of the four hundred, a cross Answer, 334. 71. overthrown Minidarus, the Spartan, 337. 78. Befegeth Chalcedon with an Army of Athenians, 338. 82. returneth to Athens, 339. 84. teacheth his Eldest to the Management of his Father, who, fighting contrary to his order is defeated, and slain, 340. 83. for which he is discarded, *ibid.* and made away by the Procurement of the thirty Tyrants, 346. 6.
 Alcimus made High-Priest by Demetrius, 619. 63. he dieth in great Torments, *ibid.*
 Alletes, the Son of Hippocles (Son to Antiochus, and Nephew to Hercules) subdueth the Kingdom of Coriuth, when Doridas and Hyanthidas Governed together, 121. 3.
 Alexander, the Son of Philip and Olympias, born at Pella succedeth his Father Philip at the age of twenty, 244. 20. beginneth his Reign well, 383. 36. Invadeth Asia, *ibid.* engageth with the Persians at Granicus, 245. 24. Jetteth all his Greek Cityes, *ibid.* 26. taketh the Battle of Halicarnassus, *ibid.* 27. fighteth the Battle of Issus with Darius Codomannus, 248. 35. travellith into Syria, and is met by most petty Kings, 249. 37. scorneth the Offer of Darius, *ibid.* marcheth to Byblus, which yieldeth, and then to Sidon, 249. 38. depriveth Strato of his Kingdom, and bestoweth it on his beloved Hætion, *ibid.* advanceth Abdalomines, King of Sidon (or Abdalomines) a poor Gardener, *ibid.* the Syrians send him a Crown of Gold, *ibid.* 39. his great Attempt to Conquer Tyre, 250. 40. which is taken by him, *ibid.* 42. Invadeth Judea, resolving to bring all Palestine under his Subjection, 251. 45. 42. 46. is appeas'd, *ibid.* Befegeth Gaza, *ibid.* 47. marcheth for Egypt, 253. 40. foundeth Alexandria, *ibid.* 50. goeth to the Temple of Jupiter Hammon, *ibid.* 51. cometh to Memphis, and ordaineth his new City to be the Metropolis of Egypt, *ibid.* 52. moveth toward Syria, to revenge the death of Andromachus, 254. 53. passeth Euphrates and Tigris, *ibid.* 54. his Soldiers are discouraged by an Eclipse of the Moon, 257. 55. he buildeth Towers at the death of Statira, the Wife of Darius, *ibid.* 56. is declared King of Asia, *ibid.* 62. defeateth Darius at Gaugamela, 257. 60. entereth Babylon, *ibid.* committeth the Castle to Agathon, and goeth to Susa, 258. 63. 64. is opposed by Ariobarzanes, *ibid.* 65. cometh to Persepolis, 259. 66. causeth it to be plundered, *ibid.* Harraileth Persia and burneth in a Frolick, the Palace of Persepolis, *ibid.* 67. cometh to Pargadæ, 259. 68. to

Ecbatane, 260. 69. pursueth Darius, *ibid.* 70. upon notice of the Conspiracy against Darius, he maketh haste, *ibid.* 72. but upon his approach he was mortally wounded, 261. 73. marcheth toward India, 549. 13. crosseth the River Indus, 550. 15. and Hydaspes, *ibid.* 16. overthrown and taketh King Porus 551. 17. Sopithes yieldeth to him, *ibid.* 18. travellith Eastward, and how far, *ibid.* 19. retreateth and saileth down the River Hydaspes, 552. 19. Combateh the Malli, and Oxycrate, *ibid.* 22. casteth himself into extreme danger, through his great Courage, 554. 24. Sailith into Indus, *ibid.* where he buildeth another Alexandria, and subdueth the Country of Multan, 554. *ibid.* at also that of Oxycaus, King of the Prethi, *ibid.* 26. killeth a Lion in the Forrest of Bataria, 547. 9. ran Clytus through, *ibid.* Sailith into the Isle Patana, *ibid.* 27. passeth into the Ocean, 559. 29. and through the Country of the Gedrosians with incredible difficulty, *ibid.* 31. cometh to Pargadæ, 556. 32. to Persepolis, *ibid.* Marius Statira, the Daughter of Darius, *ibid.* 33. as also Roxane the Daughter of Oxyartes, 549. 10. his Soldier Maritus, 557. 34. but he is recalled, and upon their Submission, *ibid.* 35. arriveth at Ecbatane in Media, *ibid.* 36. at Babylon, 558. 37. falleth into a Fever with excessive drinking, whereof he dieth on the eleventh day, *ibid.* 38. his Issue, and Lineage, 559. 1.
 Alexander, the Cousin-German of Heliogabalus, is received Emperor, 941. 42. he and his Mother are traitorously murdered, by the procurement of Maximian, 945. 43.
 Alexander succedeth Alagemon in Coriuth, and Governeth twenty five years, 121. 3. but is slain by Telestes, *ibid.*
 Alexander, the Son of Aristobolus, is beheaded by order of Pompey, 660. 19.
 Alexander, Prefectus Prætorio, in Africk, usurpeth 952. 15. is taken, and put to death, *ibid.* 16.
 Alexander Balas, vide Balas.
 Alexander, King of Epirus, is slain in Italy, 681. 2.
 Alexander (Jannæus) the Son of Ptolemy Physicon, King of the Jews, befegeth Ptolemais, 941. 30. & 654. 7. but being known to have murdered his Mother, is expelled his Kingdom, *ibid.* 31. is defeated by the Arabians, 658. 8. but Wars with his Rival Seleucus Subject, *ibid.* his Conquests abroad, 655. 9. his death, *ibid.* Advice to his Wife near his end, *ibid.* 10.
 Alexander, the Brother of Lathurus, succedeth him, 641. 32. but is expelled by the Alexandrians, 642. 33.
 Alexandra, the Wife of Aristobolus, the Son of Hyrcanus, observeth his Advice in her Reign, 656. 10. he dieth, 657. 12. her Character, *ibid.*
 Alexandria, when built, 681. 2. its State and Condition, 629. 2. the Pharos there, when built, *ibid.* 3. the Serapeum what, and whence so named, 629. 4. the Libraries there, *ibid.* Healthfulness of the place, 630. 5. Form of the City and Museum, or College, *ibid.* 6. the Soma, or place of Sepulchre, described, *ibid.* 7. Timonium, what, *ibid.* 8. Aristobolus, his fall, 631. 12. a War there, 818. 69.
 Algemon, Brother of Aristomedes, and Guard-ian to his Son, deposeth him, 121. 3. and holdeth the Corinthian Kingdom sixteen years, *ibid.* Alinus,

A T A B L E.

Almus, the youngest Son of Sisyphus, *call'd otherwise* Halmus and Olmus, from Almon or Olmon, a place in Bœotia took, its denomination) hath part of the Country of Orchomenians bestowed on him by Erechles, the King, who ruled there, 120. 1.
 Ambiorix is defeated by Lucius Minutius B. filius, 779. 90.
 Amilcar, the youngest Son of Mago, General at Carthage, 396. 13. slain in the Sicilian War, *ibid.*
 Amilcar, the Carthaginian, maketh up a Peace, 670. 4. breaketh it, *ibid.* 5. a great Army is shipped for Sicily, under his Conduct, *ibid.* 6. he overthroweth Agathocles 671. *ibid.* 7. raiseth his Siege before Syracuse, 672. 10. be siegeth it a second time, 673. 11. it taken, and miserably torrid to death, *ibid.*
 Amilcar (Barcas) overthroweth Italy with his Roads and Depredations, 693. 7. defeateth the Mercenaries, 695. 11. smiteth the Carthaginian Forces, *ibid.* 13. compelleth Spendius and Mathos to break up the Siege of Carthage, *ibid.* and utterly defeateth them, 696. 15. his Acts after the end of the first Punic War, 701. 30. he is put to flight by Cutilion, King of the Iberi, and drowned in a River, *ibid.*
 Ammon raiseth Thamar, 46. 39.
 Ammon, King of Israel, an Idolatrous Prince, 53. 16. after two years Reign is slain by his Servants in his own House, 53. 16.
 Amphion and Zethus obtain the Kingdom of Thebes, 125. 6. Amphion, an excellent Musician dieth of the Pesticence, 125. 6. and Zethus leaving his young Son left alone, waves, pinch away for Grief, *ibid.*
 Amphiphrones, the General Council assembled first, in Thellaly, and why so called, 81. 11. and thence carried by Acrilius to Delphos in Phocis, *ibid.* they punish the Phocians, 379. 26.
 Amycias, the Son and Successor of Lacedæmon, King of Lacedæmonia, 105. 2.
 Anacrotium, a Town situate in the Bay of Ambracia taken by the Corcyreans, after the Sea-fight with the Corinthians, betwixt the Island Corcyra, and the Continent of Epirus, 305. 21.
 Ancus Martius, Elected King of Rome, after an Inter-regnum, 141. 32.
 Andromachus, Governor of Syria under Alexander, 254. 55. was burnt alive by the Samaritans, *ibid.*
 Andronicus, the Counterfeit Son of Pericles, taken flying to Byzus a petty King of Thrace, 716. 17.
 Annibal, the Son of Gelfco, 599 20. &c.
 Annibal, the Carthaginian General tempereth very carefully with the Syracusians, 680. 29. and is Crucified by his Soldiers after he had received a considerable loss at Sea, 691. 3.
 Annibal the Son of Amilcar Barcas, created General by the Carthaginians, 701. 30. subdueth the Oledæes, *ibid.* 31. taketh Saguntus, a Town in Spain, Conquereth with Rome, 702. *ibid.* whereupon the second Punic War begun, *ibid.* 31. Conquer'd all Spain, at first by the Pyrenean Hills, *ibid.* passeth over the Alps into Italy, 702. *ibid.* defeateth Scipio the Consul, and Sempronius, his Collegue, *ibid.* 34. as also Flaminius at the Lake Thrasymene, 704. 36. notwithstanding Fabius his delays, he gawt the

Romans a most grievous Overthrow at Cannæ, 705. 38. encourageth his Army by witnessing at Capua, *ibid.* 39. goeth down the wind in Italy and Spain, *ibid.* 4. in Sardinia, 706. 41. gaineth Tarentum, but be siegeth the Castle in vain, 707. 43. marcheth for Rome, but is hindered from fighting by Tempets, and departeth for Rhegium, *ibid.* 44. dieth, 714. 11.
 Andria, who kind of Feasts they are, 114. 5.
 Antalcidas is sent from the Spartans to Artaxerxes, 229. 70. concludeth a Peace with him, 230. 74.
 Antander the Brother of Agathocles Governor of Syracuse, 671. 7. murdereth the Syracusians, 676. 10.
 Antigonus his share in the Provinces after Alexander's death, 560. 3. is made General against Eumenes, 562. 9. thinketh of getting all into his Power, *ibid.* 11. putteth Pithon the Governor of Media to death, 565. 21. the Captains combine against him, 566. 22. he, and the rest take upon them the Title of Kings, 568. 27. his fruitless Expedition against Ptolemy, 569. 1. against Rhodes, *ibid.* 2. a Combination against him, *ibid.* he is slain, 570. 4.
 Antigonus Gonatus, the Son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, obtaineth his Fathers Kingdom, 575. 3. is expelled by Pyrrhus, 575. 4. recoverseth Macedonia and leseth it again, 576. 6. dieth, *ibid.*
 Antigonus Dofon, King of Macedonia, 577. 9. why so called, *ibid.* is victorious, 579. 14. taketh Macedonia, *ibid.* 15. defeateth Cleomenes, 580. 16. dieth of a Consumption, *ibid.* 17.
 Antigonus, the Son of Echeocrates, defined by Philip to the Kingdom, 592. 51. is killed, *ibid.* 52.
 Antigonus the Son of John Hyrcanus, returneth victorious from the Wars, 652. 4. is murdered by the Command of his Brother Aristobulus, 653. *ibid.*
 Antigonus, the Son of Aristobulus, brother of Judæa, by the procurement of the Parthians, 664. 24. crotteth the Ears of Hyrcanus his Uncle, 665. 30. is taken in Jerusalem, and Beheaded, 667. 35.
 Antinous, the Beautiful Touth of the Emperor Adrian, is lost, as he sailed through the Cæle, 891. 26.
 Antiochus, the Son of Seleucus falleth in Love with Stratonice and bath her, 594. 1. Stratonice, son, 595. 2. succedeth his Father, and why so named, *ibid.* his Wars, *ibid.* buildeth a City in Syria, 595. 4. and another, 596. *ibid.* dieth, *ibid.*
 Antiochus, firmaneth Theus, and why, 596. 5. succedeth his Father Antiochus Soter, from whom the Parthians and Eastern Provinces revolt, and he is poisoned by his Wife Laodice, *ibid.*
 Antiochus Hierax why so called, 596. 7. Rebelleth against his Brother Seleucus Callinicus 597. *ibid.* is slain by Thieves in his flight, *ibid.* 8.
 Antiochus, the Great, succedeth his Brother Seleucus Cereanus 597. 9. falleth into Greek Trambles, 598. 10. marcheth War on Ptolemy for Coelelyria, and getteth into Seleucia, 599. 14. with several other places, 600. 15. is beaten by Ptolemy, 601. 19. maketh an Expedition into the East, 602. 24. the first thereof,

thereof, *ibid.* he, and the Romans grow jealous one of the other, 604. 7. he marrieth an obscure Girl at Chalcis, Daughter to Cleopolemus, his Hof. 606. 30. is overthrowen at the Straights of Thermopyle, *ibid.* 31. his Acts in Asia, *ibid.* 32. is slain in Elymais in a drunken fit, 609. 38.
 Antiochus Epiphanes, why, and by what means he dyed, 610. 40. succedeth his Brother Seleucus Philopater, *ibid.* seizeth on Egypt a first and second time, *ibid.* 41. his Cruelty and Prophaneness against the Jews and their Temple, *ibid.* 42. getteth all Egypt except Alexandria, into his hands 611. 43. retreateth, *ibid.* returneth into Egypt, but is taken off by the Romans from farther Attempts, *ibid.* 44. persecuteth the Jews upon the account of their Religion, 612. 45. is engaged at the opposition of Maccathias, and Judas, 613. 48. ordereth Lysias to destroy the Jews, and sendeth several Captains into Judæa, who are destroy'd as well as Lysias himself, *ibid.* 49. he, in the interim profaneeth in the upper Countries, *ibid.* 50. returning breatheth Revenge, he is struck with a foul Disease, and dieth, 614. *ibid.*
 Antiochus, Eupator, his Son being a Child but nine years old, severeth his Father, 614. 51. why, and by whom firmaneth Eupator, *ibid.* he be siegeth Bethsurah, and that taken Jerusalem, 616. 55. but is called away by the motions of Philip, *ibid.*
 Antiochus Sidetes, second Son of Demetrius Soter, enjoyeth his Kingdom, 623. 72. marrieth Cleopatra, *ibid.* dispossesseth Tryphon, her former Husband, *ibid.* 73. sendeth Cleodemus against the Jews, who is defeated by John, the Son of Simon, 624. *ibid.* be siegeth Jerusalem, *ibid.* 74. is slain by the Parthians, 625. 76.
 Antiochus Grypus, son to Demetrius, defeateth and killeth Alexander Balas the usurping Counterfeit, 626. 78. is emulated, and expelled Syria, *ibid.* 79. firmaneth Apandus, and why, 626. 80. slain by Treachery, 627. 80.
 Antiochus, the young Son of Balas, is set up against Demetrius, for his Fathers Kingdom, 622. 69. is kill'd by Tryphon, 623. 71.
 Antiochus Cyzicenus, half-Brother and Cousin German to Grypus, after his Expulsion, they divide the Kingdom, and both Reign together, 626. 80. he killeth himself, 627. *ibid.*
 Antiochus Pius, or Eusebius, the Son of Cleizycenus avoideth his snares by the help of a Courtship, 627. 80. goeth to Aradus, and taketh upon him the Diadem *ibid.* there is no certainty in History concerning his end, *ibid.* 81. he is one of all Syria, by the Tigra-nus, *ibid.* 82.
 Antiochus Asiaticus, the Son of Antiochus Pius recovereth Syria from Tigranes, King of Armenia, 627. 82. is spoiled of it by Pompey the Great, and confined to Comagena, whence he, and his Posterity never stirr'd, which prov'd the Fall of the Kingdom of Syria, 628. *ibid.*
 Antiochus, firmaneth Dionysius, the Brother of Philip, getteth Damascus into his hands, and warreth against the Arabians, 627. 81. is slain in a Battle with Artas, their King, *ibid.*
 Antiochus Comagenus, is restored to his Kingdom, and part of Cilicia given him by Claudius, 851. 9.
 Antiochus, King of Syria gapeth after Egypt,

625. 19. his Conquest, *ibid.* 20. marrieth his Daughter to Ptolemy, *ibid.*
 Antipater, left in Macedonia by Alexander, 285. 42. overthroweth the Lacedæmonians, 286. *ibid.* whether Alexander was poisoned by his procurement, 558. 38. is chosen General with Antigonus, and Protector of the King, 561. 8. dieth, 562. 10.
 Antipater, the Son of Callander killeth his own Mother, 571. 7.
 Antipater, the Idumean, his Extradition, 657. 13. moveth Hyrcanus to recover his Right, *ibid.* 14. his great Services to Cæsar rewarded, 660. 20. diverteth his Son Herod from doing mischief, 661. 22. is poisoned by Malchus, his Character, *ibid.*
 Antonia, the younger Daughter of Antony the Triumvir, 832. 4. of whom 'tis reported she did not spit in her whole Life, *ibid.*
 Antonius (Pius why so called) succedeth Adrian the Emperor, 900. 45. his Behaviour as a private man, Wars, and Mercifulness, *ibid.* 46. & 47. his selfdenial and power with his Neighbours, 901. 48. how he treated his Masters of the Senate, and learned Men, *ibid.* 49. dieth, the Romans confest upon him after his Death, 902. *ibid.* his Edit on behalf of the Christians, *ibid.* 50.
 Antoninus (Marcus Aurelius Philophilus) succedeth him, 904. 55. his Gratitude to his Schoolmasters, *ibid.* his Master in the Laws, who, 905. 56. he marrieth Faustina, the Daughter of Antoninus Pius, *ibid.* 57. enjoyeth Lucius Commodus with himself in the Imperial Sovereignty, 906. 58. first in the Provinces, during his Reign, *ibid.* his Laws, *ibid.* 59. stretcheth himself against Accusations, 907. 60. more Laws of his, *ibid.* 61. his chiefest Advisor in Law-Matters, 908. 62. Wars with the Marcomanni, *ibid.* both he and Commodus the Emperor undertake an Expedition against them, 908. 63. Commodus dieth, 909. 63. this War was of vast Consequence, *ibid.* 64. Marcus exposeth to Sale his Rich Furniture, 910. 65. changeth the way of the Provinces, *ibid.* 66. many Nations revolt from him, *ibid.* restraineth the Extravagancies of pretended Philosophers, 911. 67. his Mildness, *ibid.* Clemency, *ibid.* 68. leseth his Wife, Faustina, 912. 69. dieth, *ibid.* 70. his Character, and Diffinition answered, 913. 71. 72. Arrogancy also answered, 914. 52. *ibid.* he was a good Husband, *ibid.* 73.
 Antonius (Marcus) Grandfather to the Triumvir, & an excellent Orator, killed by Marius, 730. 5.
 Antonius (Caius) the Collegue of Cicero, overthroweth Cataline near the Alps, where Cataline is slain, 735. 43.
 Antonius (Marcus) fighteth under Gabinius in Egypt, 643. 36. Tribune of the people, he fleeth to Cæsar, 702. 54. is Confil with him, stirreth up the people against the Conspirator, practiseth for his own Advancement (840) 17. his hatred aduanceth Octavius Cæsar, *ibid.* 18. followeth Cleopatra into Egypt, 347. 34. his Carriage in the East, *ibid.* 35. dieth, on Cleopatra, 844. 26. & vide 8. 48. 49. his Extravagancies in Egypt, *ibid.* he and Cæsar quarrel, *ibid.* 35. they prepare for War, 848. 36. is overthrowen at Sea, and his Land-forces yield to Cæsar, *ibid.* killeth himself, 849. 38. & vide 649. 49.
 Antonius (Lucius) Confil, out of Envy to Octavius Cæsar raiseth the Perulian War, 851. 9.
 Antonius (Mula) recovereth Octavius of a Dis-

A T A B L E.

tempus,

A T A B L E.

temper, for which he is richly rewarded by him and the Senate, 793. 42.
 Apelles, Tutor to Philip, 584. 26. his Treason discovered, 69. 1. 5.
 Apian's Lye against the Jews, 77. 1. whence so called, ibid.
 Apries King of Egypte (call'd in Scripture Pharaoh Hophra and Vaphres) Invadeth Phoenicia, 70. 26. making War with the Cyrenians, sties, and is strangled by his Soldiers, 70. 26.
 Apis, the sacred Egyptian Bull, 70. 26.
 Apis, King of Sicyonia, reigneth twenty five years, 77. 1.
 Apis, King of Argos, turneth Tyrant, and commandeth the Peninsula to be called after himself Apisios, 77. 2. dieth without Issue after twenty four years Reign, ibid.
 Apothecios of the Roman Emperors the manner thereof, 81.
 Appius (Claudius) Consul, 447. 75. his bold and countenance Speech before the Assembly of Tribunes, 438. 76. he is commanded to depart, ibid. to be sent to Prison, but is defended, ibid. 77. is called to answer for his Life for crosing the Agrarian Law, 449. 79. but killeth himself before the Trial, ibid.
 Appius Claudius, the Decemvir, his Infamous Story, 465. 15.
 Arabia subdued by Palma, Prefect of Syria, 883. 7.
 Arad, King, who Inhabiteath the Southern Parts of Canaan, 37. 10. is defeated, ibid.
 Aram, and his four Sons, 5. 13. &c.
 Aratus, the Sicyonian, 577. 9. is defeated by the Ætolians, 541. 20. is poisoned by Philip, ibid.
 Arches made King of Assyria, granteth Babylon to Belesis, 14. 12. leaveth the Dominion of Asia to the Medes, and the Sovereignty of them to his Son Mandaces, after he had Reigned eighteen years, 262. 76.
 Arbela, Vide Gaugamela.
 Arcadians fall out with the Thebans, 362. 18. stirs between them and the Mantinians, 365. 55.
 Archagathus, the Elder Son of Agathocles, rayleth a Mutiny, 676. 18. he and his Brother Heraclides are killed by the Army, ibid.
 Archelaus, the Son of Herod, succeedeth him in Judea, 814. 23. Tyrannizeth for ten years, 793. 42. accused by the Jews at Rome is banished to Vienna, and his Goods confiscated by Cæsar, ibid. 84.
 Archidamus, King of Lacedæmon, his prudent Counsell, 307. 27. crosseth by Schenelades, ibid. Invadeth Attica, 311. 4. Besiegeth Platea, 313. 11. Invadeth Attica the third time, 314. 13.
 Archimedes, the Famous Mathematician, 700. 41. withstandeth Marcellus from burning the City of Syracuse by his Mathematical Engines, ibid. is slain, ibid. 42. various Reports of the manner of his death, ibid.
 Archon, who among the Athenians, 98. 19. Archons for ten years 99. 19. annual Archons, ibid. 20.
 Arden besieged, 149. 44.
 Arcopagus, the Chief Council at Athens, 92. 7.
 Argæus succeedeth his Father Amyclas in the Kingdom of Lacedæmon, 105. 2.
 Argives recover the Democracy and renounce

the League with Sparta, 327. 49.
 Argonæutæ who, and why so named, 83. 69.
 Argos, the Kingdom, 78. 1. its Antiquity, ibid. why so call'd, 79. 1. is divided, 82. 12. an unparallel'd Sedition there, 360. 43.
 Argus, King of Argos, Governeth the Argives seventy years, 80. 5.
 Argyrafpides, Alexanders Soldiers, why so named, 553. 23.
 Aretas besiegeth Jerusalem, 657. 14. is slain by Scaurus, 553. 23.
 Ariarathes the fifth of that Name, King of Cappadocia, marrieth Antiochis, the Daughter of Antiochus the Great, 619. 64. is expelled by Demetrius, but restored by Attalus, 620. 64.
 Ariarapes, second Son of Artaxerxes, poisoneth himself, through his Brother Ochus his means, 238. 98.
 Aridæus, the Base-Son of Philip, declared King after Alexander's death, 560. 2. is killed by Olympias, 565. 19.
 Aridæus, one of Alexander's Captains, chosen, with Pithon, in the room of Perdicas, 561. 8.
 Arimæsi, or Agriæpæ, called Euergetæ, why, and by whom, 546. 4.
 Ariobarzanes, appeiseth Alexander Stravider of Perlia, 258. 65.
 Ariovistus, a German King, his answer to Cæsar's Demands, 755. 22. they parley, 756. 25. but to no purpose, ibid.
 Aristagoras, King of Sardis, 187. 17. is defeated in his Retreat, 187. 17. and slain, 188. 19.
 Aristagoras, the Milefian, draweth Ioniens to Rebellion against the Persians, 289. 1.
 Aristides dieth so poor, that he scarce left enough for his Funeral, 300. 4. his Children are provided for at the Publick Charge, ibid. his Character, 296. 30.
 Aristimenes is defeated by Alexanders Forces, 251. 43.
 Aristobolus (surnamed Philelen) and why, 652. 4. succeedeth his Father, John Hyrcanus, and changeth the Principality into a Kingdom, ibid. his Cruelty to his Mother and Brethren, ibid. dieth within a years time, 653. 4.
 Aristobolus the younger, Son of Philelen assisteth the Kingdom, 656. 11. disposeth his Elder Brother Hyrcanus by Battle, 657. 13. is carried Prisoner to Rome by Pompey, 659. 17. escapes, but is taken and sent back by Gabinus, ibid. 18. is poisoned by Pompey's Party, 660. 19.
 Aristobolus, the Son of Aristobolus the King and Brother to Mariamne is drowned by Herod, 811. 77.
 Aristocrates, punished for his Treachery, 443. 43.
 Aristodemus, killeth his Daughter, 116. 32.
 Aristotegon, Vide Hippocrus.
 Aristonides succeedeth Eudemus in Corinth, and Ruleth thirty five years, 121. 3. but is deposed by Algeomon, ibid.
 Aristomenes manageth the Business of the Messenians in their second War, 118. 39. being of extraordinary Abilities, both of Body and Mind, ibid.
 Aristonicus, Attalus his Base-Son, Comething with a Request for Pergamus is taken, 103. 8. and strangled, ibid.
 Ark refteth on Mount Ararat, 2. 6. where that lieth, 3. 7. God's Ark taken, but returned, 561. 8.
 Armenia

A T A B L E.

Armenia revolteth, 810. 75. is reduced by Caius, ibid.
 Arfaces, afterward Artaxerxes marrieth Statira, 215. 23.
 Ariftes, the Brother of Darius Nothus revolteth from him, 213. 22.
 Afa Juceedeth Abiah, 50. 4. dieth in the fourty first year of his Reign, 51. 3.
 Aftaces Juceedeth Encas (before called Euryleon) and buildeth a new City call'd Albalonga, 130. 7. dieth in the twenty third year of his Reign, ibid.
 Adrubal, Son-in-law to Amilcar Barcas, succeedeth him as Commander of the Carthaginian Forces in Spain, 701. 30. is slain, ibid.
 Adrubal the second delateth Nero, 707. 45. is ordered to march out of Spain into Italy, 708. 47. cut in pieces, with his whole Army, ibid.
 Adrubal, Mago's Eldest Son, General of the Carthaginians, dieth of his Wounds in Sardinia, 396. 13. is publicly lamented, ibid.
 Artabanus put to death, 206. 2.
 Artabanus, the Parthian King revolteth and defiseth Tiberius, 847. 87. but concludeth a Peace with Vitellius, President of Syria by Cæsar's Order, 848. 88.
 Artabazes is killed by the Armenians, 75. 49.
 Artabazes revolteth from Ochus the Son of Artaxerxes, 239. 3.
 Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Son of Xerxes, 206. 1. why so called, ibid. 2. gaineth the Persian Kingdom, 206. 2. his Civil War with Megabyzus, 211. 17. he dieth, 212. 20. various Opinions concerning the time of his Reign, ibid.
 Artaxerxes (formerly Arfaces) Mnemon why so called, 214. 25. obtaineth the Kingdom of Persia, ibid. he and Cyrus gain Battle, 218. 38. he commandeth the Head and right Hand of Cyrus to be cut off, 219. 41. looketh after Cyprus, 230. 72. turneth his Forces from the Grecians against Cyprus, 231. 75. getteth a Victory at Sea against Evagoras, ibid. 76. a Peace is made, 232. 78.
 Invadeth the Cadusians to no purpose, ibid. 80.
 Reigneth forty three years, leaving one hundred and fifteen Sons, and but three Legitimate, 237. 97. dieth, his Eldest Son Darius being made King by him in his life-time, ibid. his name is put upon his Successors by the Persians, as a memorial of his mild and prosperous Government, 238. 1.
 Artaxerxes conspireth against Darius, 212. 22. is put to death by Persicatis, ibid.
 Altyages, the Son of Cyaxares, Father to Mandaces, the Mother of Cyrus, 15. 15. is Governor of Media, 17. 22. & 25. 43. & 26. 47.
 Allaracus, the Son of Tros, of whom Æneas descended, 87. 26.
 Alfyrian Kingdom, its rise, how, when, and by whom, 15. 17. &c.
 Alatalane, an Island, belonging to the Locrians of Opus, 312. 8.
 Athalialah usurpeth, 51. 7. is slain, ibid.
 Athenians rebuild their Walls, which troubleth the Lacedæmonians, 292. 2. are eluded by Themistocles, ibid. they, by the means of Ariftides, draw the Chief Power to themselves, 300. 5. the Original of the Malice between them and the Lacedæmonians, 301. 2. the difference betwixt them and the Corinthians, Peas:

about Megara, renewed, 302. 11. are forced to make a Truce with the Peloponnetians, through bad Success, 303. 13. they part with Bœotia, ibid. their Design in the Association with the Corinthians, 305. 20. for the better of them, and chiefly helpege Potidæa, 306. 4. who side with them in the Peloponnetian War, 311. 4. their Provocations for War, ibid. 5. send a Fleet into Peloponnesus to drive their Enemies, 312. 7. eject the Inhabitants of Regina, and plant a Colony of their own in the Island, ibid. their manner of burying these Soldiers, who lost their Lives in Battle, ibid. 8. Bæge Mitylene, 314. 23. are much distressed at the loss of Amphipolis, 319. 30. they, and the Lacedæmonians desire a Peace, 321. 53. which is concluded, ibid. 34. though several Cities dissent, 322. 35. are offended, 324. 41. Incensed by Alcibiades, who obstructeth the Peace by a mutable Stratagem, ibid. 42. have an eye upon Sicily, and decree that to be sent to the Ægæans, 327. 51. are defeated at Syracuse, 329. 57. and at Sea, 330. 58. are forty straitened, ibid. 59. fly, and are forced to yield to Mercy, ibid. 60. Athenian Ambassadors of the four hundred come to Alcibiades at Samus, 334. 71. are defeated, and seized with great Contentions, 336. 74. the contrary Dispositions of them, and the Lacedæmonians, ibid. 75. the power of the four hundred abrogated, ibid. they obtain a Victory at Sea, ibid. 76. Ambassadors and others sent by them to the Persian King, who never come at him, 339. 83. they receive no favour of Cyrus, 340. 85. enter into Society with the Arcadians, 363. 51. and study how to become Masters of Corinth, ibid. 52.
 Athens, the City and Kingdom founded, 32. 1. several Cities that go under that Name, 93. 2. burnt by Mardonius, 200. 58. is the Bulwark of Greece against the Barbarians, 209. 3. stirs in the City, 290. 9. the Government there changed to Oligarchy, and in the Cities subject to it, 333. 68. the Model thereof, four hundred men having the executive Power, who send to Agis about a Peace, but he slayeth it, and referreth the Affairs to Sparta, ibid. & 69. how they stood affected for the four hundred, 335. 73. their traitorous Design, and Tumults there, ibid. the City yieldeth to Lyfander, 347. 92. whereupon their Walls are demolished, and Gallies burnt, ibid. a great Famine happeneth there, so that they were forced to feed on fadden Leathers, and the Boats of the dead, 731. 9.
 Atlas, the first Man reported to Reign in Arcadia, 87. 26. how many Persons went under that Name, 93. 3.
 Attreus, the Son of Pelops, King of Mycenæ and Argos, 86. 24. is slain in Combat by Echemus King of the Tegeate, in Arcadia, 87. 28.
 Atralus, King of Pergamus, or Asia, 720. 8. leaveth the people of Rome, his Heir, by Will, ibid.
 Attica invaded several times, 313. 9. & 314. 15. & 316. 20. is seized with a fearful Plague, 313. 9.
 Attilius Regulus, Consul, sent into Æfrica, 692. 4. ingageth with a monstrous Serpent, whose Skin was one hundred and twenty five long, ibid. 5. defeateth the Carthaginians, and vires long after is defeated and taken himself, ibid. disfigureth the Senate to accept of a Peace:

A T A B L E.

Peace with Carthage, and for that reason, upon his return, to keep his Oath, he is miserably tormented to death by the Carthaginians, 693. 7.

Aurelius the Emperor.

Aurelius (Quintillus) the Brother of Claudius Flavius the Emperor, is always good for them, that set him up, pull him down, and kill him, the fourteenth day after his Promotion at Aquileia, ibid.

Aurelian, the Son of Trifanenus, a Theban King, leaveth Thebes, and goeth to the Darriens and Damalichthon was chosen in his room.

Autumens obtaineth the Kingdom of the after the Murder of Telekes, and Ruleth only one year, 121. 2. which time being expired the Bacchiade seize that Kingdom, and continue vinty years in the way of an Aristocracy, only create a Brytanis every year, out of their own Body, in lieu of a King, ibid.

B.

Babel built, 4. 11. the Confusion of Languages mentioned by Hebraists, and their Fabled Fables thereon, ibid.

Babylon and its Empire, 10. 1. granted to Belshazzar, 14. 12. rebelleth against Darius, 18. 10. Bactra, a City, why so called, 548. 8.

Bacchiade vide Bacchis.

Bacchides, General of Demetrius Soter, is sent against the Jews, 617. 59. against Judas Maccabeus, 618. 61. sweareth, that he will never Molest the Jews more, 619. 63.

Bacchis, the Successor of Prumnus, King of Corinth, Reigned twenty five years, and grew so Famous that his Successors had from him the Name of Bacchiade, though he and his Ancestors were all called Heracleide, 121. 3.

Bagoas, an Eunuch of great Authority with Artaxerxes, 241. 9. taken at the Siege of Babylon's Prisoner, ibid. 10. released by Mentor's means, ibid. 11. kills Oechus, sets up Arkes and maketh him away all in a small time, 243. 16. then sets up Codomannus, ibid. 17. but Darius compelleth him to drink the Poison he had prepar'd for him, whereof he dieth, ibid. 19.

Baltham adviseth the people to Idolatry, 38. 13.

is slain, ibid. 14.

Balus, (Balles, or Promopolis) a young Man of best condition, is persecuted by several Princes to raise upon him the name of Alexander, reporting him to be the Son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 620. 65. contendeth for the Kingdom of Syria, 621. 66. fighteth with Demetrius, who is slain in Battle, ibid. getteth his Kingdom and marryeth Ptolemies Daughter, 621. 67. is assisted by his Father-in-law, and slain, ibid. 68.

Barat-Anac in the Phenician Language, what and why so called, 769. 59.

Battle at Platæa, where Mardonius was slain, 201. 62. at Mycale, 202. 65. at Gaugamela, 258. 60. the Battle fought at Marathon, 295. 26.

Belefs (or Belochus) conspires against Sardanapalus, 13. 8. obtaineth Babylon, 14. 12.

but how long he held it, or who succeeded him, is unknown, 15. 15.

Belge, whence descended, 757. 29. their Conspiracy with other Nations, ibid. 30. they Assemble together, 758. 31. but retreat, ibid. 32.

Bellerophon, his Story, 120. 2.

Berenice, the Wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, her Hair seized to be taken up in Honour by Canon, the Mathematician, which giveth Name to a Constellation, 633. 15.

Bellus, and others, bind Darius with golden Fetters, intending to deliver him to Alexander if he overtook them, if not to kill him, and seize his Kingdom, 260. 71. &c. Bellus takes upon him the Royal Role in Bactria, with the Name and Title of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, 545. 2. is delivered up to Alexander, 547. 5. and strangely punished for his Execrable Treason, 548. 8.

Bible Translated into Greek by the Septuagint, 628. 1.

Bibulus, Consul, Potent at Sea, 811. 54. he dieth, ibid.

Bilgates, 923. 51. 921. 88. 922. 16. & 959. 2.

Boeotarchæ, their Design frustrated, 323. 39.

Boeotians attempt to bring in Democracy; but are disappointed, 319. 28. they craiging Aid of Philip of Macedon, 378. 23.

Bomilcar endeavoureth to Invade the Tyranny at Carthage, but miscarrieth, 674. 14.

Boondicia, (Boudicia, Vondicia and Boudica) the Wife of Prasutagus King of the Iceni, is whipped by the Romans and her Daughters Deflowred, 860. 29. her Resolution and Valor in revenge of the Injuries receiv'd by her, ibid. 30. poisoneth herself, ibid. 31.

Bradidas, the Spartan, sent into Thrace, to molest the Athenians, 320. 30. slain, together with his Followers, Cleon, 321. 32.

Britain, the name thereof, whence derived, 666. 55. but lately known by Camdens Argument, ibid. 56. the contrary asserted, ibid. 57. his Argument refuted, 768. 58. the manner of their fighting from their Chariots, 770. 63. the Druids in Gall had their Learning originally from hence, (777) 85.

Britains grow tumultuous in the time of Claudius, 81. 1. the Island remain'd untouched by the Romans from the time of J. Cæsar's Expeditions, 852. 10. for Augustus was diverted from it, ibid. 10. Tiberius neglected it, ibid. Caius his rare Exploits and Achievements against it, ibid. &c. they Rebel again, 854. 16. but are reduced, 855. 17. are up again, but subdued, ibid. 19. the Time, when it received the Christian Faith, 924. 94. &c.

Brutus (Junius) the first Roman Consul, 51. 75. punisheth his Sons to death, he himself being slain at the bloody Spectacle, 418. 8. he is slain in a Combat with Aruns, the Son of Tarquin, who died likewise, 419. 9.

Brutus (Marcus) one of the Conspiracy against Julius Cæsar, (836.) 10. he and Cassius take extraordinary Courses for Treason, (843.) 34. after a defeat by Antony he kills himself with his Sword, (843.) 28.

Byzans, aperty King of Thrace, 716. 17.

C. Cadmea,

A T A B L E.

C.

Cadmea, the Citadel of Thebes, whence J. Cæsar, 124. 3. is betrayed into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, 344. 26. recovered, 355. 29.

Cadmus the Son of Agenor, his Story, 124. 28. &c.

Cæsar. C. Julius Cæsar, he purch. Pothimus, the Eunuch to death, 615. 39. and overthroweth the Alexandrians, ibid. exposeth himself to danger, and dismiseth their King, ibid. 40. Ades sent to him, ibid. 41. he is opposed, but overcome, 646. ibid. stormeth the Egyptian Camp, and taketh Alexandria, ibid. 42. beginneth to grow Eminent, 744. 44. his Birth, Parentage, and Foundation of his Military Skill, is made Quæstor, ibid. fighteth with Julianus Perjos, and is created Edilis, ibid. 45. getteth by Bribery the High Priesthood, ibid. 46. goeth Prætor into Spain, 745. ibid. He, Pompey and Crassus, being reconciled, make the Conspiracy call'd Triumvirate, ibid. 48. obtaineth the Consulship by the Assistance of Pompey, and Braber, 746. 1. his Act during his Consulship, ibid. he prosecuteth his Enemies, and is sent into exile, for five years, by Jealousy the people, ibid. 2. marryeth his Daughter Julia to Pompey, and maketh other Provisions for his own Interest, ibid. writeth the Gallick War, 747. 5. his Geography of Gall, 748. 6. is mislaid by Monetus, ibid. 7. he denieth the Helvetians a passage, which they desire, 750. 12. defeateth them, 751. 14. marcheth toward Bibracte, 753. 17. getteth the Helvetians a great overthrow, ibid. 18. forceth them to yield, ibid. 19. undertaketh the Quarrel of the Galles against Ariovistus, the German King, 754. 22. giveth him a notable defeat, 757. 28. as also the Belge, 759. 35. taketh the Town of the Advatic, 760. 36. defeateth the Veneti, 761. 40. a great confluence of people resort to him, at Luca, 763. 45. overcome the Germans, 766. 52. passeth the Rhine, ibid. 53. from thence, 769. 61. returneth, 770. 63. maketh a second Expedition thither, 771. 66. encountereth with the Inhabitants, 772. 70. his success against them question'd, 773. 3. goeth again into Gall, 774. 4. releaveth Labienus, who was, at that time, possessed by the Galles, (776.) 80. quatereth Germany, (779.) 90. taketh Norviodunum (now Viersen) (81.) 96. Avaticum (now Bourges) (782.) 98. frustrateth the Design of the Galles, ibid. 100. is repulsed by them, (783.) 101. besiegeth Alecia, (784.) 103. his prodigious Works in that Siege, ibid. 104. &c. great Errors in his present Copies, as to Names and Numbers, (785.) 107. his wonderful Achievements before that place, (787.) 114. &c. taketh the Town, ibid. overcometh the Galles, (788.) 118. taketh Ureledonum (790.) 121. whereupon Aquitania submiteth to him, ibid. 122. is honourably received at his return from the Wars in Gall, (790.) 124. his Enemies, are very busy against him, at Rome, ibid. 125. his account of the beginning of the War between him, and Pompey, (792.) 4. the opinion of others, ibid. 5. his Counters, ibid. 6. which he maketh to his Soldiers, ibid. 7. his own Thoughts at the Rubicon, ibid. 8. taketh Ariminum, ibid. causeth great confusion in Italy, ibid. 9. his demands of Pompey, (794.) 10. taketh in some Towns, (795.) 11. particularly Cor-

finium, (796.) 15. followeth Pompey to Brundisium, ibid. 16. refuseth for Spain, (798.) 21. goeth to Rome, ibid. 22. leaveth it, and directeth his Course to Gall, ibid. 23. besiegeth Maritellus, (800.) 26. battelth into Spain, ibid. Action between him, and the Officers, near Ilerda, (801.) 29. extracteth himself out of great difficulties, and his men Rout the Maullians, ibid. 30. pursueth Pompey's Army, and spareth them against the opinion of his own men, (802.) 31. the Soldiers willing to submit to him, are hindered by Petreus, (803.) 33. but his moderation forceth them to yield, ibid. 34. &c. dismiseth them, 804. 35. for which Writers Celebrate his Generosity, ibid. 36. he is made Dictator, (808.) 46. his Act, ibid. 47. goeth to Brundisium, (809.) 49. passeth over seven Legions to Pharsalia, (810.) 52. taketh in several Towns, (811.) 53. his other Forces arrive from Brundisium, ibid. 54. he findeth them into the Provinces, (812.) 56. frangeth besiegeth Pompey, the Father, ibid. 58. receiveth a great loss by Pompey, (813.) 59. altereth the whole course of the War, and revegeteth to Apollonia, (814.) 60. taketh Gomphi, and Thessaly, ibid. 61. is lookt upon as lost by all men, (815.) 62. his order of Battle with Pompey, ibid. 63. the manner of the Fight at Pharsalam, ibid. 65. taketh Pompey's Camp, ibid. 66. arriveth at Alexandria, (818.) 70. whether the Commentaries which go under his name were his, (819.) 72. he is raised high from a very low ebb, (820.) 73. the Senate decreeth him Honours, (822.) 78. he overcome Pharnaces, (823.) 80. is proud of his Victory, and returneth into Italy, ibid. 81. rejecteth Mary by his foolish means, (824.) 82. his Soldiers' mutiny, ibid. 83. whom he reduceth by giving them the name of Quirites, (825.) ibid. goeth into Africa, ibid. 85. is very much distressed, ibid. 86. relieved by P. Sittius, (826.) ibid. his great success against Juba and Scipio, ibid. 88. his punishment done, he spareth more, (828.) 91. hath more Honours decreed by the Senate, ibid. he labourt to take off his falsest, ibid. 92. Triumphant, (829.) ibid. fighteth the people with great Admiration at 22050. Tables, ibid. 93. maketh Laws; ibid. 94. reformeth the Calendar, and goeth into Spain, (830.) 95. engageth with the Sons of Pontey, ibid. 96. against the Philistines, but without great difficulty, ibid. maketh all Spain submit to him, ibid. 97. giveth great offence at his return, ibid. Honours again conferred upon him, (831.) 98. and severagen Pompey bestowed on him, ibid. he maketh a great change in the Consulship, (832.) 1. createth fourteen Prætors and forty Quæstors, ibid. 2. nine hundred Senators, and the Ediles Tresvirs, ibid. fixeth Prætors, ibid. 3. for which he is commended, ibid. calleth the Month Quintilis, after his Name, July, (833.) 4. imprudently receiveth many Honours, ibid. 5. incurreth Odium more and more, (834.) 7. the cause of his being mortally hated, (835.) 8. the Conspirators against him draw in Marcus Brutus, (836.) 10. and Decimus Brutus, draweth him into the snare, ibid. 11. and discovereth Antony, with a great Army, before he entereth the Senate, 837. 12. mislaid Cæsar himself is slain'd in the Senate-House with twenty three Wounds, 838. 13. his Character, 839. 14. Te-

flamet

flament, *ibid.* 15. maketh Octavius, *Grandson* to his Sister Julia, *his* *ibid.* 16.
 Cælo (Fabius Confus) 44. 68. Fabius is sent into Hetruria, *ibid.*
 Cælo (Quintus) the Son of L. Quintus Cincinnatus, was one of the Chief in the Commissions about new Laws, 459. 82. is called to account for his Life, *ibid.* fifth, and is condemned, 451. *ibid.*
 Cain killeth Abel, 1. 3.
 Caius Cæsar born, 796. 48. one of the Sons of Agrippa by Julia, adopted by Augustus, his Grandfather, 808. 72. and hath the Priesthood bestowed on him, though a Youth, 809. *ibid.* he reduceth the Armenians, 810. 75. dieth at Linyria, a City of Lycia, in his return to Italy, 816. 86.
 Caius (Gracchus) the Brother of Tiberius, patronizeth his Law, 721. 9. getteth the Tribuneship, and preferreth Laws distastful to the Senate, *ibid.* 10. Translateth the Judicial Power to the Equites, 722. 11. Attempteth other seditious Acts, *ibid.* 12. is destroyed, 727. 11.
 Caius (Marcus), vide Coriolanus.
 Caius Emperor, vide Caligula.
 Calchinea, the only Daughter of Leucippus, the Syconian King, on whom Neptune, or rather Melampus begot Peratus, 77. 11.
 Caleb, 41. 2. 3.
 Caligula (Caius) succeedeth Tiberius, *his* Story, 848. 1. maketh Agrippa King of Philip's Country, 849. 2. banisheth Pilate, *ibid.* 3. becometh his Reign well, though Intemperate and Cruel from his Childhood, *ibid.* 3. becometh a Monster of men, and assumeth divine Honour, *ibid.* his Vices, 849. 5. 4. is slain by C. Chereas, the Captain of his Guards, 850. 4.
 Calpurnius Flammia, the valiant Roman Tribune, *his* daring Act, 691. 4.
 Calpurnius (L. Bætia) Consul, 724. 16. Invadeth Numidia very fiercely, and taketh in some Towns, but is spoil'd by the golden Balls of Jugurtha, *ibid.*
 Calyndus, the first that reigned in the Kingdom of Thebes, 123. 1. from whom the Tower of Calyndus took its name, and Calydean signifieth an antient.
 Callistratus succeedeth Lyfander as Admiral, 340. 86. defeateth, and begetteth Canon in Mithyleno, but is overthrown by the Antiochian Generals, *ibid.*
 Callisthe, an Island lying near Crete, 124. 3.
 Callisthenes Aristotles's Scholar put to death by Alexander, together with others, 459. 12.
 Cambyfes, Son of Cyrus the Great succeedeth his Father, 179. 6. maketh War against Egypt, *ibid.* 9. passeth through the sandy Deserts, *ibid.* 7. his extravagant Practices, 180. 8. his fruitless Expeditions, *ibid.* woundeth the Reputation of Apis in the Theb, of which he dieth, 180. 9. murdereth his Brother and Sister, *ibid.* dieth without Issue.
 Camalodunum, a Colony of the Romans, in Britain, 860. 30. is destroy'd, *ibid.*
 Camillus, vide Furius.
 Canaze the great overthrow of the Romans there, 705. 38.
 Capitol designed by Tarquinius Priscus and begun by Tarquinius Superbus 148. 41. its description, *ibid.* finish'd by the City, 421. 15. dedicated, 422. *ibid.* seized on by the people, 448. 7. and by a Sedition, who striketh the Slaves at liberty, 451. 84. but is retaken, *ibid.*
 Capitulations made, in order to the election of a Monarch, in the Persian Empire, 182. 4.

Capua revolteth from the Romans, 705. 39. is besieged, 706. 43. yielded up, 707. 44.
 Captains under Alexander in his lifetime, a Comparison ariseth among them after his death, 560. 2. the provinces distributed among them, *ibid.* 3. of which is the occasion of their Civil Wars, 561. 6.
 Cracalla, Antoninus Ballianus, why so called, 930. 10. he and Geta, the Sons of Severus are equal showen in the Empire, and Cracalla killeth his Brother in his Mother's Bosom, *ibid.* and putteth the famous Lawyer Papinian to death, because he would not defend his Paricle, *ibid.* 11.
 Caracæus the Greatest Prince among the Britains, 855. 17. is betrayed by Cartimunda, Queen of the Brigantes and carried to Rome, *ibid.* 18. his Speech to the Emperours, *ibid.* he is pardoned, 855. 19.
 Carbo, Colleague in the Consulship with Cinna, 732. 12. after whose death he continueth Consul alone, one whole year, *ibid.* he and his Companion advocate Sylla's Laws, *ibid.* 13.
 Carnutes, who, (777) 85.
 Carthage, its Original, 392. 4. variety of Opinions concerning its Building, *ibid.* 5. consisteth of three parts, 393. *ibid.* its form of Government, 394. 7. the Sufletes there, who, the Original of their Name, as also the Senate, *ibid.* 8. the Conco, or Assembly of the People, *ibid.* 9. their Council consisting of one hundred and forty, 395. 10. Consors, Pretorship, *ibid.* Faults in the Commonwealth, good Laws and the Disposition of the people, *ibid.* 11.
 Carthaginians take Selnus, 400. 21. and Himera, *ibid.* 22. *ibid.* are seized by a grievous Pestilence, 404. 32. receive a great overthrow, 413. 54. and send to the Romans for Aid, 680. 29. 30.
 Carus, Marcus Aurelius, succeedeth Probus in the Empire, 949. 9. slain by a Thunderbolt in his Tent, *ibid.*
 Cassander the Son of Antipater, 562. 10. made Captain General of Europe, 567. 55. dieth, 571. 6.
 Cætor & Pollux begot by Tindareus on Leda, 109. 2.
 Cassandrea why so called, 306. 22. the same with Potidaea, *ibid.*
 Cassius aimeth at the Sovereignty, 441. 61. &c. his Designs are frustrated, 442. 65. is Condemned, and put to death, notwithstanding the Intercession of his Friends, 443. *ibid.*
 Cassius, one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, 83. 22. killeth himself out of misapprehension, *ibid.*
 Cataline's Conspiracy, 742. 41. a Partisan by degree, but of a detestable wicked Life, *ibid.* he and his Complices are slain, 743. 43.
 Cato (Porcius) born, and whence named Cato, 699. 22. standeth stiffly for preservation of the Oppian Law against Women, 710. 54. is sent into Spain, his Province, *ibid.* he ever concluded his Speech in the Senate with this saying, This I think, and that Carthage is to be destroyed, 716. 18. dieth being aged eighty five years, 717. 20.
 Cato, (Marcus) Son of Caro Salonianus, and Grand-son of Censorius, Governor of Utica, (826) 88. killeth himself with a Sword, (827) 29.
 Cecrops first founded the Athenian Kingdom, 92. 1. dieth after he had reigned fifty years, 93. 5. and was succeeded by Cranaus, *ibid.*
 Cecrops, the second Son of Erechtheus succeedeth his Father, 94. 6. dieth at Egialea, after forty years Reign, *ibid.*
 Censor

Confors Created, and a Description of their Offices, 466. 21. the duration thereof and power, 467. 23. the effects of it, *ibid.* 25. Confors of private Men the last of them, 794. 44.
 Conspiring, the various fortunes thereof, 468. 26.
 Censur, instituted by Servius Tullius, what, 145. 31.
 Centuries, and Centuriata Comitia, what, 145. 31.
 Cham's Portion and his four Sons, 8. 22. &c. he first Inhabited Egypt after the Flood, 61. 1.
 Charops, Prince of the Epirots, 591. 42.
 Chemia, the same with Egypt, 61. 1.
 Chimeræ, the meaning thereof, 120. 2.
 Christ, our Lord and Saviour born, 811. 76. great difference about assigning the time of his Nativity, *ibid.* he executeth his Ministry, 835. 10. the first Passover thereof, *ibid.* 11. Second, 836. 13. Third, 837. 15. &c. Fourth and Last, 840. 20. he is Crucified, 841. his Doctrine is defended to be true by Christians, 842. 23. by the Heathen, 843. 26. his Ascension, 846. 33.
 Christian Soldiers by their Prayers obtain Reign, 911. 67. on conditions of Christianity, 924. 19. the reason of the prejudice of the Heathens against them, *ibid.* the malicious slander concerning the manner of their Worship, *ibid.* 20. and the object of it, 935. 21. they are accused of Seditious, *ibid.* 22. which procured them wonderful hatred, 937. 23. the bad effects thereof, *ibid.* 24. 25. 28. 30. 36. 38. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.
 Chrysis, the Priest of Argos, 310. 1.
 Chrysiotie, Daughter of Orthopolis, on whom Apollo is thought to have begot Coronus, 77. 2.
 Chthonophyle, the Daughter of Sicyon, King of Sicyonia, on whom Mercury begot Polybus, 78. 3.
 Cicero (M. T.) his Commendation of the twelve Tribes, 610. 9. being Consul maketh his first Oration against Cataline, for which he is in danger of losing his Life, 743. 42. his second, third and fourth Oration, *ibid.* 43. suppresseth Cataline's Conspiracy, *ibid.* is banished by Clodius, through Envy and Malice, 747. 3. recalled, 747. 4. defendeth Deiotarus, (833.) 4. labourer for an Amnesty after Cæsar's death, (839.) 15. is preferred, through the Importunity of Antony, 842. 21. his Death, Extrait, and Commendation, *ibid.*
 Citaris (or Citris) in Persia, what, 212. 21.
 Cimbr, who, 725. 21. the occasion of the War with them, *ibid.* they are utterly destroy'd by Marius, *ibid.* 22.
 Cimbrica, Cherfonefus now Holfatia, why so called, 725. 21.
 Cimon, the Athenian, dieth in Cyprus, 210. 23.
 Cimon, Son of Miltiades overthrew himself into Bonds, that his Father might be buried, 296. 29.
 Ciona (Cornelius) Consul recalleth Marius, 729. 4. he and his Colleague rage against Sylla's Party in Rome, 730. 5. is run through by his own Soldiers in his fourth Consulship, 732. 12.
 Cistus, succeedeth Temenus, whose Successors

had all the Royal power taken from them, and the Kingdom of Argos, in effect, was made into a free State, 91. 37.
 Claudius, Caligula's Uncle, succeedeth him, 831. 7. putteth Chereas to death, *ibid.* 8. referreth several Princes, 851. 10. fendeth Plautius to Britain, 853. 13. cometh hither himself, *ibid.* extraordinary Expressions of joy at Rome, for his Conquering fo small a part of Britain, at he did, *ibid.* 14. he unadvisedly on his Wife, Messalina, 854. 16. marrieth Agrippina, his Niece, *ibid.* is poisoned by her, 856. 20. his Character, *ibid.* the ecclesiastical Affairs that hapned, during his Reign, *ibid.* 21.
 Claudius the second, a Dalmatian by Birth, made Emperor by the Senate, 948. 6. doth great things against the Goths, and is slain at Syminium.
 Clearchus is banished Lacedæmon, 215. 27. goeth to Cyrus, *ibid.*
 Clemens Alexandrinus, why so called, 933. 18. he was the Scholar of Pantenus, and Master of Origen, *ibid.*
 Cleombrotus, King of Sparta, Brother to Agestopolis, Invadeth Boeotia, 358. 36. is slain in the Battle at Leuctra, *ibid.* 38.
 Cleomenes, the Lacedæmonian King, Son of Anaxandrides King of Sparta, Invadeth the Athenians to no purpose, 292. 1. dieth of a Phrensy, 294. 22.
 Cleomenes, Son of Leonidas, King of Sparta, killeth the Ephori, and restoreth the Laws of Lycorgus, 578. 11. is defeated by Antigonus Diodon, *ibid.*
 Cleomenes a man of great Fervency, 315. 15. is sent into Thrace, 320. 32. soon puff'd up, *ibid.* slain with Brasidas his Adversary, 321. *ibid.*
 Cleopatra, Daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, reigneth with her Brother and Husband, Ptolemy Dionysius, 643. 37. wagheth War against her Brother, 646. 42. after his death is married to her second Brother, *ibid.* 43. hath a Son by Julius Cæsar, *ibid.* poisoneth her Brother, 647. 44. cometh to Antony, in Asia, *ibid.* their love practise brings Inconveniences upon them, *ibid.* 45. War at Rome is decreed against her, *ibid.* 46. maketh Antony engage at Actium, 648. 47. where he is overthrown, *ibid.* the labours to carry favour with Octavius Cæsar, *ibid.* 48. betrayeth Pethulium, accuseth the Etes and Heracles to revalute him, 649. *ibid.* having notice of Cæsar's Intention to deceive her dieth by the biting of an Aspe, 650. 50.
 Cleopatra, Sister to Alexander the Great, Wife to Alexander of Epirus, and after married to Perdiccas, 508. 27. is murdered by the procurement of Antigonus, *ibid.*
 Cleopatra, Niece of Antiochus, is married to Philip, upon the Reputation of Olympias, 381. 3. is murdered by her, 382. 34.
 Cleopatra, Daughter of Antiochus, the Great, is married to Ptolemy Epiphanes, 635. 20.
 Cleopatra, the Wife of Tryphon, after she was put away from him, marrieth Antiochus, the second Son of Demetrius Soter, 623. 72.
 Cleopatra, Daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, is married to the Commoner Alexander Bala, 621. 67.
 Cleopatra, the second Daughter of Philometor, is married to her Uncle Phylion, is kill'd by her Son Alexander, 641. 30.
 Clodius made Tribune, 746. 3. his malice to Cicero, *ibid.* banisheth him, 747. *ibid.* fendeth Cato to spoil the King of Cyprus

most unjustly, *ibid.* 4. is kill'd by Milo, (780.) 92.
 Clisthenes, *changes the Names of the Tribes in Athens*, 291. 14. *reforms Solon's Laws*, 294. 22.
 Cocleus, *after the Cyclopes were extirpated, made himself King of the Island of Sicily*, 388. 6.
 Codrus, the last King of Athens, willingly offered himself to death for the safety of his people, 98. 18.
 Commodus, the Son of Antoninus Philoſophus, ſucceedeth him, 919. 83. his difficulties, *ibid.* Carriage, 920. 85. is poſſeſſed by *Martia*, his Concubine, and ſtrangled by *Narcilius*, *ibid.* 86.
 Conon, the Athenian, made Admiral to Artaxerxes, 225. 57. obtaineth a Victory againſt the Lacedæmonians, 329. 69.
 Conſpirators conſult about a ſentence after the Magi, in the Perſian Empire, ſlain, 182. 3.
 Conſtantine, the Great, the Son of Helena, a Britiſh woman, is kept Hoſtage at Rome, but makes an eſcape to his Father, in Britain, 955. 1. 13. is ſuſtained Emperor here, *ibid.* moves from Gall againſt the Goths, Maximian, overthrows him, 953. 18. weſteth Licinius, 954. 20. and ſo they agree, *ibid.* 21.
 Conſtantine ſuſtains ſeveral Conſpiracies, 955. 22. deſtroyeth the Sarmatæ, *ibid.* 23. takeſ care for the reformation of *Auſtice*, 956. 24. is very favourable to Phyſicians and Profeſſors, *ibid.* 25. he, and Licinius prepare again for War, and he deſtroyeth again Victory over him, 957. 27. Beſiegeth him in Byzantium, *ibid.* 28. overthrows him at Chalcedon, 958. 29. entertaineth Hormidra very honourably, *ibid.* 30. purſueth Licinius to Nicomedia, and beſiegeth him there, 959. 31. who ſubmits, *ibid.* is ſole Monarch of the Romans, his two Sons Conſtans and Conſtantius being made Conſuls.
 Conſtantius Chloſus his Father, Adopted by his in-Law, 950. 10. he and his Brother Galerius part the Empire, 951. 13.
 Conſulares of Provinces, when they were introduced, 897. 3.
 Conſuls, whence ſo called, 451. 1. their power, *ibid.* 2. certain Rites concerning them, 416. 3. the Age capable of the Dignity, 417. 4. its duration, *ibid.* the firſt that were created, *ibid.* 5. their *ſuits*, *ibid.*
 Corax, King of Sicily, Reigneth thirty years, 77. 2. dieth without Iſſue, *ibid.*
 Corbulo proſpereth in the Eaſt, 858. 26. and in Armenia, 859. 28.
 Corcyra, a lamentable Sedition there, 315. 17. which endeth in ſlavery, 317. 23.
 Corcyreans are Victorious at Sea in the Promontory of Actium, 305. 19. and enter into Society with others, *ibid.* 20.
 Corinth, its Situation and Original Name, 120. 1. built by Siliſſyphus, *ibid.* who gave it the name of Corinth is uncertain, but Aletes named it Corinth of Jupiter, 121. 3. their Colonies, *ibid.* 4. the beginning of hatred between that City and Athens, 302. 9. Comonians there, 302. 16.
 Corinthians are overthrown in a Naval Battle with the Corcyreans, 305. 21. exaggerated by them into a ſecond Sea Fight, 306. 22.
 Coriolanus (Caius Marcius) why ſo named, 435. 46. his Advice to Rome, upon the bringing Cern out of Sicily, 437. 57. he putteth all

into a flame, *ibid.* is ſeized on by the Ediles, and reſcued by the Patricians, *ibid.* 52. &c. charged with the Affliction of Tyranny, 438. 53. he anſwereth, and is diſcharged with Acclamations, *ibid.* 54. is charged again by Decius the Tribune, and thereupon immediately condemned to perpetual Exile, *ibid.* he ſtriveth up the Volci againſt Rome, 439. 53. invadeth its Territories, *ibid.* 56. marcheth toward Rome, 440. 57. &c. is prevailed with by his Mother to Retreat, *ibid.* 58. and ſlain by Tullus and his Complices, 441. 59.
 Cornelius (Gallus) his Story, and violent death by his own hands, 791. 37.
 Coronus, a Sicyonian King, 921. 89.
 Cornutus ſucceedeth Cecrops for want of Iſſue, 93. 5. but is thruſt out, after ſeven years Reign, by Amphyction, 94. 5.
 Craſſus, Marcus Licinius, deſtroyeth Spartacus, 758. 29. takeſ the Town of Sontates, 762. 42. giveth the Gallies a great overthrow, *ibid.* 43. he and Pompey obtain the Conſulſhip by force, 763. 46. he over-cries and flattereth, being ſlain after he had Riſted the Temple of Jeruſalem, 764. 48. & vide 660. 19. he was ſo opulent, that he would have none ſo accounted, but he that could by his own Revenues maintain an Army, *ibid.* 49.
 Creon, the Brother of Jocalta, ſeized on the Kingdom of Thebes, 124. 8. he Oedipus explaining the Riddle of Sphinx, he held it no longer, *ibid.* 49.
 Cretians their Law-Giver, 95. 9. Form of Government, *ibid.* 10. &c.
 Criſpius, King of Argos, 80. 5. Reigneth fifty four years, *ibid.*
 Cæſus, King of Lydia, ſucceedeth his Father Hylattæ, 22. 35. invadeth Cappadocia, 23. Retreateth to Sardis, but is overthrown and Beſieged, *ibid.* 38. Condemned to dye, being taken there, 24. 39. but ſaved for calling out of Solon, *ibid.*
 Crotopus, King of Argos, 80. 7. Ruled twenty one years, *ibid.*
 Cryptia, why ſo called, and what, 111. 19.
 Curius laboureth hard for Cæſar, being killed in the difference between him and Pompey, (792.) 3. putteth Varus his Army to the Rout, (807.) 42. but is after deſtroyed and ſlain, 808. 45.
 Curule Chair, what it was, 474. 41.
 Cuthan oppreſſeth the Iſradites, 41. 22.
 Cyaxares ſucceedeth Phraortes in the Allyrian Kingdom, 17. 21. is forced to ſave the Siege of Nineveh by the Scythians, *ibid.* 22. maketh them Drunk, ſlaughtereſt them, and ſo recovereth his Dominion, *ibid.*
 Cynortes, the ſucceſſor of his Brother Argalus in Lacedæmonia, 105. 2.
 Cyrus revolteth and is recovered, 187. 18.
 Cypellus, why ſo called, 122. 5. his Story, *ibid.* he enjoyeth the Principality of Corinth and Corcyra thirty years, and then dieth, *ibid.* 6.
 Cyrus, the Son of Cambyſes, his Birth and Fortune, 20. 29. &c. overthroweth his Grandfather Aſtyages, *ibid.* 31. is provoked by Croſus, King of Lydia, 21. 32. he takeſ Sardis, 23. 29. ſubdueth,

ſubdueth the Ionians, 24. 41. Affyrians and Babyloians, 25. 42. abateth his anger againſt Croſus, 26. 48. and giveth him his liberty, and the City Barenæ near Ecabates, *ibid.* what Croſus and Abſurdus were of him, 27. 49. he abateth the Empire of the Eaſt, 177. 1. his end is variously reported, 178. 3. &c. his Iſſue, 179. 4. leaveſt Cambyſes his Kingdom, 179. 5.
 Cyrus the Son of Darius Nothus, attempteth his Brothers Death, 214. 25. is pardoned for it, 215. 26. but praſtiſeth new matters, *ibid.* Marcheth againſt his Brother, 216. 28. &c. is worſhipped as King, 219. 35. and ſlain by Cunaxa in a Battle fought with his Brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, *ibid.* 40.
 D.

Dædalus, an Athenian of the Family of the Erechthide, a Famous artiſt in all manner of Graven and Carved Works, 388. 6. his Story, *ibid.*
 Danaſſichthon, the Son of Opheltas, choſen King of Thebes in the room of Autſion, 127. 12.
 Danae the Mother of Perſeus, 81. 9.
 Danaus King of the Argives, 80. 8. from whom thoſe who formerly had the name of Pelagiotes, were called Danai, 81. 9. Buildeth the Caſtle, Reigneth 50 years, and dieth, *ibid.*
 Daniel the Prophet, 19. 27. 28. the beginning of his 70 Weeks, 209. 11.
 Dardanus ſucceedeth Teucer in his Kingdom, 87. 26. he changeth the Name of his Subjects from Teucri to Dardani, *ibid.*
 Darius Medus, who, 19. 28. &c.
 Darius, the Son of Hyſtaſpes, obtaineth the Perſian Kingdom, 183. 5. divideth the Empire into 20 Provinces, 184. 9. putteth Intaphernes to death, *ibid.* recovereth Babylon after its Rebellion, *ibid.* 10. goeth againſt the Scythians, 185. 11. his Retreat, *ibid.* 13. ſendeth Forces into Greece, 189. 25. who take Erctria, 190. *ibid.* but are overthrown at Marathon, *ibid.* 26. he declareth his Succeſſor, and dieth, *ibid.* 27.
 Darius Nothus (or Ochus) the Son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Reigneth in Perſia, 213. 21. his Children, *ibid.* ſendeth for his Son Cyrus, upon his miſdeemeanors, 214. 24. Dyeſt, after he had Reigned nineteen years, *ibid.* 25.
 Darius, the Son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, made King, 237. 97. ploteſt againſt his Father, and is put to death for his Treason, *ibid.*
 Darius Codotannus made King of Perſia by Baganes, 243. 47. ſendeth Sanballat into Samaria, 243. 18. againſt a Quarrel with Philip, King of Macedonia, *ibid.* 19. his Lieutenants revolt to Alexander, 249. 37. ſendeth to him, deſiring to ransome his Wiſſer Mother, &c. *ibid.* he is twice overthrown by him at Miſus, 244. 35. and Gaugamela, where he ſleeth, 257. 60. is murdered by Bellus and others, *ibid.*
 David anointed King, 45. 36. his adulterary Murder puniſhed, 46. 39. he numbereth the People, 47. 40. dieth, and gloriſtiſheth Solomon in his Throne, *ibid.*
 Deacons, the firſt ſeven that were made, 847. 85.

Deborah and Baruch deliver the Iſraelites, 41. 24.
 Decemviri at Rome choſen, 457. 96. this was the ſecond change in the Government, 458. 1. their *ſuits* for the firſt year, *ibid.* 2. &c. they add two Tables of Laws, to the Ten, 459. 7. their Power, 461. 10. they offend the Senate, *ibid.* make uſe of them to their own advantage, 462. 12. lead an Army againſt the Sabines and Equi, *ibid.* 13.
 Decius (Mus) the Conſul, devoteth himſelf, and is ſlain, *ibid.*
 Decius (Mus) his Son doth alſo devote himſelf to the Diu Mæne, *ibid.* 63. 6.
 Decius (Trajanus) made Emperor, born in Pannonia, 147. 37. againſt his Son into participation with him, *ibid.* perſequereth the Chriſtians, overthroweth the Goths, is betrayed by Gallus Hostilianus, and ſwallow'd up in a Bug, his Body never found, *ibid.*
 Deſjoces, King of the Medes, ruleth fifty three years with great ſeverity, 15. 14. and leaveſt the Kingdom to Phraortes his Son, *ibid.*
 Deluge, the univerſal one, 2. 5.
 Demetrius, his Birth, 293. 20. is depoſed, *ibid.* 21.
 Demetrius, the Son of Antigonus, ſeized on Ptolemy, 567. 23. is overthrown by Ptolemy, 567. 23. his Attempt againſt Seleucus, *ibid.* 25. his Victory againſt Seleucus, 568. 27. gaineth Macedonia and Aſyria, 571. 9. but loſeth all, 572. 11. forced to yield to Seleucus, 573. 13. dieth, after three years reſtraint, *ibid.*
 Demetrius, the Son of Antigonus Gonatas recovereth his Fathers Kingdom, 576. 6. and ſucceedeth him, *ibid.* 7.
 Demetrius Soter, Son of Seleucus Philopator, is an Hoſtage at Rome, 599. 45. deſireth to be reſtored by the Romans to his Fathers Kingdom, but is denied, 614. 51. eſcapeth from Rome into Syria, 616. 57. getteth the Kingdom and killeth Seleucus, 617. 58. contendeth the Roman Commiſſioners that he may be owned as King, *ibid.* ſendeth Bacchides, his truſty Friends, againſt the Jews, *ibid.* 59. forbiddeth the Romans to injure the Jews, 619. 63. is ſlain in Baſtel with Alexander Balas, *ibid.* 621.
 Demetrius, the Son of Demetrius Soter, diſſipateſt the counterſails Balas, 621. 67. obtaineth, according to his Right, his Fathers Kingdom, 622. 69. is taken by the Parthians, 623. 72. carried about as a laughing ſtock, and impriſoned, *ibid.* recovereth all the Kingdom of Syria, 625. 76. is outed of his Kingdom, *ibid.* 77. ſlain by the procrements of his Wife Cleopatra, or Zabina, *ibid.*
 Demetrius Eucerus, Son of Antiochus Gryphus, 627. 81.
 Democracy impracticable in any one, or more Large Nations, 777. 7.
 Demophon, the Son of Thoas, ſucceedeth him in the Kingdom of Corinth, 121. 3.
 Demophon, the Son of Theſeus, obtaineth the Kingdom of Athens, 98. 17. Reigneth about 34 years, *ibid.*
 Demophon, the Priſt of Alexander, 553. 23. prognatiſteth his great danger, which fell out accordingly, *ibid.*
 Demothenes, the Athenian, haſt the command of ſome Ships, 316. 20. is injured in Com-miſſion

A T A B L E.

mission with Nicias, 329. 56.
Dercyllidas, *framed* Sisyphus, and why, 224.
54. *succeedeth* Thimbro, *ibid.* *makes* an agreement with Tiffaphernes, 226. 58.
Deucalion, the Son of Prometheus, 93. 3. the great Deluge in Greece, *which happened in his time*, *ibid.* *his Illus.*, 93. 4.
Dictator, who, *why* he called, 427. 17. *his various Names, and Power*, *ibid.* the Bounds of his Office, and Appeals from him, *ibid.* 28. &c. the time of the first Dictatorship, 428. 30. who was the Person variously discor'd, *ibid.* Plebeian Dictator created, *which breedeth discontent*, 477. 46. Dictators, two at the same time, 705. 39.
Dido, her Story, 293. 6.
Dinias, together with his Brother Ideus *framed* Atlas, 87. 26.
Diniah *revisited*, 31. 12.
Diocles modelled anew the state of Syracuse, 398. 18.
Dioclesian, the Governor of Carus his Family, *succeedeth* his Master in the Empire, 950. 9. his *Atir*, *ibid.* 10. *creareth* Maximianus Augustus, *ibid.* *layeth down the Purple* in Nicomedia, 11. *is still persecuted with War*, 951. 12. his numerous Rescripts, *ibid.* *refuseth to resume the Purple*, *ibid.* 14.
Dion, the Syracusan, Son of Hipparchus *Invadeth* Sicily, 408. 42. *expelleth* Dionysius, *ibid.* 43. *redeemeth* Syracuse, 409. 44. *is envied*, *ibid.* 45. *circumvented* by Callicrates, and slain, *ibid.*
Dion Cassius, his add Story of Augustus, 804. 64.
Dionysius *invaleth* Syracuse, 399. 19. *which is done by degrees*, *ibid.* 20. his Trick to make himself absolute, 401. 24. a Conspiracy against him is disappointed, 402. 27. he *makes* peace with the Carthaginians, *ibid.* another Design against him frustrated, 403. 28. his Wars, *ibid.* 29. &c. he *seizeth* upon Rhegium suddenly, *but is expelled*, 405. 34. *seizeth* on Tauromenium, and *banisheth* the greatest part of the Sicilians from thence, *ibid.* his second Expedition against Rhegium, *ibid.* 35. his third, 406. 36. in which he *taketh* it, *ibid.* his Studer, *ibid.* 37. he *overthroweth* the Carthaginians, 407. 38. and is *overthrown* by them, *ibid.* he *deth* of a Syracusan as a Peace, *transported with Joy*, *ibid.* 39. his Plans and Illus. *ibid.*
Dionysius the younger *succeedeth* him, *ibid.* his disposition, 407. 40. *is expelled* by Dion, 408. 43. *recovereth* Syracuse, 410. 46. *is expelled* a second time to Corinth, 412. 51. where he *lives* in great contempt and poverty. *ibid.*
Dionysius Halicarnassus, the excellency of his History, 406. 21.
Dionysius, Calix and Pollux *seceded*, and why, 105. 2.
Dolabella, Son in Law to Cicero, is *defeated* by Cassius, (841.) 20. *causeth* his Page to take off his Head, *ibid.*
Domitian, Son of Vespasian, *why* so called, 877. 28. *succeedeth* Titus, and *differeth* his Vice in the Beginning of his Reign, *ibid.* his Story and Cruelty, 878. 30. *persecuteth* the Christians, and is slain by his own Servants, *ibid.* the Golden Times *after* him, 880. 11.

Dorydas and Hianthidas, the Sons of Propodas, *Reign* together in Corinth, 121. 3. *but the Kingdom is subdued* by Aletes, *ibid.*
Dorylus *succeedeth* his Father Labotas in Lacedæmonia, 106. 4.
Draco, the Athenian Law-giver, 99. 2.
Druids among the Galles, (777.) 84. *why Learning they taught*, (778.) 85.
Drusus the Tribune labour'd to reconcile the Father and Equites, 726. 24. *but thereby enlargeth the Breach*, *ibid.* is *stabbed*, 727. 1b.
Drusus, the Son of Livia, Wife to Augustus, 792. 40. he and his Brother Tiberius *prove successful* against the Rharians, 800. 56. *their further success*, 803. 64. Drusus *was slain* (several of the Enemies Convent, and *deth*, 804. 64. his Death is variously reported, *ibid.*
Drusus, the Son of Tiberius, 833. 7.
Dryula, *vide* Saurus.
Dynamics of the Egyptian Kings, 62. 5.

E.

E. Aris, the Division of it after the Confusion of Languages, 5. 12. Earth and Water *dominated* of Amyntas King of Macedon, 185. 13. the meaning thereof, *ibid.* Earth and Water *demanded* of the Grecians, 189. 24.
Easbique, a very dreadful one, 883. 8.
Echestratus *succeedeth* Agis in the Kingdom of Lacedæmon, 1006. 4.
Eclipse of the Sun on the third of August, according to the Julian Account, 312. 8. another on the 21st of March, 310. 24. one of the Moon April 25. 340. 86. another of the Sun, which happened on the 24th of August, 349. 15. the Eclipse of the Sun at the Death of our Saviour miraculous, and Recorded by Heathens to be so, 841. 21.
Ecenes, who they are, 123. 1. they are confirmed by Pothione, and *succeeded* by the Hyantes and Ecece, *ibid.*
Edictum perpetuum *composed* in Adrian's time, 897. 38. Commentators on it, *ibid.*
Edom, 31. 14.
Egion *oppresseth* the Israelites, 41. 23.
Ehud *discovereth* them, *ibid.*
Eione, a Town in Thrace, *situate* on the River Strymon, taken by the Athenians, and *disfranchiseth*, 300. 6.
Eiectus, Chamberlain to Commodus the Emperor, 920. 86.
Eleans and Arcadians at variance, 364. 53. they fall on the Picicans, *ibid.*
Elephantis, the manner of Fighting with them, 601. 19.
Eli, the High-Priest, 44. 31.
Epaminondas *created* General, 358. 37. *overthroweth* Cleombrotus in the Battle of Leuctra, *ibid.* 38. *invadeth* Laconia, 360. 44. upon his return is *question'd* for his Life, 361. 46. *invadeth* Peloponnesus, 362. 47. *persecuteth* the Thebans to mind Sea Affairs, 364. 54. again *invadeth* Peloponnesus, 365. 55. *saith* on Sparta, *but reventeth* to Mantinea, 366. 57. his *War* is *ended*, *ibid.* his Cause, and his Return or Stay, 366. *ibid.* he is mortally wounded in the Battle fought at Mantinea, *ibid.* 59. *expresseth*, 367. 60. his Character, *ibid.*
Ephori,

Ephori, their first bringing into Sparta, 113. 24. &c. their Power, 114. 26.
Epicalte, *vide* Creon.
Epidamnus, a Colony of the Corcyreans, 304. 18. the Commotions raised there, *ibid.* they *procure* a falling out between the Corcyreans and Corinthians their Founders, *ibid.* 19.
Epigoni, who, 126. 10. they *make* an Expedition against the Kingdom of Thebes to revenge their Fathers Death, *ibid.* take the City of Thebes, 127. 11. and *slay* or *drive* away Laodamus, *ibid.*
Epopæus, a Theffalian, *seizeth* on the Sicyonian Kingdom, *after* the Death of Corax, 77. 2. *death* of the Wounds he *received* in a Battle with the Thebans, 77. 2.
Equites, how and when that Order came, 721. 10.
Erichtheus, Son of Pandion, *Reigneth* 90 years, 94. 6. *leth* his Life, *ibid.*
Erichthonius, the Successor of Dardanus in his Kingdom, 87. 26.
Erichthonius, the Son of Vulcan and the Earth: Expelleth Amphidius, and *Reigneth* at A-Pace with him at his own Will, 294. 6. thence 50 years.
Eteocles and Polyneices, the Sons of Oedipus, agree to Reign together by turns, 126. 9. but Eteocles *having* the first Confe, *refuseth* to yield up his Power, *ibid.* but at last they agreed to decide the Quarrel by single Combat, so they both left their Lives, *ibid.* 10.
Eubæa *revolteth* from the Athenians, 303. 13.
Eudemus *succeedeth* Agelas in Corinth, 121. 3.
Eumenes of Cardia, after Alexanders Death *hath* the Government of Cappadocia and other places assigned him, 561. 4. *obtaineth* the better in Asia, *ibid.* 7. is declared an Enemy, *ibid.* 8. *waried* through treachery, 562. 9. *besieged* in Nora, *ibid.* 10. is *enlarged* upon the death of Antipater, *ibid.* 11. *Marcheth* into the upper Province, 563. 13. *Fighteth* with Antigonus, 564. 16. *getteth* the better of him, *ibid.* 18. is *betray'd* and *killed*, 565. *ibid.*
Evilmerodoch *succeedeth* Nebuchadnezar, his Father, 19. 27. is slain, being *circumvented* by Nergilissar, *ibid.*
Eunomus *succeedeth* Prytanis in Lacedæmon, 106. 5.
Euphrates, swelling with rain, *breaks* down the wall of the City of Nineveh, 11. 11.
Europis, King of Sicily, *reigneth* 45 years, 77. 1.
Eurydice, Wife to King Arideus, her Temper and Atoms, 561. 8. &c.
Eurytion (otherwise Eurypon and Euryphon) gave the name of Eurytionides to the Kings of that Family, 109. 4.
Eurythines *reigneth* at Mycenæ three and forty years, 86. 24. and is slain, *ibid.*
Exiles readmitted rail against their Adversaries, contrary to their Oath, 319. 27.
F.

F. Abili war against the Veientes, and are slain by them, 445. 70. the Vines, *but* Tradition, that only one Boy remained of that Family, and what lost their lives in the Expedition, 445. 71. &c.
Fabius Maximus made Vice-Dictator, by delaying breaketh Annibals Success, 704. 37.

A T A B L E.

Faunus, the Son of Picus, his Reigning in Latium is a meer Fable, 128. 2.
Faulina, the Wife of Antonius Philoporus, 905. 57. *died*, 912. 69. her Honours and Temple after her death, *ibid.*
Faulianians, a new Colony of Girls constituted in honor of Faulina, *ibid.*
Faulinopolis, the Village where she died, so called by her Husband, and made a Colony, *ibid.*
Felix, first Governor into Samaria, 854. 16. his power extended, playeth the Tyrant, and marrieth several great Ladies, *ibid.* Outed of his Office, 858. 26. *Accounted* at Rome by the Jews that inhabited Cefarea, but is pardoned by Nero through the Intercession of his Brother Pallas, *ibid.*
Fecennine *Perfeth*, what, 699. 22.
Festus (Porcius) *succeedeth* Felix in his Government of Judæa, *ibid.*
Flaminus, (T. Quintius) the Consul beateb Philip the Nephew of Antigonus, 590. 42. *taketh* in several places in Italy, *ibid.* *prosecheth* against Philip in Macedonia, 710. 53. *Overthroweth* at Cynoccephale, and concludes a Peace with him at his own Will, *ibid.*
Flaminius the Tribune his sedition Attempts, 698. 25. is the occasion of the War called Bel-lum Gallicum Cissalpinum, 700. 26.
Florianus, the Brother of Tacitus the Emperor, *aimeth* at the Empire, but is cut off by Probus near Tarfus, 949. 8.
Florus, Procurator of Judæa, his Tyranny *provoketh* the occasion of the Rebellion of the Jews, 862. 38. upon which ensued a very great Slaughter, 864. 39. his error concerning the separation of the Commons of Rome, 884. 8. at also about the place, where Vercingetorix came to submit himself to Cæsar, 787. 115.
Furius Carillus made Tribunus Militum, and afterward Dictator, 471. 32. *perjures* Veii, and *incurreth* the displeasure of the Multitude, *ibid.* 33. *voluntarily* *killeth* himself, 472. 34. after he had lived some time at Ardea on Exile, is again pronounced Dictator, *ibid.* 37. he *overthroweth* the Galls, and *refuseth* Rome, 473. 37. *defeateth* them at the River Aniene, 474. 40. *Dieth* of the Plague, 476. 45.

G.

G. Abinius, the Prefident of Syria, *leaveth* that Country to the tuition of his Son, a Child, 643. 36. *redeemeth* Ptolemy Auletes into Egypt, and for that and his Bribery is fined, *ibid.*
Galatia *hath* a Roman Governor, 792. 39.
Galba the Consul *prosecheth* against Philip in Macedonia, 709. 52. his Advantages, 760. 37.
Galba *conspireth* against Nero, 865. 41. *obtaineth* the Empire, 866. 1. is murdered by his Soldiers, *ibid.*
Galenor, King of the Argives, a contest *happeneb* betwixt him and Danaus the Egyptian, for the Kingdom of Argos, is decided by the People in favor of Danaus, 80. 7.
Galerius Emperor, *vide* Maximinus.
Gallienus, the Son of Valerianus, made Emperor by the Senate, is given to luxury and stupidity, neglecteth the publick affairs, *where*, 948. 6. he is at length slain in contempt, *ibid.*
Galls besiege Cliturnum, 472. 35. *defeat* the Romans

A TABLE.

mans at Allia, *ibid.* 36. come to Rome, and take it, *ibid.* are overthrown by the Romans, beg a Peace, which is obstructed by the Consul (777) 84. Equites among them, who (778) 85. their Religion, *ibid.* 87. Colonies of them sent into Germany (779) 89. they rebel, (780) 92. revolt again, (781) 94. waste their own Country, *ibid.* 97. their Generals, (786) 110. are repulsed, *ibid.* raise commotions again (787) 116. are defeated, (788) 118. but at last they submit, *ibid.*

Gallus (Cælius) marches into Judea with an Army, and besieges Jerusalem, 864. 40. raises the Siege, through impatience, lest his Men, and departeth for Antipatris, *ibid.*

Gallus (Vibius Hosilianus) Governour of the lower Moesia, succeeds Decius the Emperor, is very malicious against the Christians, fights against Maximianus, Commander of the Legions in Pannonia, 947. 4. there both he and his Son Volutian are slain, *ibid.*

Games Secular and Tarentine, what, 698. 18. the Original of the Tarentine, *ibid.* the Secular and they are confounded, *ibid.*

Ganymedes, the Son of Troas, stolen away by Tantalus, the King of Phrygia, for his Beauty, whence arose a War, 87. 26.

Gaus, the Persian Admiral, marries the Daughter of Teribazus, and conspires against Artaxerxes, 232. 79. is slain, 233. 81.

Gaza, a City in Palestine, two Miles and a half distant from the Sea, of very difficult Access, 252. 47.

Gedaliah, a Prince of the Blood, slain by Ittobai, 56. 25.

Gelon of Syracuse, 391. 1. his Aids and Power, 392. 2. success against the Carthaginians, *ibid.* and vide 397. 14.

Germanicus, the Son of Drusus, adopted, and envied by Tiberius, 832. 4. prospers in Germany, *ibid.* he, under pretence of quieting the East, exposes himself to Treachery, 835. 5. the following year makes a Voyage into Egypt, then returning into Syria, is shamefully affronted by Pilo, *ibid.* 6. dies of a lingering Disease at Antioch, *ibid.* his Wife, *ibid.*

Germans pass over the Rhine, (765.) 51. are overthrown by Cæsar, (766.) 52. their Customs, (778) 88.

Glaucus, the eldest Son of Sisyphus by Menopæa, who first celebrated Games in the Isthmus, 120. 1.

Gomer and his three Sons, 7. 18.

Gordianus, the Proconsul, is compelled to take upon him the Purple, joyfully owned; but being scorned by Capellianus, Governour of Mauritania, hanged himself, 945. 43.

Gordianus, Grand-Son to Gordianus the Emperor, made Cæsar, 945. 44. and Emperor, who makes War against the Persians, and is by his Soldiers, *ibid.*

Gorgias, Governour of the Parts about Judea, joins with a continual War with the Jews, 614. 52.

Government Popular restored to the Athenians by the persuasion of Thrasybulus, 345. 5. its insupportable inconveniences, (777) 6. Government Aristocrarchial, the Tumults and Disorders arising from thence, (779.) 11. many Changes of Government in 134 years, 780. *ibid.*

Grecians make a new Election of Captains, Xenophon being one of them, 220. 44. come to Trapezond, 221. 47. return home, 222. 49.

Greece, the ancient Name of the Country, 75. 1. a general description of it, *ibid.* its particular ancient Kingdoms, 76. 2.

Greeks, or Græci, whence so called, 75. 1. whence named Hellenes, *ibid.* the most ancient lived trying upon one another, 76. 2. maintained themselves by Tillage and Depredations in the Trojan War, *ibid.* 3. the Corinthians first eminent at Sea, then others, *ibid.* 4. had no War by Land to increase their Dominions, 77. 4. no written Laws, *ibid.* the Names of their chief Warriors, 88. 28. they return from against Xerxes, 193. 35. have the better in Battle with Artaxerxes, 219. 41. join with Artaxerxes, and retreat, 220. 42. are pursued by Artaxerxes, but at last dismist by him, *ibid.* 43.

Gyges, King of Lydia, his Story, 21. 33. &c.

H.

Hæmonia, first Theffaly, 127. 1.

Hammon, the same with Ham or Cham, 4. 9.

Hanno slain in Sardinia, 691. 4.

Hanno, another of that Name, sent to make up the Breach among the Carthaginian Mercenaries, enlarge it, 694. 9.

Harmodius, and Hipparchus.

Harmonia, or Hermione, the Daughter of Mars and Venus, and Wife of Cadmus, 124. 3. whence so called, *ibid.*

Harmonia, a certain Minister, *ibid.*

Hasidæans, a Sett among the Jews, their Original, and who they were, 652. 3.

Heclor slain, 89. 30.

Helena ravished, 88. 27. her Parentage and Story, 105. 2.

Helioababul (Antoninus) succeeds Macrinus the Roman Emperor, his vicious Life, 944. 40. adopts Alexianus (now Alexander), his Cousin-German, *ibid.* 41. he and his Mother are both slain by the Soldiers, their Bodies disgracefully tumbled about the Streets, and then cast into the River Tiber, *ibid.*

Hellen, the Son of Deucalion, who Reigned in Theffaly, 75. 1. the time when, *ibid.*

Helos, a Town built by Helios, the youngest Son of Periclus, 106. 4.

Helotes, the Inhabitants thereof, 106. 4. were made Slaves, *ibid.*

Helvius Pertinax, an old Soldier, though of mean Birth, made Emperor by the Senate, 920. 87. restraineth Promoters, taketh away divers Tolls and Customs, and restraineth the Rapines of Soldiers, who therefore set upon him, and kill him, 921. *ibid.*

Hephæstion, Alexanders Minion, 249. 38. dies at Ecbatane in Media of a Fever, contracted by long drinking, 557. 26.

Heracleides, the Posterity of Hercules, their Return, 91. 35. their Descent, 106. 3.

Hercules, the Son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, born, 82. 12. how many Persons there have been of that Name, *ibid.* 13. his Story, 83. 15. he is entitled the Olympick Games, 84. 18. his twelve Labours, *ibid.* 19. other Aids done

A TABLE.

done by him, 85. 21. &c. subdueth several Cities in Greece, where he Reigned, *ibid.* 22. his End, 86. *ibid.* what happened to his Children after his death, *ibid.* 23.

Hercules, a Sabine, seizes on the Capitol at Rome, 451. 84.

Heresie, several Sorts of them, 879. 32. 903. 52. & 96. &c.

Hermæ at Athens, what, 328. 53. they are in one night mangled and abused, which is look'd upon as an ill Omen, *ibid.*

Hermes, or Mercurius Trismegistus, 72. 34. Herod, the Son of Antipater, Governour of Galilee, his notable forwardness, 661. 21. is summoned to Jerusalem for killing one Ezechias a Thief, *ibid.* 22. appears with a Guard, and had done mischief, had not his Father and Brother diverted him, *ibid.* revengeth his Fathers Death, 662. 24. falleth sick, 663. 25. his Aids, after his Recovery, *ibid.* he and his Brother are promoted by the Jews in Judea, *ibid.* 26. Besieged at Jerusalem, getteth out of the Place, 664. 28. goeth to Petra in Arabia for Aid, *ibid.* 29. to Rome, and it there declared King of Judea, 665. 31. Besiegeth Jerusalem, 666. 32. taketh Jericho again, *ibid.* goeth to Antony, and being recruited by him, besiegeth it afresh, 667. 34. taketh it, and Antigonus there also, who was behav'd by Antony, *ibid.* 35. is Procurator of Syria, 811. 76. deluded by the Wife Men, seeketh to destroy our Saviour, as he did the young Infants in and about Bethlehem, 811. 76. putteth to death forty five of Antigonus his Friends, after he had possession of the Kingdom, *ibid.* 77. is reconcil'd to Cæsar, 812. *ibid.* killeth his dear Wife Mariamne, *ibid.* repairs the Temple of Jerusalem, 812. 78. accuseth his two Sons to Cæsar, *ibid.* 79. his Affairs decline after his rising, Davids Sepulchre, 813. *ibid.* putteth his Sons to death, *ibid.* 80. a grievous Conspiracy against him, *ibid.* 81. he is taken, 814. *ibid.* his strange Disease, *ibid.* 82. murders his Son Antipater, and death, *ibid.* his Testament is renewed, *ibid.* 83.

Herod Antipas, who part 78. 2. as then died, *ibid.* 81. his Temple at Rome shut up, 698. 22.

Lyons, 849. 2.

Herod Philip, what share he had allotted him in his Fathers Dominions by Cæsar, 815. 83.

Herod Agrippa murders James the Brother of John, 851. 8. and sheweth up Peter in Prison, who was delivered by an Angel, *ibid.*

Herodias, Wife first to Herodes the Great, then to Herodes Antipas, 849. 2.

Hetzeliah succeeds Abaz, 52. 12. Reigneth 29. years, and dieth, 53. 14.

Hiero, the Son of Hierocles, created chief Magistrate by the Syraculians, 679. 27.

Hieron of Syracuse, Brother of Gelon, succeeds him, 397. 14. re-buildeth Catana, and changeth his Name to Hæta, his disposition to Death, *ibid.*

Hipparchus is slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton, 290. 10.

Hippocrates, the Famous Physician, his Descent and Eminency, 368. 63. his Oath, *ibid.* 65. &c.

Hittites, buildeth a City of his own in Thrace, 186. 14. sendeth a Message to Artilagoras, Governour of Miletus, *ibid.* 15. is taken and put to death, 189. 23.

Hittite, whence so called, 476. 43.

Homogryus, kill'd by a Thunderbolt, 79. 5. is worshipp'd by the Argives, because he first yoked Oxen in the Plough, *ibid.*

Horace the Poet dieth in the 57th year of his Age, 451. 84.

Horatius made Consul in the year of Lueratius, 421. 15. he dedicateth the Capitol, 422. *ibid.*

Horatius, firamed Godes, why so called, 423. 18. his Story, *ibid.*

Hornifida slain to Constantine, who receiveth him with all Honour imaginable, 958. 30. the occasion thereof, *ibid.*

Hortensian Law, 684. 8.

Hofeas, the 19th and last King of Israel, 60. 13.

Hyanthidas, vide Doridas.

Hycanus, the Brother of Aristobulus, enters upon the Priesthood, 657. 13. is stirr'd up to move for his just Right, *ibid.* prosecuteth his Flight to Aretas King of Arabia, *ibid.* 14. he and his Brother send to Pompey to make their Complaint, who fight with Hycanus, 658. 15. goeth in Embassy with Phælus to the Partisan General, Barzaphantes, but they are perfidiously captivated. Hycanus is deprived of his Ears, 665. 30.

I.

Iabin oppresseth the Israelites and Philistines, 41. 24.

Jacob and Esau born, 29. 9. flight from his Brother into Mesopotamia, 30. 11. his Wife, *ibid.* his Return, *ibid.* 12. goeth into Egypt, 32. 15. dieth, *ibid.* 16.

Jaddæus, or Jaddus the High Priest, refuseth to break his Faith, 251. 46. goeth to meet Alexander in his Pontifical Vestments, 252. 46.

James, the Son of Alphaeus, first Bishop of Jerusalem, and first of all Bishops, 847. 85. killed by procurement of Ananias the High Priest, 861. 32.

James the Brother of John slain by Herod Agrippa, 851. 8.

Janiculus, or Inachus, King of Sicily, Reigneth 42. years, 78. 2. as then died, *ibid.* Janus the Temple at Rome shut up, 698. 22.

Japhet's Portion, and seven Sons, 6. 17. owned by the Greeks for their Founder under the Name of Japetus, *ibid.*

Jafon, Prince of Theffaly, prosecuteth a Truce between the Bæotians and Archidamus, 359. 40. and is profently after murdered by his Brother, *ibid.*

Jafon rageth at Jerusalem among his Countrymen, 610. 42.

Jafus, King of Argos, after whom the City was named Jafos, and the Citizens Jalii, 80. 7.

Javan, and his four Sons, 3. 20.

Jehoaahz, the younger Son of Josias, made King, who continued but three Months in that Dignity, 53. 17. it led away by Pharaoh into Egypt, 54. *ibid.*

Jehojahim made King by Pharaoh Necho in his Brothers place, 54. 17. yieldeth to Nebuchadnezzar, with his Wife and Children, 55. 22.

Jehoshaphat, succeeds Ahas, 50. 6. Reigneth 24. years, some Months, and then dieth, *ibid.*

Jephthah overthroweth the Ammonites, 43. 29. 39. 17.

Jericho destroyed, 189. 23.

A T A B L E.

Jeroam King, 57. 1. *settles up two Golden Calves* *ibid.* 2. *Reigneth 22 years and dieth, ibid.* His Posterity is utterly destroyed, *ibid.* 3. Jeroam the second, 59. 10. *Reigneth one and forty years, 60. ibid.*

Jerusalem and the Temple burnt, 56. 24. *the first Temple built by Solomon, 47. 42. the second Temple built there, 178. 2.*

Jewitt Sciz, their original, 651. 2.

Jews, their return out of Captivity, 177. 1. they are persecuted, 634. 18. a distinction betwixt them and the Samaritans, 638. 28. deluded by a young man of Sidon, who counterfeited Alexander the Son of Herod, 815. 84. Banished Rome, 847. 86. they rebel, 863. 38. the occasion thereof, *ibid.* a great slaughter among themselves, 864. 39. they rebel against the Romans, 865. 12. rebel again in Adrian's time, 898. 41.

Ihus the Son of Tros, whom he succeeded, who built the Chief City, called Troja by the Latins, but by the Greeks, Illium, from K. Ilias, named, 87. 26.

Illyrians infect the Italians at Sea, whence arise a War, 649. 2.

Illyrius, the Son of Cadmus, who either gave or took name from the Illyrians, 124. 4.

Inachide, their Kingdom very moderate, 91. 38. the Government thereof made Democratical, 92. 32.

Inachus first began a Kingdom at Argos, whence the Proverb, (776.) 80.

Inductionary, with Darius.

Inter-Regnum for a year after the death of Romulus, who died childless, 137. 12.

Joas succeeded Ahaziah, his own Servants conspire against him, and murder him on his bed, 51. 8.

Jocasta, the Mother and Wife of Oedipus, hanged her self, 126. 9.

Jocan, the second Son of Eber and his 13 Sons, 5. 14. &c. their Stem, 6. 15. &c.

John the Baptist begins to exercise his Ministry, 834. 9.

John, Brother of James, banished to Pathmos, 879. 32. his Death, 887. 7.

John, surnamed Hircanus, why, 650. his Exploits, *ibid.* reneweth the League with Rome, and besiegeth Samaria, 651. *ibid.* taketh it, *ibid.* 2. dieth, *ibid.* 3.

Jonathan, Brother of Judas Maccabeus, chosen Captain in his room, 619. 62. is circumvented and kill'd by Tryphon, 622. 7.

Ionia, it's 12 Cities, 58. 19. revolteth, 203. 66.

Ionian Rebellion, the occasion thereof, 184. 14.

Ionians assisted by the Athenians, 187. 16.

Joram succeedeth Jehoshaphat, and reigneth eight years, 51. 6. then dieth miserably, *ibid.*

Joseph the Son of Rachel born, 30. 11. sold into Egypt, 31. 13. is advanced, *ibid.* 15. dieth, 32. 17.

Josephus answered sufficiently the slanders of Apion and others against the Jews, 61. 16. his Testimony concerning Christ, 841. 22. his works, when finished, 874. 21.

Joshuah vanquisheth the Kings, 39. 18. dieth, *ibid.* 20. 20.

Josiah, King of Israel, fighting with Necho, dieth, 53. 16.

Jotham, King of Israel, reigneth 16 years, 52. 11. dieth, *ibid.*

Iphicrates sent to assist the Spartans, his Conduct censured by Xenophon, 361. 45.

Irens, among the Lacedemonians, who, 110. 17.

Isaac born, 29. 8. marrieth, *ibid.* 9. dieth, 31. 14.

Ishbosheth succeedeth Saul, 46. 37. is slain after seven years reign, *ibid.* 38.

Ismael born, 29. 7. dieth, 30. 10. his Posterity, *ibid.*

Imenias put to death, 354. 26.

Isocrates opposed in Egypt, depart thence, 33. 21. their number at that time, 34. 1. they pass the Red Sea, *ibid.* 2. their Food, 35. 3. the Decalogue delivered to them, *ibid.* 4. are commanded to turn back into the Wilderness, 36. 8. their Mansions for thirty seven years, 37. 9. pass over Jordan into Canaan, 39. 16. fall to Idolatry, 40. 21. are oppressed by the Midianites, 41. 25. delivered by Gideon, 42. *ibid.* oppressed by the Philistines and Ammonites, *ibid.* 27. vexed by the Philistines, 43. 30. they desire a King, 43. 34. are carried away captive, and the Samaritans placed in their room, 61. 13. they are afflicted in Egypt, *ibid.*

Italy hath several sorts of Governors, 60. 9.

Judea, it's affairs in the time of Ochoz, 242. 14. Seditious there, 815. 83. is governed by Deputies, *ibid.*

Judas (Maccabeus) succeedeth his Father, 614. 32. protecteth the Jews, *ibid.* is victorious, *ibid.* overthroweth Lyfias and the Syrian Nomades, 615. 93. as also Timotheus, *ibid.* 54. is slain in Battle, 618. 61.

Jugurtha, Son of Mastanabal, and King of Numidia, 733. 15. Conquereth all opposers, 724. 17. is humbled by Metellus, *ibid.* 18. overthrowen by Marius, and led in Triumph, 725. 20. put to death by order of the Senate, *ibid.*

Julia, Daughter of Octavius Caesar by Scribonia, 726. 40. is married, first to Marcellus, *ibid.* then to Agrippa, 725. 47. and after him to Tiberius, 802. 61. her incredible wantonness, 810. 74. she is banished into Campania by her Father, *ibid.*

Julia, Daughter to Julius Caesar, married to Pompey, 746. 2.

Julianus (Didius) purchaseth the Empire, 260. 1. given up to luxury, and leaveth the favour of the Soldiers, *ibid.* decreed to death by the Senate, and the Empire to Severus, 277. 3.

Jupiter, several men of that Name, 79. 3. whence so many, *ibid.*

Jupiter Peretrius, why so called, 469. 28.

Ixion succeedeth Aletes in the Kingdom of Corinth, who reigned 37 years, 121. 3.

K.

King of Persia calleth himself King of Kings, 262. 1. the Kingdom is self being hereditary, *ibid.* 2. the manner of the King's Promotion, 263. *ibid.* how adored, *ibid.* 3. Absolute, *ibid.* 4. their Ornaments, 264. 5. &c. Royal Palaces, *ibid.* 7. their Drink, 269. 8. their Diet and Attendance at Table, 270. 10. (Cinix), 271. *ibid.* several Wives, Concubines, and Riches, *ibid.* 12. their Eldst Son born him Educated, 272. 13. their Travels, *ibid.* 14. the manner of their sitting in Judgment, and Royal Judges, 273. 15. seven in number, *ibid.* 16.

A T A B L E.

16. their Rewards for deserving Persons, *ibid.* Hunting, 274. 17. their Kingdom divided into Satrapies, and the Duty of a Satrapa, *ibid.* 18. a certain Payson they used, when resolved to dye, 276. 24. where buried, *ibid.* 28. after their King is set out and adored, 285. 47.

L.

L Abdacus, the Son of Polydotus, King of Thebes, ruler in Thebes, 125. 6. dieth there, *ibid.*

Labienus defeateth the Treviri, (777.) 83.

Labouladocus, the Son of Neugilior, succeedeth his Father in the Babylonian Kingdom, 19. 27. is made away by his Relations, *ibid.*

Labotas succeedeth Echeferatus, 106. 4. dieth, *ibid.*

Lacedemon, it's first Inhabitant, 105. 1.

Lacedemonians distressed, 301. 8. inquire of the Oracle at Delphos about the event of the War, 308. 28. send Prisoners Messenger to the Athenians, *ibid.* 29. head hath the Parties in the Peloponnesian War, 310. 3. what Greeks found with them, 311. 4. desire a Truce, and send to Athens about a Peace, which Cleon opposeth, 317. 22. vindicate themselves at Corinth, 322. 37. are kept from the Olympick Exercises, 325. 44. send to Argos about a Peace, which is obtained, 326. 40. attempt to take Argos in vain, 327. 48. take notice of the League broken with Athens, *ibid.* 50. send to Athens about a Peace, which Cleophas opposeth, 338. 99. they are beaten, 357. 33. Commotions betwixt them and the Megalopolitans, 377. 20. make war in absence of Alexander, but are vanquished by Antipater, their Lieutenant, 386. 42. send him into Asia to beg pardon, *ibid.* 43.

Lacedaedes, a Sicyonian King, 78. 4.

Latus, General to Commodus the Emp. 920. 26.

Laius, the Son of Labdacus, had the Kingdom of Thebes restored to him by the Thebans, 125. 6. marrieth Jocasta, *ibid.* is kill'd by Oedipus, *ibid.* 7.

Lamedon, Son of Coronus King of Sicyonia, 78. 2.

Laodameus, the King of Thebes, slain by Alcagagist Michridates, and beseged him, 726. 4. putteth him to flight, and persweth him into his own Kingdom, *ibid.* and into Armenia, *ibid.* 25. where he overthroweth Tigranes who persecuted him, 737. 26.

Lupercalia, certain Feasts at Rome, what they are, (836.) 9.

Lustum, what, and whence so named, 145. 31.

Lutatius Catulus, Consul, defeateth the Carthaginians, 693. 7.

Lybian, or African War, whence it arose, 694. 11.

Lycidas, a Senator, Stoned, and why, 200. 57. his Wife and Children served so also by the Women, *ibid.*

Lycurgus, King of Lacedemon, 106. 5. is Tutor to Charilaus his Nephew, whom he made King of the Spartans, 106. 5. his Trust him, 107. 6. at his return he new modelleth the State, *ibid.* 8. taketh away the power of Kings, 108. 10. instituteth a Senate, *ibid.* which consisted of 28 persons, 109. 12. what they were, *ibid.* introduceth an Equality of Possessions, *ibid.*

A T A B L E.

ibid. 14. forbiddeth the use of Silver and Gold Coin, and maketh Iron-Money, ibid. 15. provideth for the Education of Boys, 110. 16. and of Virgins, 111. 18. Travel prohibited by him, ibid. 19. King, Senate, and People sworn to observe his Laws, 112. 20. he dieth of an Astrophe, ibid. 25. 6. Lycus slain in Battle, 21. 32. whence so termed, ibid. 33. their Royal Families, ibid. 33. Lynceus, a King of the Argives, Governeth one Forty years, 81. 9. Lyfander made Admiral by the Lacedemonians in lieu of Cratippidas, 339. 84. obtaineth pay of Cyrus for his Sea-men, ibid. his time expired, 340. 86. he is sent for by the Allies to resume the Government of the Fleet, 341. 89. defeateth the Athenian Fleet at Egospotamos, 342. ibid. putteth all the Prisoners to death but Alcimantus, Brother of Polydectes, ibid. 90. besiegeth Athens by Sea and Land, ibid. 91. at also Thralybulus and his followers in the Pyreus, 345. 4. Edipfub Agellaus, 347. 10. is slain, 348. 12. his Character, ibid. 13. Lymachus, hath the Government of Thrace, 348. 10. Alexander dieth, 350. 2. Combines with Ptolemy and Cassander, 357. 25. is slain in the Battle against Seleucus, 373. 14.

M.

Macedonia, formerly Emathonia, why so called, 370. 1. their several Kings, ibid. 2. Macedonians seized upon a paunick flock, 357. 58. Maccinius succeedeth Bassianus in the Empire, defeateth Artabanus with incredible slaughter, but grows in contempt, 943. 38. burneth adulterers alive with their bodies joined together, 344. 29. is slain with his Son Diadumenius, so whom he had given the Title of Caesar, ibid. Meandrius succeedeth Poly crates, who was his Brother, 289. 7. Menon the Aegelian, a Captive, prefer'd to the Service of Agathocles for his Beauty, 678. 23. Concealeth his displeasure for the Calamity of his Country, and his own base condition, and poisoneth Agathocles with a Toon-pick, ibid. Labourers in vain to get the Tyranny, ibid. 24. Magas, the Brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, obtaineth the Government of Cyrene, 632. 13. Magi confpire against Cambyles, and usurp, 181. 11. their impudence discovered, 181. 1. a Conspiracy against them, 182. 2. they are slain, ibid. Mago, the first who laid the Foundation of the Carthaginian Empire, 396. 13. leaveth two Sons behind him, Afridatus and Amilcar, ibid. Magog, the same with Promethee, 3. 19. Man Created, 1. 1. his Fall, ibid. 2. he is expelled Paradife, ibid. 3. his Impiety causeth a Deluge, 2. 5. Manafes succeedeth Hezekiah; Reigneth five and fifty years, and then dieth, 53. 15. Menetho's Lie concerning the Original of the Jews, 64. 10. &c. his False Chronology, 66. 17. Manlius Capitolinus aimeth at the Sovereignty, 473. 39. for which attempt he is precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, ibid.

Manlius, surnamed Torquatus, and why, 476. 45. Manlius (Cneus) Consul, subdueth the Galatians, 713. 7. bringeth Luxury first of all to Rome, ibid. Marcellus, why so called, 701. 29. he killeth Vidurnarus King of the Gafata, and dedicateth the third Opina Spolia to Jupiter Feretrius, overthroweth the Galles, and fo endeth that War, ibid. Besiegeth Syracuse in Sicily, 706. 41. jereth his own Engineers, and calleth Archimedes by the name of Briareus, 706. 42. is slain, 708. 46. Marcellus, Octavius his Nephew and Son-in-Law, 753. 42. is displeased with Agrippa, ibid. dieth, 794. 43. Marcus (Lucius) the Tribune, revegeth the death of the Scipio's by a great slaughter of the Carthaginians, 706. 43. Marcus Curtius periseth to free his Country from a defructive Pefilence, 476. 45. Mardonius, Son-in-Law to Darius, leadeth Forces successfully into Greece, 189. 24. persuadeth Xerxes to undertake an Expedition thither, 191. 20. is left behind him there, 199. 55. burneth Athens, and goeth into Boeotia, 200. 58. is slain, 201. 62. Marius (Caius) Lieutenant to Metellus, 714. made Consul, ibid. taketh Jugurtha, and leads him in triumph to Rome, 725. 20. made Consul a second time, and dispatcheth the Cimbrian War; he, with the Tribunes, seeking unjustly to oppose Sylla, is driven from the City, and declared an Enemy, 729. 3. his Cruelty, 730. 5. is slain, and his head set upon the Rostra, ibid. Marius (Junior) Consul, 733. 14. killeth himself, whose Head is set up in the Pleading-place at Rome, ibid. 15. Martia, the Concubine of Commodus the Emperor, 220. 86. Mataniffa, the old and constant Friend to the Romans, quarrelleth with the Carthaginians, 716. 18. dieth at the age of ninety, 717. 20. Massilians defeated by Brutus, (804.) 37. their perfidious humors, (805.) 38. are forced to yield, ibid. Matthanias opposeth Antiochus Epiphanes, 612. 46. and Judas, his Son, after him, ibid. 47. Matulius, the Perry King of Caria, his flately Monument erected by his Wife Artemisia, 242. 15. Maxentius usurpeth in the time of Constantine the Great, 951. 14. but is defeated, 953. 18. and drowned, ibid. Maximianus Hercules, Emperor, putteth off Purple at Milan, 950. 11. resigneth it, 951. 952. 15. Maximianus Galerius and Constantius Chlorus adopted, and both Emperors at one time, 951. 13. Maximinus made Emperor by the Soldiers, 945. 43. his Birth, Parentage and Temper, he overthroweth the Germans, wasteth their Country, and is at last kill'd by young men, successful at his rapacity, ibid. Galerius createth his Sisters two Sons Caesars, viz. Galerius Maximinus and Severus, 951. 13. Maximinus (Balbinus) made Emperor by the Senate 945. 44. a Persecutor of Christians, 946. ibid. is kill'd by his own men, ibid. Mazeus, General of the Carthaginians; is Exil'd, 396.

A T A B L E.

396. 12. and punished for his crimes, ibid. Mecenias, his Plus to Octavius Caesar for Monarchy, 776. 5. his advice for the ordering of affairs as to the Magistrates of Senators dignity, 781. 14. those of Equestrian Rank, 782. 16. Education of the Children of Senators and Equesters, ibid. 17. the Militia and Money, 783. 18. that Rome should be Adorned, and the Provinces Carried, ibid. 19. how scandalous words are to be taken into consideration, and Traitors punished, ibid. the Senate to be made use of, 783. 20. Military men not to be envied, 784. ibid. Rusty for Caesar's good department, ibid. 21. deservng preferment rather to be rewarded above, than below their merit, ibid. he dieth, 807. 70. his Commendation, ibid. Medes rebel against Darius Nothus, 214. 24. Megalopolis, a Town built by the Arcadians at the Request of Epaminondas, 360. 42. whence it was so called, ibid. the Time of its building according to Diodorus the Historian, 362. 49. Megara, the Inhabitants thereof much distressed by the several Inroads of the Athenians, and their own Exiles, whom they had stirred, 318. 26. Great Commotions and Seditious arise among them, so that they are tired with continual disturbances, ibid. Melanthius, a Melian, accepting the Combat against the Boeotian King, Reigneth at Athens, 98. 18. dieth, ibid. Melos, an Island so called, invaded by the Athenians and taken, 327. 50. Men Learned and Eminent in several of the Arts and Sciences, together with an account of the Time when they flourished, 309. 32. &c. 311. 1. Menelaus gaineth the Kingdom of Lacedaemon, through the special favor of Tyndareus, 105. 2. and reigneth there, ibid. Menenius is fined for the mis carriage of the Fabii, 446. 72. Menestheus, King of Athens, dieth at the Isle of Melos in his return from the Siege of Troy, who accompanied Agamemnon and Menelaus thither with 50 Ships, 98. 17. Mentor the Rhodian offers to betray Sidon to Ochus, 240. 6. he and Bagas lay Siege to Babilus, 241. 10. Menis, or Menas, the first Egyptian King that reigneth after their Gods, 63. 7. Melchians pass into Sicily 119. 44. they that continued were made slaves, 120. 45. are recalled, and reestablished, 360. 42. Metellus the Consul defeated the Carthaginians, 693. 6. humbled Jugurtha, 724. 18. Miletus besieged, 188. 21. &c. is taken, 189. 23. Miliadians, his Pedigree and Affairs, 295. 27. his fruitless Expedition to Patos, 296. 28. he dieth in Prison, ibid. 29. Minerva, several of that Name, 99. 2. Minors, an Island lying before the Shoar of Messaris, 315. 16. Mimos the Son of Jupiter, and Lawgiver among the Cretians, 95. 9. Minutius Felix, an excellent Lawyer, 933. 18. the time when he flourished, 37. 9. Mirrian struck with Leprosy, 36. 7. dieth, 37. 9. Mirvan and his eight Sons, 9. 24. &c. the Son of Charam, 61. 61. the same with Olinthis, ib. 2. Michridates, King of Pontus, surnamed Eupator

and Dionysius) his soft Designs and great Attempts, 728. 1. is opposed by the Senate, who restored the King he had cast out, 729. 2. he recovereth many Countries; he, causeth 80000 Italians and Romans to be kill'd in one day, 730. 8. the War with him renewed, 735. 21. 736. 8. the War with him renewed, 735. 21. overthroweth Murena, whom Sylla, upon his departure for Italy had left in Asia, ibid. 21. in the third War recovereth Bithynia, 736. 20. Besiegeth Cyzicus a City of Propontis, ibid. 24. forced thence by Lucullus to fly into his own Kingdom, ibid. and from thence into Armenia, ibid. 25. he overthroweth Fabius, and after him Titus, 737. 27. is defeated by Pompey, 740. 35. and fleeth to Cholos, ibid. thence into Scythia, ibid. 36. killeth himself by the help of a Gall, after he had poisoned his Daughter and Concubines, 742. 40. his Character, ibid. Mithylenians yield to the mercy of the Athenians, 315. 15. a severe Sentence against them, ibid. but is mitigated by the Clemency of Diotodus, 316. 15. 8. Molon rebelleth against Antiochus the Great, 598. 11. he and his Army are destroyed, 599. 13. Monarchy, an eminent Pefilence denoting its Excellency, 469. 29. it's Necessity, 780. 13. Equity and Authority, 781. 13. Monetus the Jewish misleth Caesar's Geography of Gall, 746. 7. reprehendeth him as unskillful, 749. 11. Moses born, 33. 18. the meaning of his Name, 32. 18. sent to Pharaoh, ibid. 20. murthereth the people, 38. 14. dieth, ibid. 15. Mutius, surnamed Scævola, and why, 423. 19. his bold attempt to assassinate King Portiena, ibid. Mycenae the Town destroy'd, 302. 10. Mycenians and Argives fall out, ibid.

N.

Nabis, Tyrant of Sparta, boldeth Greece and Aigos in slavery, 710. 55. Nabonassar, or Nabonassar, King of Babylon, 15. 15. his Era, ibid. Nabonius (called also Nabonidus, Nabonimodochus and Labioyus) a Babylonian, first born in the room of Laborofardochus, who reign'd 17. (or as some think) 27 years, 19. 27. Nabopolassar, or Nabulassar, King, 17. 23. Navius (Cneus) the Roman Poet, 699. 22. Nearchus the Persian, wrote the first Punick War, leaving a proud Epitaph for himself to be engraven on his Tomb, ib. Nearchus, the Freedman of Claudius, 856. 300. 857. 24. is murthered by Nero, 857. 24. Naxians enslaved, 320. 6. Nearchus, Alexander's Admiral at Sea in his Indian Expedition, 555. 30. Nebuchadnezar made King, with his Father Nabopolassar, 17. 23. his Exploits and Fabricks, 18. 24. his Pride and Punishment, ibid. 25. what is recorded of him by Hebraickish Authors, ibid. 26. dieth after he had reign'd 42 years, 19. ibid. Necropolis, or the City of dead bodies in Egypt, 631. 9. Neftanebus, or Neftanebis, King of Egypt, sent out to spie the number of the Persian Army, 233. 84. is sent against the Cities in Syria, 237. 97. dieth out of Egypt, 241. 11. Nene

Nehemiah obtains leave to repair Jerusalem, 210. 15.
 Nero (Claudius) deluded in Spain by Afrubal, 707. 45. Created Consul, 708. 47. killed Afrubal, and cast his head into Annulus Camp.
 Nero, the Son of Domitian Nero and Agrippina, succeeded Claudius, 857. 23. exceeded all Princes in his first five years Reign, ibid. 24. his Mother and he are at odds, 858. ibid. he poisoned Britannicus, and begins to discover his cruel Temper and Inclination, ibid. 25. falls in love with Poppaea, ibid. 27. casts his Mother to be made away, 859. ibid. flattered by the Senate and People, ibid. 28. his Enormities, ibid. Marries Poppaea, 861. 32. his wickedness in sitting Rome on fire, and accusing and persecuting the Christians for the fact, 862. 34. there happeneth a Conspiracy against him, ibid. 35. he puts several to death, 863. 36. kills his Wife Poppaea, ibid. the height of his Impiety, ibid. 37. murders himself by the help of Epaphroditus his Freed-man, 865. 42. Ecclesiastical Affairs in his Reign, 866. 43.
 Nerva (Cocceius) succeeds Domitian, 880. 1. his good Government, ibid. 2. he adopts Trajan, 881. 3. and dies, ibid.
 Nicanor, a chief Prince under Demetrius the King, and a bitter Enemy to the Jews, is by him sent against them, 617. 50. at first he is much taken with Judas Maccabeus, but he being complained of by Alcimus, seeks his destruction, 618. 60. his blasphemous threats, ibid. is slain in Battle, ibid. 61.
 Nicias labourer for a Peace, which Alcibiades hindereth by a stratagem, 324. 42. & 43.
 Nicopolis, a City of Egypt, inhabited as far as the Sea, 631. 10.
 Nile the River, whence so called, 68. 22.
 Nimrod and his Kingdom, 10. 1. the beginning and duration of the Assyrian Empire, ibid. 2. he called Belus, 11. 3. whether he built Nineveh, ibid. makes way to his Kingdom by Hunting, is judged to be the true Bacchus, ibid. 4.
 Ninus, Nimrod's Son, succeeds him, his Conquests, 12. 5. builds Nineveh, and death, various reports of the manner of his death, ibid.
 Ninus, Ninus his Son, or Ninus, as some call him, succeeds Semiramis, 12. 7.
 Noah, 2. 5. &c. the Testimony of the Heavens concerning his Flood, 3. 8. his Progeny, ibid. 9. he is compared to Saturn, ibid.
 Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, is chosen by the Senate King of Rome, 137. 12. his Religion is much like that of the Pythagoreans, ibid. he Reforms the year, 138. 14. &c. lives above 80. Reigns 43 years, and at his death is buried with great Honours, 139. 16.

O

Onchus vide Darius Nothus.
 Onchus (or Achabazus) one of the Legitimate Sons of Artaxerxes, his wicked practices for the Kingdom of Persia, 237. 98. succeeded his Father, 238. 1. the Husband of Esther, called also Artaxerxes, ibid. his Murders committed, when he was made King,

239. 2. he Invents Phornicia, 239. 4. Egypt, 240. 8. takes Pelusium, 241. 10. Rewards Mentor the Rhodian, 242. 12. appoints Philip of Macedonia, 242. 13. is murdered, 243. 16.
 Octavius Cæsar, his Birth and Breeding (829) 16. the occasion of his preference (840) 18. is slighted by the Senate, which provokes the Trimmerate (841) 19. he returns to Rome after the overthrow of Cælius and Brutus (844.) 26. makes a new agreement with Antony, and procures their power (848) 41. asks advice of Agrippa and Mecenas, how to manage and settle the affairs of the Empire, 776. 4. which he followeth, 785. 23. takes upon him the Title of Imperator, and orders several matters, ibid. makes a Lustrium, ibid. 24. pretendeth in a frame of Oration to the Senate, to lay down his power, 786. 25. and thereby confirmeth it, ibid. 26. divideth the Provinces betwixt the Senate and himself, ibid. is surrounded Augustus, 787. 28. the whole Power of Senate and People is transferred upon him, 787. 29. by a Law called Lex Regia, ibid. the general consent of his Administration, 790. 35. he repairs the Via Flaminia, 791. 36. reduces the Rebellion Spaniard, ibid. 38. Ambassadors sent to him from several parts, 792. 38. flatters up the Temple of Janus, ibid. 39. is honoured by the Senate, ibid. 40. his Wife, and his Daughter Julia, ibid. he recovers of a dangerous Disease, 793. 42. names no Successor during his life, 794. 43. to the admiration of all men, but gives his Ring to Agrippa, ibid. his Generosity, ibid. 43. more honours are decreed to him, 794. ibid. refuses them, ibid. 44. his Condemnations, ibid. 45. Conspirators against him punished, 795. ibid. he Travels Eastward, 796. 48. his Arts abroad, ibid. Ambassadors sent to him out of India, 796. 49. returns to Rome, ibid. 50. Prognosts his own and Agrippa's authority, 796. 51. takes pains in Modelling the Senate, 798. 52. discharges Lepidus, ibid. is tacitly taxed for familiarity with Women, 798. 53. yet he generally pleases the people, 799. 54. goes into Gall. ibid. 54. returns to Rome, 800. 57. is made Pontifex Maximus, 801. 59. nears extremely for the Death of Agrippa, 802. 61. hath other Honours conferred upon him; ibid. appoints certain days for the Senate to meet on, 805. 65. gives him the Title of Imperator, ibid. calls the Month Sextilis, after his own name Augustus, and reforms the year, ib. is grievously afflicted at the death of his Favourite Mecenas, ibid. 70. gives Archelaus half the Dominion he had enjoyed, and the other half to Antipas and Philip his two Brothers, 815. 83. Regulates the year again, 816. 87. adopts Tiberius, 817. 88. sends him into Germany, ibid. a Conspiracy against him, 819. 92. his Legions in the time of Dio. ibid. he creates a Military Treasury, 820. 95. makes a Speech to encourage the Married Equites, and another to the Bachelor in behalf of Marriage, 823. 101. &c. Enacts divers things, 828. 110. dies at Nola, 829. 11. his Character, 830. 113. his Body is brought to Rome, and his Will read

read in the City, 831. 1. with four other Writings of his, ibid. 2.
 Oebalus, the Son and Successor of Cygnatus, King of Lacedæmon, from whom the Country was called Oebalia, 105. 2.
 Oedipus, 125. 8. unriddles the Riddle of Sphinx, 126. ibid. marries his Mother Jocasta, not knowing her, obtains the Kingdom of Thebes, ibid. 9. at length all came to light, that he had killed his own Father Laius, and married his own Mother, he dies at Athens, ibid. 9.
 Og, King of Bashan, 38. 12. opposes the Israelites and is slain, ibid.
 Ogyges (or Ogygus) succeeds Calydus in the Theban Kingdom, 123. 1. from whom Thebes by the Fœi is called Ogygian, and that great Ogygian Deluge took its name, ibid.
 Oligarchy, set up at Sicyon and Argos, 326. 48.
 Olympiad, the First, when Celebrated, 112. 21.
 Olympias, Daughter of Neaptolemus, King of the Molossians, is married to Philip, 373. 11. rejected by her Husband, incests her Son Alexander, 381. 32. her Cruelty to Cleopatra and her young Son, 382. 34. she secretly kills her own Son, 383. 35. 51. destroys Aridæus and his Wife, 505. 19. kills Nicanor and others, ibid. 20. is murdered at last by the procurement of Cassander, having out-lived her Son Alexander about eight years, ibid.
 Olympick Games Instituted by Hercules, in honour of Jupiter Olympius, 84. 18. the re- turning of them, 112. 22.
 Olynthians, their practices, 354. 25.
 Olynthus, taken by Olybiades, 355. 27.
 Onomarchus, succeeds Philomelus in the Phœnic Generalship, 375. 17. is hang'd by Philip of Macedonia, 376. 18.
 Opima Spolia, what, why so named, and how often obtain'd, 469. 28.
 Opian Law against Women repealed, 710. 54.
 Oracle at Delphos, its Original, 546. 3.
 Oracles Stenc'd at the Birth of our Saviour, 843. 26.
 Orates, a Persian, Governor of Sardis, &c. 289. 6. lays bold of Polycrates, when he came to Magnesia, and carries him to a Crofs, ibid. 7.
 Orestes, his Life and Story, 790. 33.
 Orgetorix, stirs up the Helvetians, and slays other people, 748. 8.
 Origen, 960. 34.
 Ornytion, the second Son of Sisyphus, begat Phocus, who led a Colony into, and gave name to the Country Phocis, 120. 1.
 Orontobates, a Persian, keeps possession of Halicarnassus, 245. 27.
 Orophernes, of a Cappadocian Breed, generally called Cappadocia by the help of Demetrius, 620. 64. but is soon after expelled by Attalus, ibid.
 Orthopoli, the XII. King of Egialia, Reigns 48 years, 77. 1. 2.
 Orus (or Horus) the last of the Egyptian Gods, 63. 6.
 Osiris and Isis in Egypt, their Renowned Acts, 62. 2. Osiris is kill'd by Typhon, ibid.

Otho, sitseth on the Empire by the help of his Soldiers, 867. 2. is opposed by Vitellius, and killed himself, ibid.
 Othriel, delivers the Israelites, 41. 23.
 Ovarion, what, 425. 23. how it differs from a Triumph, ibid.
 Oxyntes, the Son of Demophon, Reigns in Athens 12 years, 98. 17.

P

Pactyas, Revolts from Cyrus, 24. 40. sitseth in Cumæ, then Mitylene, and thence to the Chians, who sold him to Mazares, the Mede, one of Cyrus his Commanders, ibid. 41.
 Pædonomi, among the Lacedæmonians, who, 110. 17. their Power and Office, ibid.
 Pætus, invades Comogena, 875. 23.
 Pallas, one of the chief Freed-men of Claudius, 856. 20.
 Pan, the great God, who died, was no other than Christ the true Shepherd, 843. 27.
 Panacæus, a Town disjunct by the Boeotians, 323. 40.
 Pandects, the excellency of the Writing of those Authors from whom they were Collected, 938. 15.
 Pandion, the Son of Erichthonius, relict 40 years, 94. 6.
 Pandion, the Son of Cecrops the II. succeeds his Father, 94. 6. is expelled his Kingdom by Metion, fleeth to Pyla, and there dies, ibid.
 Pannonia and Dalmatia, rebel, 818. 90. but are reduced, ibid. 91. rebel a second time, 822. 97. Pannonia submitted, 823. 100.
 Pansconia at Rome, whence so called, 792. 39. 4. professed by Agrippa Vipsianus, ibid. 12.
 Papinian, the famous Lawyer, put to death by Caracalla, for his integrity, 930. 11. his worthy Commendation, ibid. 12.
 Papinianus, Students whence so called, ibid.
 Papyrus (Cuscut) is made Diastol, 682. 3. is hindered from punishing Fabius, ibid.
 Parmenio, one of the Favourites of Alexander the Great, 251. 44. is slain for Treason against him, 252. 14.
 Parysatis, the Wife of Darius Nothus, 213. 3. Baruch alive the Mother, Brethren and Sisters of Teruichus, ibid. razeth against those, who had a hand in the death of her Son Cyrus, 223. 51. witheth the Eunuch Mecagathus from her Son Artaxerxes, who cut off the Head and Hand of her Son, and fleeth alive, ibid. 52. Poygneth her Daughter-in-Law Statira, by eating the Bird Rhynchæus, ibid. 52. goes to Babylon, ibid.
 Parthenia, vide Samsus.
 Parthenia, a Generation of people so called, and why, 117. 37.
 Parthia, Commotions there, 854. 16.
 Parthians, revolt from Antiochus Theus, 556. 5.
 Passover, is Celebrated, August, 24. 2.
 Patroclus (Vellius) the Historian his wife's flatteries of Tiberius, 817. 88. &c.
 Patroclus, one of the Commanders under Achilles, is sent out with his Myrmidones, pursue the Trojans to flight, 88. 30. is slain, 88. ibid.
 Paulus Julius, the Lawyer, 931. 14.
 Paulus, the Lacedæmonian, famous for his Victory at Platæa, his Arts and Story, 300. 4. his End, 301. 7.
 Paulus,

Pauhanias, King of Sparta, *enrich* Lyfander, 345. 5. being condemned, he *fleeth* to Tegea, and *thence* dieth, 349. 13.
 Pelagus, King of Sicily, *Reigneth* 20 years, 78. 4.
 Pelagus, the Brother of Homogyrus, gave name to the Pelagii, a people who first inhabited Arcadia, hence named Pelagis, and Pelagia, 79. 5.
 Pelopidas, dispatcheth Ambassadors to Artaxerxes, in a favour with him, 22. 38. &c. returneth home, and is put to death, ibid. 90.
 Pelopidas, famous in Asia for his valour, 362. 49. is sent Ambassador to the King of Persia, ibid. he gaineth much credit, 363. 50.
 Peloponnesian, War beginneth with the surprising of Plataea by the Thebans, 310. 2.
 Peloponnesians, exasperated against the Athenians, 306. 22. are worsted, 316. 21.
 Peloponnesus, whence so named, 77. 1.
 Pelops obtained Pity with the major part of Peloponnesus, where he Reigneth 58 years, 86. 24.
 Peneleus chosen Captain by the Boeotians, 127. 11. is slain in the War by Euryphilus, the Son of Telephus, ibid.
 Peratus, a Sicilian King, who Governeth 47 years, 77. 1.
 Perdiccas, King of Macedonia inviteth the Potideans, with other Towns in Thracia to revolt, 306. 22. revolteth again to the Potideans, and joineth himself with the Corinthian Army, ibid. 24.
 Perdiccas, Alexander at his death gave him his King, 559. 40. made Protector of Aridæus the King, and Commander of his Forces, 560. 2. judiceth Cappadocia, ib. 4. Crucifieth Ariarathes their King, ibid. 6. goeth against Ptolomy, 561. 6. is slain, ibid. 7.
 Pergamus, the Kingdom, it's Original, 595. 4.
 Periander, the Son of Cypselus, King of Corinth, succeedeth him, 122. 7. his story, ibid. Reigneth near 40 years, and then dieth, 123. 8.
 Pericles, the Son of Xanthippus, reduced Euboea, 203. 1. is victorious in Samus, ibid.
 15. Samus yieldeth to him, 304. 16. adviseth the Athenians to the Peloponnesian War, 308. 30. dieth of the Plague, 313. 12. his Commendation, 314. ibid.
 Perillus, the Athenian Statuary, and his brazen Bull, 389. 9.
 Perinthus, a City of Thracia, 243. 20. is besieged, ibid.
 Peripenna, murdereth Sertorius, 735. 21.
 Persecution, the first against the Christians, 862. 35. the second, 879. 23. the third, 885. 14. the fourth, 915. 76. the fifth, 928. 6. the sixth, 946. 44. the seventh, 947. 3. the eighth, 948. 5. the ninth, 949. 7. and the tenth, 950. 11.
 Perseus, the Son of Danae and Jupiter, the Fable of him, 81. 9. he marrieth Andromeda, ibid. 10. killeth his Grand-father Acrilus unwares by the stroke of a Quoin on his Foot, ibid.
 Perseus, getteth his Father Philip King of Macedonia, 592. 52. refuseth to War with the Romans, ibid. his bad Carriage toward Eumenes declineth him on Enemy, 593. 53. his Consideration of mind, 593. 54. and 715.

15. betw overthrown by Æmilius the Consul, and yieldeth, 594. 55. dieth two years after, ibid.
 Petia, the Empire thereof, 177. 1.
 Petrian Kings their Panpon Title, vide King, Petrian Ambassadors kill'd, 186. 13. their Satrapies what, and Satrapes who, 274. 18. Prefects of a City, ibid. 19. their Phrurarch, Chiliarch and Tresurer, 275. 5. ibid. the R-squared call'd Immortals, and other Sacellites, ibid. 20. the Magistans, Surenas and other names of Dignity, ibid. 21. Dorekeepers and Admissions, with other, generally Eunuchs, ibid. 22. Scribes, who wrote their Edicts, 276. 22. Physicians and Postage, ibid. 23. their way of Education 277. 25. the Liberal Forum among them, and its distinction, ibid. 26. the good Exemplar given by their Masters, 278. 27. their way of Instruction by Fables, ibid. 28. to be in Debt a fault next to Lying among them, 28. Ingratitude, ibid. Disposition to Parents, ibid. 29. Education of young Noble Men, ibid. 30. &c. the practice of Men, and particularly those of fifty years old, 279. 31. other customs among them, ibid. 32. sumptuous Aulea or Hangings, 280. 34. Promiscuous Lust, ibid. 36. Weddings and Gardens, 281. 37. Cloaths, ibid. 38. several sorts of capital Punishment and lesser Castures, ibid. 39. of High Treason, 382. 40. their Coin and Rivalry, ibid. 41. Antient Persians a Warlike people, ibid. 41. their Cardaces, what and why so called, their Horse, ibid. 42. their Arms, ibid. 43. their Fight in Chariots, 28. 45. Order of March, ibid. 46. the manner of their Encamping, 285. 48. Muster, ibid. 49. Proceeding to Battle, 286. 50. their way of Attacking Towns, ibid. 51. of contraiting a League, ibid. 51. several things and words came out of Persia into Europe, 286. 54. and 287. 55.
 Persians overthrown in Greece, both by Sea and Land, 299. 1. driven absolutely out of Europe, ibid.
 Perinax, Emperor, vide Helvius.
 Petraline of Syracuse what, and why so called, ibid.
 Peter Saint, concerning his being at Rome, 857. 22.
 Phæbus, a Sicilian King (vulgarly accounted the Son of Hercules) after eight years Reign, he went over into Crete, and builds a City of his own Name, 78. 3.
 Phalaris usurpeth at Agrigentum in Sicily, 389. 9.
 8. his Birth and Parentage, ibid. obtaineth a Victory over the Leontines, ibid. his disposition, 390. 10. he perisheth by the fury of the multitude after he had play'd the Tyrant 16 years, ibid. 11.
 Phalces, King of Argos, seizeth on Sicily with the assistance of the Doræ, 78. 4. thenceforth the Sicilians became Doræ, and were reckoned among the Argives, ibid.
 Phaleg, ibid.
 Pharaoh (Necho) fighteth against Nebuchad-nazar at Carchemish, 54. 18. and there is slain, ibid.
 Pharnabazus, is defeated, 228. 67. being sent-Law to Artaxerxes, made General of his Forces, 232. 82. He and Phibartas set out against Acatis, ibid. 83. Emulation fristrates their design, 234. 85. his own and Conon's Aids

Aids against the Lacedæmonians, 351. 19. he procureth the Death of Tissaphernes, 227. 64.
 Pharnaces, the rebellious Son of Mitridates, driveth the Army from him, 742. 1. invadeth some Eastern Countries, but is defeated by Octavius, 8.
 Phælicus, the Son of Antipater is made Captain General of Jerusalem by his Father, 661. 20. retained Captive by the Parthian General, 664. 28. he becometh his own Brain, 665. 30.
 Phayllus, succeedeth Onomarchus, 376. 19. dieth of a Consumption, ibid.
 Philip, the Son of Amyntas, educated at Thebes, 371. 4. first made Guardian of his Nephews, and then King by the people, ib. 5. he Conquereth all difficulties, 376. 6. changeth the name of the Town Crenide, calling it Philippi, after his own name, ib. 8. Besiegeth Methymna, a Town in Magnesia, 376. 17. is twice defeated by Onomarchus, who gaineth Cheronæa, but is again utterly routed by him and hang'd, ibid. gaineth Olynthus, 377. 21. batteth the Athenians at sea, 378. 24. overthrown by the Thracians, 379. 27. Besiegeth Perinthus, ibid. 28. Marcheth thence to Byzantium, 380. 28. invadeth the Scythians, ibid. in his return is wounded and distressed by the Triballi, ibid. obtaineth a Victory over the Athenians, &c. at Chæronæa, 381. 30. is made General at Sea for all Greece, against the Persians, ibid. 32. Itab'd by Paulinus, 382. 33. his great Achievements, ibid. 34.
 Philip, M. Julius (an Arabian of Trachonitis) succeedeth Gordian in the Empire, the son of a not-able Captain of Thieves, 497. 2. maketh his Son partaker with him in the Empire, repletheth the Scythians, is defeated and slain by Decius, and his Son murdered by the Prætorian Bands, ibid.
 Philip, Son of Demetrius, succeedeth his Uncle, Antigonus Dofon, 581. 18. Invadeth Ætolia, 583. 24. and Peloponnesus, ibid. 25. his Exploits, ibid. putteth an end to the Social War, 585. 28. scatheth to Annibal in Italy, ibid. 29. is beaten at Apollonia, 586. 31. he putteth Aratus, ibid. 32. is again beaten by the Romans, 587. 34. his Aids in Greece, ibid. 35. &c. intereth the odium of the People, 588. 37. Engageth against the Romans, 589. ibid. his fruitless Expedition against Athens, ibid. 39. Courseth the Ætolians to no purpose, 590. 40. is overthrown at Cynoccephale, 592. 45. discovereth his Son Perseus his Vice-agent him, and labourt to disabuse him, ibid. 51. but dieth of Melancholly, 45. 34.
 Philistines overthrown, 45. 34.
 Philomelus, Captain of the Phocians in the Sacred War, 374. 13.
 Philopemen, General of the Achæans, Annibal and Scipio Africanus, all three die in one year, 714. 11.
 Philotas wrongfully accusing himself, is put to death for Treason against Alexander, 546. 3.
 Phocis, a Country so called, and why, 120. 1.
 Phobas, King of the Argives, Governeth 35 years, 80. 6.
 Phoroneus, King of Argos, reigneth 40 years, 76. 11. and dieth, ibid.
 Phraortes, King of the Medes, reigneth 22 years,

15. 14. and leaveth his Son Cyaxares his Successor, ibid.
 Phrynicus standeth in fear of Alcibiades, 332. 64. he labourt to destroy him though inefficiently, ibid.
 Phrydia and Syffitia, what, 110. 15.
 Phyla, a Castle in the Territories of Athens, 248. 3. is seized upon by Thrasybulus, ibid.
 Piræus succeedeth Argus in the Kingdom of Argos, 80. 6.
 Pirætes, their Insolence, 738. 30.
 Pifathenes, the Governor of Lydia, 213. 22. Revolteth from Darius Nothus, ibid.
 Pifistratide in the Government of Athens, who and their Behaviors, 250. 11. they are banished, 291. 13.
 Pifistratus, Invadeth the Tyranny at Athens, 103. 30. is expelled, ibid. 31. restored, ibid. 32. forced out again and recovereth the Tyranny, ibid. dieth not long after his restoration, 104. 32.
 Pithon and Aridæus chosen in the room of Perdiccas, 561. 8. Pithon layeth down his Fratricide, ibid. is put to death by Antigonus, 565. 21.
 Pifo (Lucius) Governour of Pamphilia, 803. 65. his Success, ibid.
 Plataea yieldeth by Famine to the Lacedæmonians, and is destroyed, 315. 16. that and Thebes both demolished, 357. 35.
 Platainita, among the Lacedæmonians, why so called, 110. 17.
 Plato the Philosopher, 406. 37. sold by Dionysius the Tyrant, ibid. returneth to Syracuse, 407. 40. Plato sent for by the Thebans and Arcadians, refuseth to go to them, 360. 42.
 Plautius, the Pretor, sent to Britain, 853. 13. he and Vespasian proffer here, 854. ibid.
 Plegras, vide Pofeda.
 Pliny, the Elder, Writer of the Natural History, is suffocated with the smoke of the Hill Vefuvius, 876. 24.
 Podarces, vide Priamus.
 Polybus, King of Sicily, 78. 3.
 Polyocrates, the famous Tyrant of Samus, 287. 1. his exploits and felicity, 288. 4. is greedy after money, 289. 7. maketh a miserable end, ibid.
 Polydorus, the Son of Cadmus, succeedeth his Father in the Theban Kingdom, 125. 6. dieth, ibid.
 Polyphides, a Sicilian King, who Ruled 31 years, 78. 4.
 Polyperchon left by Antipater Protector of the Kings, 562. 10. inviteth Olympias into Macedonia, ibid. 12. reduceth her thither, 505. 19. is perfidious by Cassander, to make away Hercules, the base Son of Alexander, 568. 26.
 Pompey (Strabo) Rather to Pompey the Great, is Consul with Cato, 727. 27. doth great service in the social War, 728. ibid. being Praefect, he was kill'd with a Thunderbolt, 730. 5.
 Pompey (after the Great) repletheth the Priest-hood to Hyrcanus, 659. 17. and carrieth Ariobolus, and his two Sons in Triumph to Rome, ibid. joineth with Sylla, 729. 3. is sent into Africa against Carbo, 733. 16. his other Aids against Sylla's Enemies, 735. 21. furreth all the Sea about Africa of Pirates, 739. 32. defeateth Mithridates, 740. 35.

A T A B L E.

reduceth Syria into a Roman Province, 741.
 27. invadeth Judea, 742. 41. he and Cras-
 sus obtain the Consulship by violence, 743.
 46. Pompey is sole Consul (780) 92. Jend-
 eph to Caesar (794) 10. he and the Senators
 leave Rome and go to Capua (797) 15. fol-
 lowing the Consul to Dyrrachium (787) 19.
 his flight confuted, ibid. 20. the occasion of
 the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar
 (798) 2. his affairs how they stood in Spain
 (800) 27. his Officers endeavour to remove
 the War (802) 31. his party hath the ad-
 vantage by Sea (809) 50. he getteth out of
 Caesar's Fortifications, and Incampeth on the
 Sea (812) 59. the Order of his Army before
 the Pharsalian Battle (815) 62. he flieth,
 816. 66. his Soldiers submit to Caesar (817)
 67. he flieth into Egypt, and is there treach-
 erously slain, ibid. 68. his Head is brought to
 Caesar (821) 76.
 Pompey (Sextus) his Son hath success at Sea
 (812) 57. causeth a great Famine (845)
 29. which provoketh an agreement with him,
 ibid. the peace with him is broken (846) 20.
 he is overthrown by Caesar, ibid. 32. is killed,
 847: 33.
 Pontius Pilate made Governor of Judea in the
 room of Gratus, 834. 9. condemneth our Sa-
 viour, and delivereth him to the Soldiers to be
 Crucified, 840. 20. maketh report unto Tibe-
 rius of the Persecution and work of Christ, 846.
 31. is sent to Rome to give an account of his
 slaughtering the Samaritans, 847. 86. is ban-
 nished to Vienna, 849. 2. and two years after
 murdereth himself, ibid.
 Pontus, a Country of Asia, why so called, 728. 1.
 Portena maketh War against the Romans, 422.
 17. a Peace concluded with him, 423. 19.
 Porus, the Indian King, is defeated, 551. 17.
 and taken by Alexander of Macedon, ibid.
 Pothimus made Emperor by the Soldiers in the
 reign of Gallienus, ruleth in Gall 10 years,
 948. 6.
 Pothinus, the Eunuch, 643. 33. causeth the
 Alexandrian War, 644. 38. is put to death
 by Caesar, 645. 59.
 Potidea, a Town of Pallene, formerly call'd
 Elegeta, afterward Callandara, and why, 306.
 22. is a Colony of the Corinthians, offend-
 eth with the Athenians, ibid. deliver'd up to
 them, 313. 10.
 Praxitus, Governor of Sicily for the Lacedae-
 monians, obtaineth a Victory, 350. 16.
 Pretor Created, his Office, 474. 41. the cause
 of his Creation, 475. 42.
 Pretus, King of Argos, forced by his Brother to
 fly, but after they both agreed and divided the
 Kingdom, 81. 9.
 Prexaspes murdereth Smerdis, the Son of Cyrus,
 180. 9. his violent death, 182. 3.
 Priamus (Surnam'd Podarces) succeedeth his
 Father Laomedon, 87. 27. his Riches, large
 Dominions, Wrecks and Issues, ibid.
 Priene, a Town in Ionia, under the Mountain
 Mycale, 305. 15.
 Probus the Emperor, his Story and Age,
 949. 8. is slain by his Soldiers at Syrium,
 ibid.
 Procles and Eurythenes obtain Sparta, 106.
 3. both the Kings Reign with equal Power,
 ibid. 4.

Prodicus, among the Lacedaemonians, who 108. 11.
 Promius, succeedeth Agilus in Corinth, reigneth
 35. years, 121. 3.
 Prytanis succeedeth Eurytion, 106. 4. dieth, ib.
 Ptolemy, the Son of Antioch, succeedeth his
 Father in Egypt, 70. 28. but left all, and Egyp-
 tus became a Province, ibid.
 Ptolemy, the Son of Gordias, Brother to
 Perander, holdeth the Corinthian Kingdom after
 him, 123. 9. and then the people made them-
 selves a Free-State, ibid.
 Ptolemy, the Son of Lagos, 559. 2. getteth
 possession of Egypt, 560. 4.
 Ptolemy Ceraninus, the Son of the former, by
 Eudicid flieth into Egypt to Seleucus, and
 killeth him, 574. 15. getteth Macedonia, and
 is kill'd by the Galles, ibid. 1.
 Ptolemy Philadelphus made Co-partner with his
 Father in the Kingdom, 628. 1. how he came
 by the Surname of Philadelphus, 631. 13.
 he maketh a confederacy with Rome, 689.
 17.
 Ptolemy Euergetes, reneweth the death of his
 Sister Berenice, 599. 6. is invaded by Se-
 leucus, ibid. 7. his Wars with Antiochus
 Theus, 632. 14.
 Ptolemy surnam'd Philopator, and why, 633.
 he dieth, 634. 18.
 Ptolemy Epiphanes succeedeth the former, 634.
 19. Contradicteth Amity with the Achaeans, 636.
 22. is at last possess'd, ibid.
 Ptolemy Philometor, the Son of Epiphanes, suc-
 ceedeth his Father, 636. 23. prepareth for Cae-
 losyria, but is prevented, ibid. outed of his
 Kingdom, 637. ibid. Expell'd by his rebellious
 Brother, is restor'd, ibid. 25. dieth of his
 wounds, fighting in vindication of Alexander
 Balas, his Son-in-Law, 622. 68. and 639.
 27.
 Ptolemy Phylcon (surnam'd also Euergetes and
 Caceretes) and why, made King after the
 Expulsion of his Brother 637. 24. complaineth
 to the Romans, there being a Contest about the
 Kingdom between him and his Brother, and
 hath relief, ibid. 25. his Cruelty after he had
 unjustly obtained the Kingdom, 639. 27. sub-
 orneth a person against Demetrius Nicator,
 640. 28. dieth, ibid. and leaveth Egypt to
 the disposal of his Wives, ibid. 29.
 Ptolemy Apion, the Base Son of Phylcon, left
 by his Father's Will King of Cyrene, 640. 28.
 Ptolemy Lathurus (or Lathyrus) goeth to relieve
 Syria with 6000 men 626. 80. is expell'd
 Egypt by his Mother, ibid. recall'd by her,
 640. 29. invadeth Judea, but his projects are
 spoil'd by his Mother, 641. 30. and 643. 6.
 he restor'd, ibid. 31. entertaineth Lucullus the
 Roman, ibid. dieth, 641. 32.
 Ptolemy Alexander the first, being known to the
 people to have killed his Mother, flieth, 641. 31.
 Ptolemy Alexander the second, enjoyeth the
 Kingdom, ibid. 32.
 Ptolemy (surnam'd Auletes) and Dionysius who
 succeedeth him, is expell'd by his rebellious Sub-
 jects, and driveth himself to Rome, 642. 3.
 where getting no relief he departeth for Ephesus,
 643. 34. killeth Gabinus to restore him,
 ibid. 35. dieth, ibid. 36.
 Ptolemy Dionysius his Eldst Son succeedeth him,
 with his Wife and Sister Cleopatra jointly,
 942. 37. a War betwixt them, 644. 35. &c.

A T A B L E.

he is drowned in taking Boat to escape, 646. 42.
 Ptolemy, the second Son of Auletes, married al-
 to his Sister Cleopatra by the means of Caesar,
 ibid. 43. She murdereth her Brother, 647. 44.
 Ptolemy, the Mathematicians Catalogue of Baby-
 loniush Kings, 15. 15.
 Ptolemy succeedeth Damafichion in Thebes,
 127. 12.
 Ptolemy, one of the Associates of Apelles, is put
 to death for Treason, 595. 28.
 Publicans, why so named, 722. 11.
 Pyllus a ragged Frumony, anciently belonging
 to the Mellesians, 316. 20. is secar'd, 317.
 22.
 Pyrrhus, the Wife of Deucalion, 94. 3.
 Pyrrhus, the Son of Acacidas King of Epirus,
 gaineth Macedonia, 573. 11. is call'd into
 Sicily by the Syraculians, 679. 29. prospereth,
 but by his cruelty afterward loseth himself, and
 departeth, ibid. 26. defeateth Lavinius by the
 help of his Elephants, 686. 11. marcheth to-
 ward Rome, ibid. 12. hath very ill success,
 and passeth over into Sicily, 687. 14. return-
 eth with difficulty, 688. 15. is defeated by
 Curius Dentatus the Consul, ibid. 16. is ex-
 pell'd, by Lysimachus, 573. 14. expelleth An-
 tigonis Gonatus, and recovereth Macedonia,
 575. 4. he endeavourerh to restore Cleonymus
 the Spartan, 576. ibid. is slain at Argos,
 ibid. 6.
 Pythodorus, Arculat at Athens, 310. 1.
 Q
 Questors, when first made, and their number,
 420. 13. their duty, 421. 13.
 Quirites and Manna rained down upon the Israe-
 lites, 35. 3.
 Quintillus, Emperor of Rome, vide Aurelius
 Quirinus, vide Romulus.
 R
 Rachel, dieth, 31. 13.
 Ramesses, the chief City of Goshen, built
 by the Israelites in Egypt, 34. 2.
 Rape of the Saba Virgin, 135. 7.
 Rescues for the Lie raised by the Egyptians and
 others against the Jews, 66. 16.
 Red-Sea (or Erythraean and Edomaeon Sea)
 whence so called, 31. 14.
 Regillus, a Lake in the Country of Tufculum,
 known at this day by the name of Il Lago di
 Santa Severa, 429. 32.
 Rehoboam succeedeth Solomon, and the Ten Tribes
 desert him, 49. 1. He and his Subjects rebel
 against God, but humble themselves, He dieth,
 ibid. 2.
 Remus and his Brother grow successful, 130. 9.
 their contention about the Building of a City,
 131. ibid. Remus is slain in a Combat, ibid.
 10.
 Rhea the Daughter of Numitor bringeth forth
 Twins, Remus and Remus, 130. 9.
 Rhynates, a Persian Bird, 223. 52.
 Rite of Sabbatical years and Jubilees, 420. 30.
 Romans make the first League with the Cartha-
 ginians, 422. 16. the first time of their applying
 themselves to Sea, 691. 3. wrest Sardinia from
 the Carthaginians with more Tribute, 696. 16.
 make preparations for war against the Galles,

700. 27. soon recover their courage after their
 Defeat at Cannae by Annibal, 705. 40. Besiege
 Capua, 706. 43. which is yielded, 707. 43.
 fight successfully against the Galles, 711. 55.
 Judaea several Nations, 714. 12. The Gran-
 deur of the Roman Empire, 776. 1. is labour-
 eth under its own weight, ibid. 2. under dis-
 temper, 776. 3. which Monarchy could only
 cure, ibid. 4. Stirr in the Province, 891. 57.
 Rome situate in Latium on the River Tiber, 127.
 1. Several opinions concerning it's Builder, 131.
 10. variety of opinions concerning the time of its
 Building, 132. 12. the Foundation thereof and
 by whom, ibid. why so call'd, ibid. great
 Commotions there, 430. 35. diverted by war,
 ibid. 36. the first Separation of the Commons
 there, ibid. a great Dearth causeth a Sedition
 in the City, 436. 48. Stirr and Commotions
 made there, 444. 67. a most grievous Plague,
 449. 79. Luxury first brought thither from A-
 lia by the Army of Cam. Manlius Consul, 713.
 7. it divided into fourteen Regions, 808. 71.
 a great Famine there, 821. 96. Disorders at
 Rome and in Italy, 822. 79.
 Romulus and Remus kill Amulius, and resettle
 their Grandfather in his Kingdom, 130. 9.
 they lead out a Colony, 131. ibid. he found-
 eth Rome, and when, 132. 1. the number of
 the Colony he brought with him to plant it,
 ibid. 2. the division and distinction of the Ci-
 vilians made by him, ibid. Patrons and Clients,
 133. 3. he cloveth a Senate, and causeth the
 Curiae to make election of Celeres, and who
 they were, ibid. 4. appointeth the Office of
 King, Senate and People, 134. ib. maketh Laws,
 ibid. 5. his Defensive Wars, 135. 7. groweth
 tyrannical, 136. 11. made away by the Sena-
 tors, ibid. the Senators perswade the multitude
 he was taken up among the Gods, that he would
 be a Propitious God unto them under the name
 of Quirinus. Lived 55 years, and reign'd 37.
 dieth on the Nones of Quintilis, afterwards
 July, named Nones Caprotine from the place
 where he was slain, &c. 137. 11.
 Roitra at Rome, whence so called, 478. 49.
 S
 Sabines, his peace of the Romans, 422. 23.
 Abinius, beg of good success, 762. 41.
 Salamina, the Island, its situation not far from
 Athens, revolteth to the Inhabitants of Mega-
 ra, 99. 22. the Fight there betwixt the Greeks
 and Xerxes, 198. 36.
 Salome, the Sister of Herod, 812. 78. per-
 suadeth him to put his Wife Mariamne to
 death, ibid.
 Salome, the valour of the Inhabitants there,
 810. 52.
 Samaritans burn Andromachus, the Governor of
 Scythia alive, 254. 53.
 Samo-Thracia, a certain Island in Thrace, whence
 so called, 87. 26.
 Sannites, why so called, 477. 46. is defeated
 by the Romans, ibid. again, and desire peace,
 682. 4. put the Romans under the Yoke, 683.
 ibid. yet are often beaten by them, ibid. 6.
 Sampson, 43. 30.
 Samuel, 44. 32.
 Sams, an Island in the Mediterranean, 288. 3.
 Stirr there, 303. 15. the Army enraged at
 Athens,

A TABLE.

Athens, 333. 69. taketh an Oath against them, 334. *ibid.*
 Sanballat, buildeth a Temple on Mount Gerizim, 251. 45.
 Sanhedrim of the Jews, *what*, 29. 8.
 Sardapalus (or Tonos-Concoletos) by the Greeks and Romans so termed, 13. 8. is confuted against, *ibid.* he obtaineth three victories over them, yet is twice worsted, *ibid.* 9. burneth himself in his own Palace, 14. 11.
 Sarmata, invade the Romans in Media, 871. 14. and waste the Countries adjacent by Fire and Sword, *ibid.*
 Saturninus by sedition, 726. 23. he is slain with his Complices, *ibid.*
 Satyre among the Romans, *what*, 697. 17.
 Saul, King, 45. 34. raiseth the siege at Jabelth-Gilead, *ibid.* 36. his three Sons are slain, 46. 37. he killeth himself, *ibid.*
 Saul Converted, afterward Paul, 847. 8.
 Scipio (Publius) Consul, is worsted by Annibal, and practised by the widow of his young Son afterward Sirmamed Africanus, 703. 34. he and his Brother conquered the major part of Spain, 706. 43. but are both destroyed by dividing their Forces, *ibid.*
 Scipio (Cneius) Brother of Publius, is sent by him into Spain, 703. 35. he reueth Annibal and profreth, *ibid.*
 Scipio (Sirmamed afterward Africanus) the Son of Publius professeth his Father in a dangerous condition, 703. 34. taketh upon him, though young, the Government of Spain, *ibid.* 45. and profreth exceedingly, *ibid.* subdueth Spain, 708. 48. is made Consul, *ibid.* passeth into Attick, *ibid.* where he sorely distresseth the Carthaginians, *ibid.* 49. who are thereupon forced to recall Annibal, 709. 50. whom he also defeats, *ibid.* obtaineth the honorable Surname of Africanus, *ibid.* 51. geth Lieutenant under his Brother into Alie, 712. 4. is called to account by the Tribunes, 713. 8. his high spirit shewen upon his accusation, *ibid.* 9. is not condemned, through the mediation of Tiberius Gracchus, *ibid.* dieth at Linternum, whither he withdrew himself, 714. 11.
 Scipio (Lucius) afterward Sirmamed Africanus) Brother to Africanus, is made Consul, 712. 4. and obtaineth Greece for his Province, *ibid.* subdueth Antiochus the Great, *ibid.* 5. taketh upon him the Surname of Africanus, *ibid.* is Fined, 713. 10.
 Scipio Nafica (Corculum) subdueth the Dalmatians, 716. 17. earnestly oppoeth Cato in the Senate-house, about the destruction of Carthage, *ibid.* 18.
 Scipio Nafica (Scerapion) procureth the destruction of Gracchus, as he was speaking to the people in the Capitol, 720. 7.
 Scipio Emilianus sent into Spain, 716. 16. forceth the Army through his Wisdom and Courage, 717. 20. is made Consul, though under age, *ibid.* 21. taketh Carthage, *ibid.* 22. is created Consul, the second time, 719. 2. begetteth Numantia, *ibid.* 4. and taketh it, *ibid.* dieth, 729. 9.
 Scopas, the Theban, intrudeth Macedonia, 583. 23. plotteth against the King and State, 635. 21.
 Scribonia, the first Wife of Augustus, 722. 40.

geth voluntarily into banishment, 810. 74. was divorced from him the day he brought forth Julia, *ibid.*
 Scythians enjoy the Dominion of Asia 28 years, 17. 21. and lose it, *ibid.* 22. their manners are odious, 185. 12. they mock Darius, *ibid.* are overcome by Philip, 380. 29.
 Secundianus, after the murder of Xerxes, becomes King, 212. 21. loseth the favour of the Army by causing the Eunuchs, Bagorazus, to be stoned, and his Brother murdered, he is sent for by Ochus, and destroyed, *ibid.* reigned six months and twenty days, 213. 22.
 Sejanus (Elius) the great favourite of Tiberius, his Original and Parentage, 833. 7. Fortune and End, 834. *ibid.*
 Seleucus, Governor of Babylon, fleeth into Egypt, 566. 21. recovereth Babylon, and the Eastern parts, 567. 24. is slain, 574. 15.
 Seleucus (Sirmamed Callinicus and Pagon) succeeds his Father Antiochus Theus, 566. 6. dieth with a fall from his Horse, 567. 8.
 Seleucus (Ceraurus) succeeds his Father Callinicus, 567. 9.
 Seleucus Philopator, succeeds his Father Antiochus the Great, 39. 40. but is slain by the Treachery of Heliodorus, 39. *ibid.*
 Seleucus, the Son of Demetrius Nicanor, is killed with a Dart by his Mother Cleopatra, 625. 78.
 Seleucus, the eldest Son of Antiochus Grapheus, succeeds his Father, &c. 627. 80. fleeth to Cilicia, is received of the Mopsustians, but exclaiming many from them, they burned him quick, with these about him, *ibid.*
 Semiramis, the Wife of Ninus, 12. 6. personates her Son Ninus, *ibid.* 7. her Attendants under that disguise, for it slain by her Son, *ibid.*
 Sens Inheritance, and her Sons, 5. 12. &c. Senate, at Rome, with an Assembly (829) 5. the authority of the Senate, 805. 66. the place wherein they used to Assemble, 806. 67.
 Seneca, the Philosopher, School-master to Nero, 858. 24. consulteth about the killing of Agrippina, Nero's Mother, 859. 28. is put to death by his Pupil, the Emperor, 862. 35. Liplius his apology for him, *ibid.*
 Separguing, their Transflation of the Bible into Greek, 628. 1.
 Sertorius resist in Spain, 734. 20. is murdered by Perpenna in his Camp, 735. 21.
 Servius (Tullius) his Descent and Education, 144. 28. obtaineth the Roman Kingdom, *ib.* 29. &c. Clippeth the Kingly Power, 146. 36. is murdered by his Son-in-Law, and his own Daughter, *ibid.* he reigned 44 years, 148. 39.
 Seth, his Birth and Posterity, 2. 3.
 Severus (Septimius Lucius) an African born, is Governor of both the Panonia's, 926. 2. obtaineth the Empire, 927. 3. suppresseth Nigiger, *ibid.* 4. and Albinus, *ibid.* 5. his success in the East, 928. 6. vicer, *ibid.* he cometh into Britain, *ibid.* 7. and for grief dieth at Eboracum, now York, *ibid.* the honors conferred upon him after his death, 928. 8.
 Shammur Judeths lifel, 41. 44.
 Sheba's Conspiracy among the Israelites, 46. 39.
 Sibylls, 149. 42. their Books, *ibid.* number, *ibid.* 43. Testimony concerning our Saviour, 844. 28.
 Sicani, who, 387. 4. whether they came out of Spain, *ibid.*
 Sicily,

Sicily, the Commotions there, 316. 18. enjoyeth an universal peace, 318. 24. its names, and why so called, 386. 1. the old inhabitants there, *ibid.* 2. Greek Colonies there, 387. 3. Giants, *ibid.* 4. Corn brought thence to Rome, 436. 50. a Sui-dial brought from Catania in the Country to Rome, 690. 2. Barbers flecth from Sicily to Rome, *ibid.*
 Sicima, a City of the Samaritans, seated on the foot of Mount Gerizim, 252. 47.
 Sicyon, a City in the Bay of Corinth, 77. 1. why so named, 78. 3.
 Sicyonia, the Sovereignty thereof obtained by the Priests of Apollo Carinus, 78. 4. Sicyonian Kingdom, its great Antiquity, 77. 1.
 Siccius Dentatus his Achievements, 454. 50. a plot against him, 456. 93. revengeth himself on the Consul, *ibid.* 94. is murdered by the Decemviri, 462. 15.
 Sidon, taken, and burnt by the Inhabitants, 240. 12.
 Sihon, King of Hebron, 38. 21.
 Simon, the Benjamite, his treachery against his Religion, and Country, 609. 39.
 Simon, chosen Prince and High-Priest of the Jews, 623. 32. he and his two Sons are murdered by Ptolomy the Son of Abubus, his Son-in-Law, 624. 71.
 Simon, whence so called, 857. 22.
 Sisygambis, the Mother of Darius Codomannus, taken by Alexander, 248. 36.
 Smerdis, the Son of Cyrus, murdered, 180. 9.
 Smerdis, the Magician called Marcus, Sphenadates, and Oropates, usurpers, 181. 1.
 Sodom, &c. destroyed, 29. 7.
 Solomon, the second Son of Bathsheba, 46. 39. made King by his Father David, 47. 1. part with Adonijah, and others to death, *ibid.* the Building of his Temple, *ibid.* 42. his Navy, *ibid.* 43. Building, 48. 45. Incontinency and Idolatry, *ibid.* 46. and Death, *ibid.*
 Solon, one of the seven Grecian Sages, 92. 21. how he became Eminent at Athens, 99. 22. &c. Reformeth the Common-wealth, 100. 24. Infirmeth a Senate consisting of 400 persons, 101. 24. that of the Areopagus, *ibid.* 25. the difficulty of the People, *ibid.* 26. Courts of Justice, *ibid.* 27. his particular Laws, 102. 28. Travel, *ibid.* 29.
 Softness is overthrown by Brutus, and destroyed, 375. 21.
 Sous succeeds Eurythies, 106. 4.
 Sparta, whence so called, 185. 1. is unruled, 111. 19. Stirr there, 185. 19.
 Spartans, in the III. Spachteria, yield to mercy, 217. 23. their Submission after the Battle of Leuctra, 359. 39.
 Spartacus, a Thracian Fencer, 738. 28. is defeated by Crassus, *ibid.* 29. and slain, *ibid.* Spendius and Mathos provoke the Multitude among the Carthaginians, 694. 10. they besiege Carthage, 695. 13.
 Spuchidus, a Thracian, 236. 30.
 Spurius (Mellius) offendeth the Kingdom at Rome, 459. 27. is killed in the Forum by Ahala, *ibid.*
 Stageria, the Native City of Aristotle, Alexander's Master, 382. 35. for his sake is re-edified, 383. *ibid.*
 Statira, Wife of Darius dieth a Prisoner, 249. 38.
 Stenelias reliqueth 11 years in the Kingdom of Argos, 80. 7.
 Strato, King of Sidon, in Alexander's time, 249. 38.
 Suetonius, in Britain, subdueth the Silures, 859.

A TABLE.

29. his Province revolteth, *ibid.* he defeats the Britains in Battle, *ibid.* 31. Suffetes, among the Carthaginians, who, 394. 8.
 Sulpicius, one of the Complices of Marius, 729. 3. is found out, and put to death, *ibid.* 4.
 Syllon succeeds Mezandrus, in Samus, 289. 7.
 Sylla (Lucius Cornelius) Ruelier to Marius, in the War with Jugurtha, 725. 20. his Lieutenant in the Grimbeck War, *ibid.* 22. endeth the Social War, 728. 27. batt the charge of the War against Mithridates, 729. 3. taketh Athens, &c. 731. 9. overthroweth the King General Archelaus over, *ibid.* a second time, *ib.* 10. forceth Mithridates to beg peace, *ib.* 11. Fimbria's Army revolteth to him, 732. 12. he marcheth for Italy, *ibid.* landeth at Brundisium, and defeats Norbanus the Consul, *ib.* 13. entereth Rome, 733. 14. gaineth all Italy, *ibid.* 15. publisheth Tablets of Proscriptions, and rageth cruelly against persons and Cities, *ibid.* 16. maketh himself Dictator in perpetuum, 734. 17. his actions during that Office, *ib.* 18. he layeth down his power, *ib.* dieth at Potuoli of the Lonsie disease, *ibid.* 19. a difference arises among the Consuls about his Burial, and the Confirmation of his Acts, *ibid.*
 Syracuse, or Ortygia, its Original, 391. 2. is besieged by Mago and Amilcar, by Sea and Land, 404. 3.
 Syracusians stand on their guard, 328. 54. and are aided by the Cointians and Spartans, *ibid.* recover their liberty, 397. 15. the form of their Common-wealth, *ibid.* 16. their Petalim, *ib.* Wars, 398. 17. their State is new-model'd, *ib.* 18. they beg aid of the Cointians, 411. 50.

T.

Tacernaed reared, 36. 6.
 Tachos, King of Egypt, strengtheneth himself, 236. 94.
 Tacitus, a Man of Consular dignity, is made choice of for Emperor after a six months Interregnum, 549. 8. dieth within six months of a Reuener at Tarus, *ibid.*
 Tancus, King of Phrygia, 87. 26. is beaten out of Phaglagania, *ibid.*
 Tarentines, their Original, 689. 9. the description of their City, Government, and Conversation, *ib.* the cause of their War with the Romans, *ibid.* 10. they lend for Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, *ib.* Tarentum taken, 689. 17.
 Tarquinus (Priscus) his Pedigree, 142. 24. King of Rome, *ibid.* 25. his Wars, *ibid.* 25. succeedeth the number of the Senate, 142. 26. and of the Vofal Nuars, &c. *ibid.* is murdered, 143. 27.
 Tarquinus Superbus, his Original, and Carriage, 147. 37. &c. he buildeth the Capital in part, 148. 41. is banished, 152. 50. his endeavours to recover his Kingdom, 426. 25. a War is made with the Latines on his behalf, *ibid.* 26. who are overcome, and he dieth in Campania, 430. 34. charity may be allowed him, *ibid.* Tarquinus (Sextus) his Son Rayneth Lucertia, 150. 44.
 Tarquinus (Titus) his other Son, 429. 32.
 Tarquinus (Collatinus) one of the two first Consuls, 417. 5. is suspected for endeavouring to bring in Tarquin, 419. 8. being generally hated by the people, he voluntarily layeth down his Office, *ibid.*
 P P P P P

Tar-

A TABLE.

Targetius, a Noble-man, and lover of Caesar, 774-75. Governor of the Carnutes, a people in Gall, *ibid.* 76.
 Taurus, by agreement to Reign with Romulus, 136. 9. is *knock'd at the head*, *ibid.* 10.
 Telchines, King of Sicily, Governeth 20 years, 77. 1.
 Telesites, the Son of Aristomedes slayeth Alexander the King of Corinth, and obtaineth his Father's Kingdom, 121. 3. is slain by Arius, and Perantas his Kinjmen, *ibid.*
 Telutians, sent by the Spartans against the Olympians, *ibid.* 354. 2.
 Temenus, obtaineth Argos, 914. 7.
 Temple of Juno, at Athens, burnt, 320. 31.
 Temple built to God at Heliopolis, by the procurement of Onias, 616. 56. is spoiled by Luptus Governor of Alexandria, 874. 20. and absolutely destroyed by Paulinus his successor, *ibid.*
 Tenes, King of Sidon, 239. 5. joyneth with Mentor to betray Sidon to Ochus, 240. 7. is slain.
 Terecia, the Wife of Mecenas, intirely beloved by Augustus, 779. 55.
 Terah, 27. 2.
 Terutiches falleth in love with Roxana, 213. 23.
 Tertullian the Carthaginian Presbyter falleth on Zepherius Bishop of Rome, and the whole Roman Clergy, 933. 17.
 Teucer, the Son of Scamander King of Teucri, 87. 26.
 Teucris, taketh its name from him, *ibid.*
 Teuta, Queen of the Illyrians, obtaineth a peace from Rome, 699. 24.
 Tigranes, King of Armenia obtaineth Syria, 627. 61. receiveth and profiteth Mithridates, his Father-in-Law, 736. 24. is overthrown by Lucullus, 737. 26. he wasteth Cappadocia, *ibid.* 77. submitteth to Pompey, 740. 36. the conditions for him by the Conqueror, 741. 1b.
 Tigranes, the Son rebelling against his Father fleeth to Pompey, *ibid.*
 Timoleon, is sent to the aid of the Syracusians, 411. 50. recovereth Syracuse and setteth the State there, 412. 56. putteth Hicetas, Mamercus, and Hippo to death, 414. 55. strippeth Nicodemus and Apolloniades of their power, *ibid.* 56. his death, glory and honour, *ibid.*
 Timonius succeedeth Orestes, 90. 34. is turned out by the Heracleids, *ibid.*
 Titamenes, the Son of Therfander, reigneth at Thebes, 127. 12.
 Titaphernes marrieth the Daughter of Artaxerxes, 220. 43. outspitteth the Grecian Officer, *ibid.* 44. is impeached by Pharnabazus, 225. 58. reneweth the War with the Peloponnesians, 332. 66. severeth Alcibiades, 337. 78. is put to death, 227. 64.
 Titus, Largius, Flavius, the first Dictator, 429. 31.
 Titus, the Son of Vespasian, vide Vespasian.
 Titurius, with Corra, defeated and slain, (775)
 Tolah judgeth Ictea, 42. 26.
 Tomyris, Queen of the Massagettes, killeth Cyrus, 178. 3.
 Trajan, succeedeth Nerva in the Empire, 881. 4. maketh war on the Daci, 882. *ibid.* and maketh a second Expedition, *ibid.* 5. causeth a Bridge to

be made over the Danube, *ibid.* 6. his familiar Conversation, 883. 7. warreth against the Parthian King, *ibid.* 8. taketh in Adiebeca, a part of Assyria, 884. 9. falleth to the Ocean, *ibid.* 10. maketh a fruitfull Expedition against the Persians in Arabia, *ibid.* 11. perfecteth the Christianians, 885. 14. difcomfitteth with Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, 886. 14. and afterward causeth him to be devoured by wild Beasts at Rome, *ibid.* Mitigateth the Persecution of the Christianians, *ibid.* 15. dieth, 888. 18.
 Trapezond, a Grecian City situate on the Euxine Sea, 421. 47.
 Tribuni Plebis, why so called, 433. 41. their Number, Power and Privilege, *ibid.* the Balance to their power, *ibid.* 42. the Extravagancy thereof, 434. *ibid.* several other sorts of Tribunes, *ibid.* 43. their Plot discovered by the Consul, 451. 83. their number increased to ten, 452. 87. their Incroachments, *ibid.* 88.
 Tribuni Militum, the third great Change of Roman Government, 466. 20. they endeavour to revenge the death of Melius by bringing in Triumvir Military again, 469. 28. the first Plebeian among them, 470. 31.
 Triptolita, what, and by whom made, 745. 48.
 Triopas, King of the Argives, 80. 6. he ruleth 30 years, *ibid.*
 Triumviri, Condition the Estates of Women to get full use (845) 29. are reconciled, and a new Agreement made, *ibid.*
 Trojans, their Original, 87. 26. the Trojan War, *ibid.* 25. they land at Laurentum, and pitch their Tents in Troy, 124. 5. and upon what occasion, *ibid.*
 Tros, the Son of Erichthonius, succeedeth him, 87. 26.
 Troy, when built, and why so called, *ibid.* taken by the Greeks, 89. 31.
 Tryphon setteth up Antiochus, the young Son of Balas, against Demetrius, 622. 69. but intreateth himself to get the Kingdom, *ibid.* 70. killeth Jonathan, *ibid.* and Antiochus the new King, 623. 72. is dispossest, and fleeth, *ibid.* 73. slain at Apamea, his own Country, *ibid.*
 Tullus Hostilius created King of Rome, 139. 17. his War with the Albanians, *ibid.* recovereth 32 years, 141. 21. and dieth, *ibid.*
 Turnus the Fugitive his Story, 129. 6.
 Turpilianus succeedeth Suetonius in Britain, 861. 31. but proveeth very negligent and slothfull, *ibid.*
 Tyndarces, the Son of Oebalus, comendeth for the Kingdom of Lacedaemon, 105. 2. is rewarded, begetteth himself, and is restored by Hercules, *ibid.*
 Tyrant, whence derived, and its signification, 287. 1. & *ibid.* 2. 80c.
 Tyrants at Athens, their number and alluion, 343. 1. they fill all places with Murder and Rapine, 344. 2. their power is abrogated, 345. 3. they send for Aid from Sparta, *ibid.* 4.
 Tyre, built, and by whom, 251. 42. is taken by Alexander, 250. *ibid.*
 Tyrtæus, the Athenian lame School-Master, Poet, 118. 40.
 Teutatus, the Assyrian King, slain, 13. 7.
 Thais, the Courtisan, causeth Alexander to burn the Palace of Persepolis, 259. 67.
 Thasians are envied by the Athenians for their Mines, *ibid.*
 Thafus

A TABLE.

Thafus, whence so called, 124. 3. is Inhabited by a Colony of Parians, 314. 29.
 Thebans, they destroy the Town called Orchomeneus, 364. 54. fall upon Alexanders Garrison in Cadmea, 384. 38.
 Thebes, the Metropolis of Eorotia, 123. 1. the Builder thereof is not certainly known, *ibid.*
 Thelxon first King of Sicily, worshipp'd as a God after his death, 77. 1. cometh to Crete, and killeth the Minotaur, 96. 3.
 Themistocles, and Artilides, a short Character of them, 296. 30. the Acts of Themistocles after the flight of Xerxes, 301. 7.
 Theramenes, one of the 30 Athenian Tyrants, is poison'd, 344. 2.
 Thermopylae, the only passage out of Thessaly into Greece, 194. 37. a great Fight there, *ibid.* 39.
 Thero, his Paternage, 391. 1. he is Tyrannized as Agrirentum, *ibid.*
 Therfander, the third Son of Stiphys, 120. 1.
 Therfander, the Son of Polynices, placed in the Kingdom of Thebes, by the Epigoni, 127. 11. he is slain with Agamemnon, toward Troy, and is kill'd in Mylia by Telephus, *ibid.*
 Theusis born, 97. 2. arriveth at Athens, 98. 1b. his Acts, 95. 1b. he gathereth the Athenians into one City, 97. 14. his exploits, *ibid.* 15. exile, *ibid.* 16. is made away by Lycomedes, being thrown by him from a Rock, 98. 16.
 Theutobochus, King of the Cimbrs, 725. 22. is taken Prisoner by Marius, and his Army totally routed, *ibid.*
 Thimbrois is sent to assist the Greek Cities, 244. 54. he falleth at Magnesia, *ibid.* a few days into Asia, 346. 7.
 Thias, the Son of Omyrtion, obtaineth the Kingdom of Corinth, 121. 3.
 Thrice, the affairs thereof are very Obscure and intricate, 723. 15.
 Thraibulus, the Athenian, persuadeth the Army to recel Alcibiades, 334. 70. his Acts, 338. 81. he opposeth the 30 Tyrants at Athens, 344. 3. is sent against the Lacedaemonians, 352. 21. and slain, *ibid.* 22.
 Thraibulus, the Brother of Hieron, seizeth on the power of Syracuse, 397. 15. fleeth into Locres, and murdereth himself, 397. 15.
 Theycides, the Hittorian, is General of the Athenians, 397. 15.
 Thurimachus, King of Sicily, 77. 1. Reigneth 54 years, *ibid.*
 Thymictes, the 15th King of Athens, a Bastard, murdereth his Brother Aphidas, 98. 17. Reigneth 8 years, *ib.* and then is depos'd, *ibid.* 18.
 Tiberianus, his Letter to Trajan, the Emperor, concerning the Christianians, 886. 15.
 Tiberius (Gracchus) wasteth a sedition among the Agrarian Law, 719. 5. propoeth another for the division of money, 720. 7. he and his Companions are kill'd, *ibid.*
 Tiberius Nero, granteth his Wife Livia Drusilla, to Octavius Caesar, 792. 40.
 Tiberius, his Son, is sent by Augustus against Artabazus, 796. 49. his performance, and Conquest, *ibid.* his good Justice, with his Brother Drusus against the Rebels to the Roman Empire, 800. 56. quireth all in the East, 804. 64. Warreth against the Germans, and hath the Title of Imperator conferred on him by Augustus, 807. 69. withdraw-

eth to Rhodes upon discomfitt, 809. 72. leadeth a private life there, *ibid.* 73. requesteth leave to return, but is denied, 815. 85. recalled by Caius Caesar, 815. 86. adopted, 817. 86. sent again into Dalmatia, 825. 104. comfitteth the War, 834. 105. he never voted to him and others, *ibid.* Inwardeth Germany to small purpose, 828. 109. his Birth, Education and Temper, 832. 3. visiteth the Empire, *ibid.* discomfitteth his officers, 840. cometh Germanicus, *ibid.* his Cruelty and Character, by his Master, 834. 8. underweeth to have Christ our Lord Registered among the Roman Deities, 846. 31. he dieth, 848. 86.
 V.
 Valerianus, a man of noble Descent, created Emperor by his Army near the Alps, 248. 5. he perfecteth the Christianians, taketh Prisoner by the Persians, and at a Feast to read on, bath his skin pull'd over his ears, and is so intirely devoted to death, *ibid.*
 Valerius Aurelianus wasteth Emperor, 248. 6. of mean Parentage, but an excellent Soldier, becometh the Goths, perfecteth the Christianians, is slain in the War against the Persians, 249. 7.
 Valerius Corvinus, why so called, 476. 45.
 Valerius Poplicola, Consul in the room of Collatinus, 419. 9. is suspic'd, his elements himself, 419. 10. his Constitution, 420. 11. Death, Lamentation, and the Honours bestowed upon him, *ibid.*
 Varro (Terentius) Consul, overthrown by Annibal at Cannæ, 425. 24.
 Varro, the greatest Scholar among the Greeks or Romans, 735. 21. his alling against Caesar, (805) 35. is forced to submit, *ibid.*
 Varus (Quintilius) and his Legions most shamefully destroyed by the Germans, 827. 167. which extremely afflicted Augustus, *ibid.* 168.
 Vellius (Pollio) his Wealth and Cruelty, 808. 56. his death and laudeth Augustus a good part of his Estate, *ibid.*
 Vellii, a powerful people in Bactria, overcome, 246. 80.
 Vellii the City, after ten years Siege, taken by Publius Camillus, 471. 32.
 Venetians pierce within two miles of the City of Rome, 446. 72.
 Ventidius, Lieutenant to Marc Antony, profleth against the Parthians, (845) 30.
 Verulamium, a Municipal City of the Romans in Britain, destroyed by the Northern, 824. 30.
 Verrecetorix, the Son of Cellitius, (781) 94. performeth the Gallies to visit their own Country, to cut off all Forrage from the Romans, *ibid.* 97. Conspireth the Gallies for the left of Avaticum, (782) 99. prepareth to oppose Caesar at the Siege of Vellia, (784) 103. is taken by Caesar at that Siege, (787) 114.
 Vespasian (Flavius) put upon taking the Empire of Rome, 868. 5. his Act in Judea, *ibid.* 6. subdueth all that Country, except three Cities and Jerusalem, 869. 8. the Armies in the East declare for him, *ibid.* 9. the Senate deere him the Empire, 870. 10. Lex Regia renewed on his behalf, 874. 22. several of his Acts, 875. 24. his Character, 876. *ibid.* he dieth of a *ibid.* Vespas

A T A B L E.

Veſpaſian (Titus) ſent by his Father to Alexandria to ſuppreſs the Jews, 864. 42. Beſieged it, 865. 16. broke it into it, ib. 16. Jeruſalem, 871. 16. burnt, 873. 18. he commanded the Temple and City to be razed, ibid. 19. ſucceeded his Father, 876. 25. his admirable time when they flouriſhed, ib. 34. 25. Virtues, ibid. 26. ſeveral Calamities in his time, 877. ibid. dieth, 885. 41. Victor, Biſhop of Rome ſharply reprimanded, 92. Vindex, conſpireth againſt Nero, 865. 41. Virginus kills his own Daughter to prevent her Violation by Appius Claudius the Decemvir, 463. 13.

Vitellius (Lucius) Preſident of Syria, expelled Pilate, 847. 86. depoſeth Joſeph, ſurnamed Calphas, from the Preſidency, 848. 88. Vitellius (Aulus) Son of Lucius, oppoſeth Otho, 867. 2. though deſtroyed by the people, crowned Emperor, ib. 3. is very vicious, ibid. 4. Cruel, 868. 5. killed in a moſt ignominious manner, and thrown into Tiber, 870. 10. Ulpianus, the Laſt, 931. 14. Voluſian, the Son of Gallus Hoſtilianus, ſlain in the Battle with Rutilianus, 947. 4. Utica, whence Jo called, 395. 5. its antiquity, ib. Uxellodunum, a Town of the Caduci, taken by Caſar, (790) 121. Ur, King of Iſrael at 16 years of age, he invading the Priſt-Office, was ſtruck with Leproſy, which occaſioned his death, 52. 10.

W.

War with the Argives, 112. 21. with the Meſſenians, 114. 27. &c. War of the Lacedæmonians with the Argives, 116. 23. War with the Meſſenians renewed, ibid. 24. the end of the firſt Meſſenian War, 117. 26. the ſecond Meſſenian War, ibid. 38. the end thereof, 119. 42. War Theban, 126. 10. the end of the Sabine War, 136. 10. Median War, ended after ſix years, 203. 67. the Læconick or Boeotian War ended, 235. 91. Civil Wars betwixt Iliagoras and Clytiſthenes of Athens, 291. 15. War betwixt the Athenians and Egineſians, 295. 25. the Phocians and Dorians, 302. 12. the Social War, 372. 9. the Phocians ſecond War, 374. 12. War of the Romans with the Sabines, 424. 21. Latins, 426. 26. with the Volſci, 435. 46. the Æqui and Volſci, 445. 80. with the Samnites, 477. 26. the Privernates, 479. 50. the Læmian War in Greece, 560. 4. War betwixt the Ætolians and Achæans, 577. 9. the Social War of Greece and its Original, 541. 18. War Alexandrian, 644. 39. War decreed againſt the Paſtopolitan, 681. 1. with the Samnites a ſummary account thereof, 683. 6. War Macedonian, 709. 52. with Perſeus, 714. 12. Pretences for the third Punic War, 716. 18. a ſervile War in Sicily, 719. 4. the Allobrogick War, 723. 14. occaſion of the Social War, 727. 25. Preparations for it, ib. 26. Civil Wars betwixt Pompey and Caſar, the grounds and occaſion thereof (798) 2. Caſar's account (792) 4. what others wrote thereof, ibid. 5. the beginning of that War, ib. 6. War in Germa-

ny, (807) 69. Roman War with the Jews ſubſided by Sylva, 874. 20. the Perſian War betwixt Caſar and the Brother and Wiſe of Marc Antony (843) 27. Wiſe Men of Greece, their Names and Number, 258. 33. ſeveral other Wiſe Men, and the time when they flouriſhed, ib. 34. 25. Writers, what they ſay of Caſar, (808) 47. what of the War between Caſar and Pompey, (820) 74.

X.

Xanthus, the laſt King of Thebes, ſlain by Melanthus the Meſſenian in a ſingle Combat, 127. 12. after whoſe death the Thebans ruled in a Democratical way, ibid. Xenophon's Cyropædia ſum'd up, 25. 42. Marcheth with Cyrus the younger againſt his Brother, 220. 44. is choſen Captain in Proxenus his room, his ancient Friend and Guſt, ibid. the Excellency of his Conduct in the Retreat of the Greeks, 223. 50. more of him, and his Commendation, 269. 66. Xerxes the Son of Darius by Atossa, ſucceeded his Father in the Perſian Empire, 190. 28. recovereth Egypt, 191. ibid. Conſulterth about renewing the War with Greece, ibid. 29. &c. Wintereth at Sardis, 191. 30. paſſeth over into Europe, 192. 32. the prodigious number of his men, 192. 34. invadeth Greece, 194. 38. ſleeth, and he and his Army are totally routed, 199. 53. his incontinence, 204. 69. the length of his Reign, 205. 74. is ſtrangled in his Bed, ibid.

Xerxes, the Son of Artaxerxes Longimanus, ſucceedeth his Father, and is murdered by his Baſe Brother, Secundianus, 212. 21.

Z.

Zabinsus, (or Zabineus) ſuborned by Proſpermy Phyſcon, getteth the Kingdom of Syria, 625. 77. Zaleucus, the Lawgiver of Locri, his Model of Government, 410. 47. the form thereof, ib. 48. &c. Zanolxis, the Cretan Lawgiver, 35. 4. Zathraules, a Lawgiver among the Arimæſians, ibid. Zeolot, horrid outrages committed by them in Jeruſalem, 869. 7. they fall out among themſelves, 872. 15. Zedekiah made King over the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, 55. 23. dieth miſerably, 56. ibid. Zeno, the Sittican, the Father of the Stoicks, when born, 369. 66. Zethus, vide Amphion. Zeuxippus, Son of Apollo by the Nymph Syllis, King of Sicily, reigned four years, 78. 4. Zopyrus, Son of Megabyrus, one of the chief Commanders in Darius his Army, by mangling his face, and cutting off his ears and noſe, recovereth Babylon, 184. 10. Zoroaſtres, (or rather Oxartæ) King of the Bactrians, 12. 5. Zoroaſtres the Magician, ibid. Zorobabel layeth the Foundation of the Second Temple at Jeruſalem, 178. 2.

FINIS.